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ABSTRACT

Part 5, Hearings before the Special Subcommittee on Indian Education (Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, U.S. Senate) on the study of the education of Indian children, focuses especially on the Indian populations of the Northwest United States, and on the mental health of American Indians, particularly the children enrolled in boarding schools. Seven of the 8 witnesses that testified in the May and October (1968) hearings were representatives of various Northwest Indian tribes. Held in Portland, Oregon, and Washington, D.C., the hearings also heard testimony and statements from U.S. Senators, educators, mental health workers, school superintendents, community representatives, Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) staff, and other concerned persons. Articles and publications present additional information. The staff background memorandum indicates that public schools in the region are not doing any better than, if as well as, BIA schools in other parts of the country. Housing, job discrimination, and job opportunities are cited as major problems having a direct bearing on education. (KM)

ED 089888

INDIAN EDUCATION

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON
INDIAN EDUCATION

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON
LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE
UNITED STATES SENATE

NINETIETH CONGRESS

FIRST AND SECOND SESSIONS

ON

THE STUDY OF THE EDUCATION OF INDIAN CHILDREN

Part 5

MAY 24, 1968
PORTLAND, OREG.
OCTOBER 1, 1968
WASHINGTON, D.C.

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH
EDUCATION & WELFARE
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INDIAN EDUCATION

FRIDAY, MAY 24, 1968

U.S. SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INDIAN EDUCATION
OF THE COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE,
Portland, Oreg.

The special subcommittee met at 9 a.m., in the Lloyd Center Auditorium, Portland, Oreg., Senator Morse, presiding pro tempore.

Present: Senators Morse (presiding pro tempore) and Yarborough.

Committee staff members present: Adrian Parmeter and John Gray, professional staff members.

STATEMENT BY HON. WAYNE MORSE, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF OREGON, ACTING CHAIRMAN OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE

Senator MORSE. The hearing will come to order.

Senator Robert F. Kennedy, who is chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education, has asked me to express his regrets that he was not able to be present at the subcommittee hearings this morning. He asked if I would act as chairman at today's hearings and I told him that I would be delighted to do so.

I am pleased to be a member of this subcommittee, and even more pleased that another member of the subcommittee, Senator Ralph Yarborough, of Texas, has found time in his busy schedule to join me in conducting the hearing this morning.

I just received notice that another member of the subcommittee, Senator Fannin, of Arizona, will be unable to attend, but I want to say just a word about the three members of the subcommittee I have just mentioned, Senator Kennedy, Senator Yarborough, and Senator Fannin.

As chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Education, I wanted to express my great debt of gratitude to Senator Kennedy for the magnificent work he has been doing as chairman of this Subcommittee on Indian Education. He has taken a very active interest in the work of this subcommittee ever since Senator Hill, of Alabama, appointed him as chairman of the subcommittee more than a year ago.

He has traveled extensively in the Indian areas of the country. He has made personal surveillance and investigations of the Indian education problems.

The reports he has made to our committee from time to time by way of progress reports have been very helpful to us, and I want to express the deep appreciation of the full committee—and I do that on behalf of Senator Hill this morning, as well as myself—to Senator Kennedy for the leadership he has been taking in Indian education affairs, and I am satisfied that when he makes the final report of his subcommittee, that the report of our committee will be not only helpful to the full committee, but will result in legislation by the Senate as a whole.

I also want to express my very deep appreciation to my colleague, Senator Yarborough, under whose leadership as chairman of the Labor Subcommittee of the Senate I have had the privilege of serving now for some years. Senator Yarborough is the author of the bilingual amendment to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, which will be of great value to American Indians as well as other groups, such as the Mexican Americans and the Puerto Ricans. Senator Yarborough, in the preparation of that particular amendment, brought before our committee some startling information as to what must be done in areas where the children come from homes in which a language other than English is spoken.

One of the primary reasons for the large percentage of dropouts among these students is the language difficulties which have developed. I well remember Senator Yarborough, when we were taking the bill through the writeup stage in our committee, talking about the handicap caused by these deficiencies among Indian children in the various parts of our country. I would like to express to you again, Senator Yarborough, my deep appreciation, and I know the appreciation of the full committee, for the magnificent job you have done in connection with the bilingual education program.

Senator Yarborough also has been very much interested in the other aspects of Indian education. His presence here this morning testifies to that.

I want to express to the witnesses here this morning Senator Fannin's regrets that he could not be here. Senator Fannin is a Republican member of the subcommittee from Arizona and he has taken a very, very active interest. In fact, Senator Yarborough recalled that it was Senator Kennedy and Senator Fannin who were the two leaders who proposed to the full committee that this subcommittee should be set up. We will be asking some questions during the morning on behalf of Senator Fannin.

The work of this subcommittee began with initial hearings in Washington, D.C., on December 14 and 15, last year.

Since January the subcommittee has conducted public hearings in California, Oklahoma, Arizona, South Dakota, and today in Portland, Oreg. On behalf of Senator Yarborough and myself I want to express my thanks to the staff of this subcommittee, and when I do it, I know I also will be expressing the thanks of Senator Kennedy and Senator Fannin.

What we are speaking about is some very, very able staffwork on the part of the members of the staff who are here today to collect the evidence which will be made a part of the final record of the hearings across the country.

From the beginning, this subcommittee has been committed to the proposition that too often in the past, Indian tribes have played much too small a role in defining their own problems and recommending appropriate solutions. Consultation with Indian people has too often been neglected, manipulated, or heard and then forgotten.

The large majority of witnesses who have testified before this subcommittee have been Indian spokesmen from the great diversity of tribal groups which are scattered across the country.

Seven of the eight witnesses who will be testifying today represent various tribes from the Northwest. I am delighted that they are here and look forward to their statements. The fact that they were willing to travel long distances to either testify or attend the hearings reflects their deep concern for the effective education of their children.

Before calling on our first witness, I would like to place this hearing in national perspective. This subcommittee was formed because of the great concern many of us had for the obvious inadequacies of educational programs for Indian children, both in public schools and Federal schools.

Senator Kennedy was very anxious that this national perspective be made clear by me in opening these hearings today.

The following statistics illuminate the problem:

Dropout rates are twice the national average; the level of formal education is half the national average; achievement levels are far below those of their white counterparts.

The Indian child falls progressively further behind the longer he stays in school.

In addition, the important study on equal educational opportunity funded by the U.S. Office of Education, revealed, in 1966, the following:

Only 1 percent of Indian children in elementary school have Indian teachers or principals. One-fourth of elementary and secondary school teachers, by their own admission, would prefer not to teach Indian children.

Indian children, more than any other group, believe themselves to be below average in intelligence. Not true, but the belief is there.

Indian children in the 12th grade have the poorest self-concept of all minority groups tested.

Well, what are the consequences of this inadequate education? This subcommittee would like to point this out for the record:

The average Indian income is $1,500, 75 percent below the national average.

His unemployment rate is 10 times the national average.

He lives 10 years less than the average American.

The death rate for his children is twice as high as the national average.

Tuberculosis rates are seven times higher than the average American's.

Senator Kennedy has pointed out to the committee in his report that you can't face up to these facts and not recognize that we have a very serious problem within our body politic, and that's why this committee is conducting these hearings across the country, and that's why it will prepare a report it hopes will result in some corrective legislation.

These facts are the cold statistics which illuminate a national tragedy and a national disgrace. They demonstrate that the first American has become the last American with the opportunity for employment, education, a decent income, and a chance for a full and rewarding life.

This committee cannot expect to unveil any quick and easy answers to this dilemma, but clearly effective education lies at the heart of any lasting solution, and it must be an education that no longer presumes that cultural differences mean cultural inferiority.

It was almost 200 years ago that the leaders of Virginia, having signed a treaty with six Indian nations, offered to educate six of their sons.

The chiefs, although responding with thanks, rejected the offer, citing a previous experiment with white man's education:

Their children had come back from the white schools, said the chiefs, and I quote from what is reported that the chiefs said at the time:

> They came back from the white man's schools bad runners, ignorant of every means of living in the woods; unable to bear the cold or hunger.
>
> They knew neither how to build a cabin, take a deer or kill an enemy; spoke our language imperfectly; were therefore neither fit for hunters, warriors, or counselors.
>
> They were totally good for nothing.

"Perhaps," the Indians said, "the Governors would send a dozen white children to learn at the hands of the Indians."

"We will take care of their education," promised the chiefs, "instruct them in all we do and make men out of them."

We can no longer ignore the lessons of this exchange 200 years ago. If we are to teach, we must also learn.

This is the primary intent of our hearings today.

Before I call on the first witness, I want to call on my very close and dear friend, the Senator from Texas, Senator Yarborough.

STATEMENT OF HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF TEXAS

Senator YARBOROUGH. Senator, it's a great privilege and honor to be here as a member of this Indian Education Subcommittee.

For 10 years I have been a member of the Education Subcommittee of the Senate, having formerly attempted to teach school and taught law briefly in the University of Texas Law School, but no one has a record that even touches the distinguished record of the acting chairman here, Senator Morse, who was the dean of the University of Oregon Law School and one of the great law teachers of America.

First, I want to say what a stimulating experience it is to be on a committee with both Senator Morse and Senator Robert Kennedy, two of the giants in the Senate; two of the most dedicated men I know anywhere in America; two of the most able men; two of the most intellectually brilliant men, and when you're around men as brilliant as they are and as hard workers and as dedicated, you get a new thrust. A little of it rubs off on us plain people, and we get renewed enthusiasm.

Now, they talk about the giants we used to have in the Senate a hundred years ago, Clay, Calhoun, and Webster; those, when I was a boy, McNary of Oregon, and Norris of Nebraska; Taft of Ohio, and Bob LaFollette of Wisconsin.

I want to say, fellow Americans, we've got some giants in the Senate today, and the general ratio now, some day they will look back and say, "That was the day of the giants," and the two leaders are Senators Wayne Morse of Oregon and Senator Robert Kennedy.

I just regret that Senator Kennedy's plan to be here didn't materialize, his commitments were so heavy, people pleading with him to come to other areas, that he felt that he couldn't come.

We have this subcommittee because of the deep concern of this subject with the chairman of the Education Subcommittee. Senator Morse is chairman of the Education Subcommittee. He very kindly mentioned the bilingual education bill, but without the consent of the Educational Subcommittee chairman, you cannot set up a special education subcommittee, so the Special Education Subcommittee on Bilingual Education, which I was chairman of last year, was set up with the approval and aid of the distinguished senior Senator from Oregon, Senator Morse.

This Indian Education Subcommittee branches off from the Education Subcommittee; could be set up only with the aid and assistance and approval of the distinguished chairman of the full educational efforts, Senator Wayne Morse.

And I say that without his leadership, we would never have had the elementary and secondary educational programs we do have which mean so much to America, because he worked out the compromises which brought about the enactment of that law when the Congress deadlocked over it for 25 years.

So it is a privilege for me to come out here, as far as it is, to serve on the committee with these two great leaders and in an area in which I have a great interest.

Since I was a boy, I have studied the role of the American Indian, and how he was pushed back from his heritage. I have a library of hundreds of volumes on the American Indians and their achievements. Their experience in the Army shows that they have a high native IQ, high native intellect that we are losing for the Nation, not only depriving them of their just rights, but losing to the Nation the talents of this great people, the original Americans.

And in my own State, Senator Morse, I am proud of the fact that I am an honorary life member of the Alabama Cochito Tribe, pushed out of Alabama, but they left their names on the Alabama River and the State of Alabama. We have all of the Alabamas in Texas. There are two small groups, but since Texas, when it entered the Union, having been an independent republic first, retained all its public lands, the tribal areas in Texas' jurisdiction were ceded by the Federal Government to the State. The other Indian tribal group is at El Paso, Tex., Isleta, a branch of the Tiwu Pueblos of New Mexico, who came southward during the Spanish conquest and Riquan conquest in Mexico. They have been in Texas since 1680, when they left New Mexico with the Spaniards at the time of the Pueblo revolt, one of the few successful Indian revolts in history and drove the Spaniards out of New Mexico for 12 years. I have the privilege in all that history in Texas, since 1680, of being the only non-Indian ever elected an honorary governor of that tribe, so I think that shows my interest in it.

The thing I regret most is that Oklahoma got all of our Indians, brave Comanches and all. They are right over the Red River from us.

I want to be of service to this committee, and I know I am serving a chairman and leaders who have the know-how, the intelligence, the kind of men who don't give up, Senator Kennedy as chairman; Senator Wayne Morse, here, this great chairman of the full Educational Subcommittee.

I will not take further time except to say that we likewise regret that the other member, Senator Fannin, the Republican member, cant' be here, because he has been Governor of Arizona, and as Governor of Arizona formed a great concern for the status of the Navajo and the Supai down in the Grand Canyon, and the other tribes in his State that make up a sizable percentage of the population there, and he's been a very diligent and active worker on this subcommittee.

Senator Morse, it's a privilege to participate with you in another hearing with you as chairman. I may have talked a little too long, but when I serve with Senators like you and Robert Kennedy, it sparks a man to maybe talk a little too long, but I will quit talking now and we'll listen to the witnesses the rest of the day.

Thank you for the privilege of being here.

Senator MORSE. The acting chairman wishes to express his appreciation to the Senator from Texas, Mr. Yarborough, for his presence here this morning, and I am delighted to welcome him into our State and I know that he and I are going to attend a seminar this morning and when we leave it, we will be much better informed with regard to some of the Indian problems in this part of the country.

I order inserted at this point in the record a memorandum of background information prepared by the staff for this hearing.

(The memorandum referred to follows:)

MEMORANDUM ON BACKGROUND AND MAJOR PROBLEM AREAS PREPARED BY THE STAFF OF THE SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON INDIAN EDUCATION

The Northwest region has been served by public schools since the 1930's with two exceptions: Chemawa at Salem, Oregon and Busby, Montana. Chemawa has 671 Alaskan Native students and 176 Navajos. Students from Northwest tribes are not able to attend. Much concern was expressed over the fact that 464 Northwest Indian children go to boarding schools in Oklahoma and the Northwest tribes would much prefer having them at Chemawa, closer to home. This is obviously a problem for the Alaskan Native families as well.

Chemawa is among the better B.I.A. boarding schools in terms of program and staff, however, many of the same concerns were expressed about its program as were brought out in previous testimony and field work of the Subcommittee, ie, nearly all children are placed in Chemawa for social referral reasons (emotional problems, behavioral problems in home community, broken homes or pathological home environment, non-support, etc.) or for reasons of isolation from existing school facilities. Therefore, a high percentage of the students have problems of psychological adjustment. These problems are not being adequately dealt with in the curriculum or by the teaching and counseling staffs. The boarding school at Busby, Montana has similar problems but even more severe.

Indications point to the fact that public schools in the region are not doing any better than, if as well as, B.I.A. schools in other parts of the country. The Subcommittee staff encountered the following:

1. Indian students are at least 2 years behind their non-Indian counterparts.
2. Dropout rates vary greatly and data is incomplete or inaccurate, however the average seems to be about 40–50% with extremes of 90% or more noted.
3. Curricula in public schools is geared almost exclusively to the non-Indian student.
4. Little or no Indian representation is found on school boards.
5. Few schools have teacher training or orientation programs for teachers of Indian children.
6. Indian community involvement is almost totally lacking in a majority of schools.
7. Indian children with emotional or adjustment problems are often quickly pushed out with little or no effort to deal with the problems. These children either go to Oklahoma to boarding school or become drop-outs.

8. Indian families feel that prejudice and discrimination on the part of school officials, teachers and white community members is strong and is having an extremely serious effect on the performance of their children.

9. 85% of PL 874 funds in Washington state do not reach the impacted schools due to the state's equalization policy. (A court case, testing the legality of this policy is pending.)

10. Allocation of Johnson-O'Malley Act funds to the Northwest states is small and is used primarily for hot-lunch programs and pupil transportation. There is no Johnson-O'Malley program in the state of Oregon.

11. Vocational training programs are rare with nearly all high school programs being college-preparatory.

A general feeling was prevalent that O.E.O. programs—particularly Headstart, N.Y.C. and Community Action programs—have been of great benefit to the Indian community and school children.

Housing and job opportunities (and job discrimination) were cited as major problems having direct bearing on education.

Senator MORSE. Now, it is my privilege to call on the first witness, Robert B. Jim, second vice president, Affiliated Tribes of Northwest Indians; chairman, Yakima Tribal Council.

Mr. Jim, will you please come to the witness chair?

We are delighted to have you here. I know of your work in the field. I highly commend it. You may proceed in your own way.

STATEMENT OF ROBERT B. JIM, SECOND VICE PRESIDENT, AFFILIATED TRIBES OF NORTHWEST INDIANS, AND CHAIRMAN, YAKIMA TRIBAL COUNCIL, TOPPENISH, WASH.

Mr. JIM. Senator Morse, Senator Yarborough, I want to thank the committee for holding these hearings. I would like to read a statement, and I have inserts to present to the committee in regard to the subject at hand.

Senator MORSE. The Chair rules, Mr. Jim, that all the material that you wish to insert in the record will be incorporated in the record as part of your testimony this morning.

Mr. JIM. Thank you.

My name is Robert Jim. I am the chairman of the Yakima Tribal Council and I am the second vice president of the Affiliated Tribes of Northwest Indians.

We concluded an executive meeting yesterday at the New Heathman Hotel, and I appear here as the official elected spokesman from the Affiliated Tribes of Northwest Indians selected to lead off the meeting, and I think that the delegates here from the Indian tribes in this area will extend their appreciation after they have their chance to speak up here.

We are the elected representatives of our tribes, and by our own constitution of the Affiliated Tribes of Northwest Indians, we must be elected members of the tribes we represent to serve on the Affiliated Tribes of Northwest Indians.

Their feeling is that through the elected leaders of the tribes, they can present a problem which affects the Indian tribes most, so with that, I will say that the organization represents tribes in Oregon, Idaho, Washington, and Montana.

I want to thank the subcommittee personally for scheduling the hearing in the Northwest. The Affiliated Tribes of Northwest Indians join with me in expressing our appreciation, and I would request permission to insert into the record a resolution of the association passed yesterday at our annual executive meeting.

I have one copy, due to the time problem. It's a thanking type of a note.

The first resolution is thanking the subcommittee in behalf of the organizations for having the courtesy to hear this problem in our area.

Senator MORSE. Mr. Jim, Resolution 2 adopted by the Affiliated Tribes of Northwest Indians, Executive Session Council, Portland, Oreg., May 23, will be incorporated in the record at this point.

(The resolution referred to follows:)

RESOLUTION NO. 2 ADOPTED BY THE AFFILIATED TRIBES OF NORTHWEST INDIANS AT ITS EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MEETING AT PORTLAND, OREG., MAY 23, 1968

Whereas, United States Senator Robert F. Kennedy did provide time to listen to the members of the Affiliated Tribes of Northwest Indians on the 23rd day of May, 1968 at the Crown Suite of the Benson Hotel, and

Whereas, arrangements have been made for the special Sub-committee on Indian Education of the United States Senate to hear Indian views on the 24th day of May, 1968 at the Lloyd's Center Auditorium,

Now, therefore be it resolved by the Affiliated Tribes of Northwest Indians, assembled at its spring Executive Council meeting in Portland, Oregon on this 23rd day of May, 1968, that we do thank Senator Kennedy and the Subcommittee on Indian Education of the United States Senate for providing these opportunities for the expression of Indian views.

Motion passed unanimously.

Attest:

AFFILIATED TRIBES OF NORTHWEST INDIANS,
ANGELA BUTTERFIELD,
Executive Director.

Mr. JIM. Thank you. It has not always been nor is it the practice of the Federal Government to seek out the views of the people most concerned before passing Indian legislation. A short time ago the answer to the so-called Indian problem was to either terminate Federal supervision or to move the Indian to urban centers for employment. How anyone in retrospect could have believed these urban centers were competent to deal with the education of the deficient, people with little work training from a different culture and way of life, amazes us all. Yet the so-called answer received the support of everyone except American Indian leaders, who opposed this program.

The first item I have before me is a resolution of the Affiliated Tribes of Northwest Indians regarding the Indian school Chemawa, some 60 miles from here.

There is, as I am sure you have found in your prior studies, a desperate need for Indian boarding schools for Indian children. As you know, these schools are needed for Indian children from every tribe among the Northwest Indians, yet these various schools located within visiting distance of the families and friends of the children from these tribes are closed to children from Northwest tribes. It's only open to Indian children from the Navajo Reservation or Alaska. Does this make sense?

We believe that those Navajo and Alaska children should have a school located within visiting distance of their area. However, if this is not possible, then at least try to do something for the Northwest children. Send these children, these other children who are already away from their families, to a place where the Northwest Indian children now go. This would provide that at least some of these Indian children would be able to see their families and friends during the school year.

Now, the Northwest children are sent to schools which are closer to the Navajo Reservation than they are to the reservations in Washington.

I would like to insert in the record at this point a resolution of the affiliated tribes supporting this position.

Senator MORSE. The resolution referred to by the witness, Mr. Jim, Resolution 5, adopted at Portland, Oreg., May 23, will be inserted in the record at this point.

(The resolution referred to follows:)

RESOLUTION NO. 5 ADOPTED BY THE AFFILIATED TRIBES OF NORTHWEST INDIANS AT ITS EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MEETING AT PORTLAND, OREG., MAY 23, 1968

Whereas, There is a great need for adequate school facilities for Indian children who do not have adequate home environment, and

Whereas, The various Northwest states have shown that they do rot wish to accept this responsibility, and

Whereas, The only such school in the Northwest, the Chemawa Indian School, has been closed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to the children of the Pacific Northwest and is an Alaska-Navajo project, and

Whereas, This requires Indian children of the Northwest to travel thousands of miles away from their families and surroundings at great cost in money and emotion, and

Whereas, the cruelty of this requirement on children of tender years cannot be disputed,

Now therefore be it resolved by the Affiliated Tribes of Northwest Indians at it's Spring Executive Council meeting at Portland, Oregon this 23rd day of May 1968 that we petition the Senate Sub-Committee on Indian Education to use its good offices to re-open the Chemawa Indian School to Indian children of the Northwest at the earliest possible date.

Motion passed unanimously.

Attest:

AFFILIATED TRIBES OF NORTHWEST INDIANS,
ANGELINA BUTTERFIELD,
Executive Director.

Mr. JIM. Thank you.

We all support better education for Indian children. Nothing has a higher priority. However, we cannot expect this to be the total answer. It just is not enough to provide good schools if the home conditions remain the same.

The State of New York has tried this in its Higher Horizon program, but this type of program, where substitutes for deficient homes are attempted, costs approximately $3,000 per pupil per year. Good schools are necessary, but we cannot stop there.

It does no good to have a good school to go to if you have health conditions in which a child is absent the entire amount of the time. It is also not the answer to merely provide good medical service if housing conditions are so bad that they provide plenty of patients for the medical staff.

It is also not the answer to have good housing if the occupants do not have an adequate diet. It is not the answer to provide an adequate diet if there is not employment available.

In a recent study in what they call "HUNGER U.S.A.," if you are familiar with this——

Senator MORSE. I am familiar.

Mr. JIM. This report brings out some significant information. For example, how malnutrition can result in permanent brain damage.

I think this should be considered when any group tries to solve the education problem in one generation. Perhaps it has been affected by malnutrition affecting the brain and cannot be cured for maybe another generation or two.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Jim, excuse me a minute. I'd like to say the distinguished senior Senator from Oregon, Senator Morse, and I are both cosponsors in the Senate of the program through which this study was made, helped set it up.

Mr. JIM. Thank you. I think it was a very fine job. I think it brings out particularly the hunger areas, and it does not pinpoint this Pacific Northwest reservation area as a hunger area, but the point is, I think, that if we don't strive to reserve or keep our system of tribal government and reservations, then we will be marked on this map as a hunger area and later depriving our children of the food they get from reservations, such as deer and fish and elk.

Then we, too, will be one of the statistics in this, if we don't fight as hard as the members we have here to preserve what we have.

Senator YARBOROUGH. May I say, Mr. Jim, in the testimony before the Senate committees this week in Washington, those experts in this field of development of the child, of educational psychology, of intellectual development, have testified before our committee.

We have a resolution, another one, pending of which the distinguished Senator from Oregon, Senator Morse, and I are cosponsors, now that we have the study, to do something about this hunger, and the distinguished Senator from New York, Senator Kennedy, is also a cochairman of both of these studies and of this effort; he made extensive investigation in the field when he went into Mississippi and other places.

This testimony shows that 92 percent of the intellectual capacity of a child is formed by the time he is 12 or 13 years of age. Where malnutrition occurs during those young years, the child will never reach the full intellectual development he was potentially capable of at birth, if he had had good food during those childhood years.

Oh, hunger becomes not only a physical but a mental hazard in a family that doesn't have adequate good food for the child, and we hope that now that we've got the problem isolated and we are working on the remedy.

Senator MORSE. Mr. Jim, I am glad that you and Senator Yarborough have raised this point. This committee has already found that in some of the Indian locales there is a problem of malnutrition among children, and I would like to call the attention of counsel to the direction of the chairman at this point. I'd like to have you have a conference with Mr. Jim before he leaves the hearing today for him to mark out in this report any excerpts that he would like to have you include on this malnutrition issue to follow his testimony in the record this morning, and we will insert those excerpts into the record following your testimony.

Mr. JIM. Thank you, sir. I want to, at this point, commend the Senators for the study they have done. I think in trying to protect our Indian reservation system, that I would like to say that if the subcommittee had available the facilities to take a reservation map of the same size and interpose it on this, then you would see where the hunger affects the reservations.

That's the thing I intend to do with it. I will try and submit it later for the record. I think it's something pertinent and I think it's something that brought to us in relation to these facts that if we do not help our young people now, perhaps in 10 or 20 years, we would have affected 90 percent of the earning capacity of the Indian, to preserve our tribes in order to keep up with this world.

Senator MORSE. Mr. Jim, the record of these hearings will be kept open for a period of time following the last hearing, and I say this to you, and all the other witnesses present: You will be allowed to supplement your statements by sending to the committee in Washington any further material that you'd like to have included in the record, and that goes for what you have just been talking about. If you wish to supplement your statement later with regard to this particular problem, you send the memorandum or the exhibit to Washington, and we will incorporate it in the final record of the hearings.

Mr. JIM. Thank you, sir. The——

Senator MORSE. Go right ahead.

Mr. JIM. It is not the answer to have adequate diet if there is not employment available to provide the motivation for the Indian students.

Improvement in any one of these areas is, of course, a great improvement to a group which is the most ill-housed, ill-fed, undereducated, unemployed group in America. We have no place to go but up.

However, my point is that it takes improvement in all of these areas, if we are to make the stride that we must make, the growth that must be made.

If the United States is to meet its moral commitment to the Indian people, whose lands you now occupy, please do all you can to, No. 1, provide for adequate Indian schools that take into account the special need of Indian children.

No. 2, help us maintain our reservations and land base for the sake of maintaining our pride and for our subsistence during this growth period.

No. 3, help us obtain better health care so that we can approach the lifespan of the non-Indian population.

No. 4, help us to obtain good housing so that over 80 percent of our people will not have to remain ill-housed.

Last, but not least, help us provide jobs for people so that our children can have respect for a breadwinner in the house and hope that they, too, will be able to be such a leader in his family after his training.

No. 6, I think that one of the pertinent points, and then I have four copies for the subcommittee, and before I submit this, I would like to point out that this Northwest anthropological research was edited through the American Civil Liberties Trust of which I am vice president.

We have contracted with Washington State University and taken Commissioner Bennett's hearing of all of the Indians in the United States, over 200 tribes, to Dr. Walker, who is the ace witness here, and I have asked him to pick up any questions that I leave. He is a professor now at the University of Idaho, and we have taken the recommendations of all of the Indians in regard to the omnibus bill.

and would like to submit this resolution asking for a hearing on the omnibus bill in the Northwest area.

Senator MORSE. It will be incorporated in the record at this point, Resolution 4, adopted by the Affiliated Tribes of Northwest Indians at Portland, Oreg., May 23.

(The resolution referred to follows:)

RESOLUTION NO. 4 ADOPTED BY THE AFFILIATED TRIBES OF NORTHWEST INDIANS AT ITS EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MEETING AT PORTLAND, OREG., MAY 23, 1968

Whereas, the Indian Affairs Sub-Committee of the United States Senate has scheduled hearings on the Omnibus bill titled the "Indian Resources Development Act of 1967," S. 1816 and HR 10560, and

Whereas, the announcement of the hearings on the legislation came too late for many of the Northwest tribes to make arrangements to testify in Washington, D.C. and

Whereas, many of the Northwest tribes cannot economically afford to present their views to the Sub-Committee at the scheduled locations of the hearings, and

Whereas, the scheduling of the hearings of the Sub-Committee has provided more convenient location for Eastern and Midwest tribes, and

Whereas, the Affiliated Tribes of Northwest Indians does "resist and vigorously oppose said legislation as being inappropriate to and incongruous with the present needs, capabilities and circumstances of the Affiliated Tribes of Northwest Indians generally",

Now therefore be it resolved that the Affiliated Tribes of Northwest Indians at their Executive Council meeting in Portland, Oregon this 23rd day of May 1968, do hereby earnestly request that the Indian Affairs Sub-Committee of the United States Senate hold hearings on said legislation in the Northwest so that members of the Affiliated Tribes of Northwest Indians can present testimony before said Sub-Committee.

Motion passed unanimously.

Attest:

AFFILIATED TRIBES OF NORTHWEST INDIANS,
ANGELA BUTTERFIELD,
Executive Director.

Mr. JIM. Thank you, and this request from the Northwest Affiliated Tribes is concerned more about the Indian reservations and the programs. If we didn't have so much adverse legislation, if the Indian leaders didn't have so much adverse legislation to fight full time, they would have more time to devote to long-range programs to benefit their Indian people, and this is an example. Now——

Senator MORSE. Mr. Jim, may I make a ruling on this exhibit first, Northwest Anthropological Research Notes, and the staff will take note:

The chairman rules that because of the length of this particular exhibit, it will be filed with the committee for reference by the committee when we mark up any legislation, but be an appendix to the hearings, but not published in the transcript of the record.

Obviously, the expense involved and the addition to a voluminous record justifies the ruling the Chair now makes, but let the record be perfectly clear that when we except an exhibit as an appendix to the record, it is before us for reference and for discussion. When we mark up any legislation, it will get really as much, probably more attention in some respects, because we will have it there to take home and study. It receives as much attention or even more than if it were in the transcript itself, so I now make it a part of the record but an appendix to the record.

Mr. JIM. Thank you. If the subcommittee wishes additional copies and Mr. Parmeter lets me know, we can furnish them.

Senator MORSE. We can get them.

Mr. JIM. I think particular reference to this study has been put to a computer in Washington State University. The computer came back and said what the Indians want in legislation throughout the United States. This is recorded here and particularly 17 percent of these recommendations were on education.

(The appendix appears on p. 2079.)

Mr. JIM. The particular recommendations, and I knew they are all included, such as Mr. Smartlowit will cover, so I will not go over these. These include the Johnson-O'Malley recommendations, the permanent board to study the Indians from the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Senator MORSE. Mr. Jim, you have made an excellent statement, and we are indebted to you. I call on Senator Yarborough for any questions.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Mr. Jim, this is a valuable document you have filed with us. I noticed here it isn't limited to Northwest. It includes data on all the tribes, and I notice the Miccosukee of Florida, who testified before this subcommittee. They brought their tribal leaders and testified before us in Washington in December, and I notice a reference to the Choctaw.

I grew up as a boy in eastern Texas, just a few counties below Red River; north of that, before they merged into Oklahoma, was the Choctaw Nation. So as a boy I heard the people talk about the "nation" all the time, people south of there. When I heard the word "nation," that was the Choctaw. As a boy I thought "nation" referred only to Choctaws.

I have only three short questions, Mr. Chairman. It will take just a minute.

One, Mr. Jim, what is the area in square miles of the Yakima Reservation? How many live on the reservation? How many Yakimas live off the reservation in other neighborhoods?

Mr. JIM. The Yakima Reservation is 1,875 square miles. We have 1,200,000 acres of land, approximately. Almost two-thirds is timber.

We have five lakes. A river starts on the reservation, and we sell 135 million board feet of timber a year, and we have approximately 5,600-plus Yakima Indians enrolled under this Public Law 706, which is a Federal law enacted in 1946—over 23 years ago, and this 5,600-plus Indians are over a quarter-degree, and these are the people who elect us and are concerned with what we have presented here today.

Senator YARBOROUGH. What percent of those live on the reservation and what percent in other places?

Mr. JIM. I would say approximately two-thirds live on the reservation and the other third live everywhere from New York to Alaska to California, so they are not limited to live there. They come and go, and——

Senator YARBOROUGH. The other third, do your laws permit them to vote on your officers, just as well as the two-thirds who live on the reservation?

Mr. JIM. Yes. Any member, if he is over 18 years of age, can vote in our general election which is held every 2 years; our councilmen come up for 4-year terms, seven of them. Then every year, in the last week in November, which is by our constitution that we must have a report and a general meeting, but every 2 years we must have an election by our people, the ones we represent.

I have been a councilman for 12 years.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Well, you have set a good precedent permitting 18-year-olds to vote. I am a cosponsor of proposed constitutional amendment, the principal author being Senator Mansfield of Montana, to lower the voting age in the United States by a constitutional amendment, to 18 years of age.

I am making a note here that you already have that.

Thank you. That's all the questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. JIM. Well, I certainly want to thank the committee for allowing me to testify on behalf of the Affiliated Tribes. There are approximately 55 tribes represented here, and we are the oldest Indian organization in the United States representing Indian people, so I want to thank you on behalf of those; thank the committee for its meticulous study and interest in Indian people; and I am sure you will hear expert witnesses following up here with regard to the various problems, the particular problems. I know they have them documented.

Senator MORSE. I have a few questions, Mr. Jim.

Counsel for the committee has handed me a note which points out that 464 Northwest Indian children attend school in Oklahoma. Now, this bears upon that part of your testimony in which you recommend that, if we are going to have these boarding schools for Indian children, they ought to be near the reservation of their tribe so that they can visit with their parents and spend the holidays and the weekends with their parents.

This group of 464 Northwest Indian children is exactly what you have in mind. When they go to Oklahoma, you're pointing out, if I understand your testimony, that if they are going to an Indian boarding school, they ought to go to a school here in the Northwest, is that correct?

Mr. JIM. Yes, sir. This is our request, because I went to school in Chemawa, and I know this problem that we have today, there are many more Indians who are not so fortunate as to have two parents or have earnings sufficient to keep them in public schools where they need money.

If they are living in a public school area and they don't have the spending money, then they are not going to be happy and they're not going to pass. This is a major point I think. One of the unwritten laws of attending school is that if you don't keep up with somebody else, you are going to be unhappy, and you're not going to survive.

Now, some of these Indians have a dropout rate of 100 percent. I know one little boy whose parents speak no English and he goes to a public school, but when he is home he has nothing—he has no place to study—he has no light—he has no one to say if his problem is right or wrong, if it is what is 7 times 3 even, if it's right or wrong.

Senator MORSE. The Senator from Texas couldn't have a better witness on his bilingual education program than you for what you have just said.

Now, there is a perfect example of what we sought to point out when we put that bill through the Congress.

The Indian children you're talking about, whose parents don't speak English, go to school, where, of course, they have to speak English and study through the English language.

Then they go back home. They haven't anyone they can talk to in terms of the language they have to use in school, and this creates the lag between them and white children. What we overlook is that the home is a teacher, too. Sometimes the home is a more important teacher than the school, or at least its' a supplemental teacher to the teacher in school. You have really gotten ahead of me a bit, because my next question bears on what you have just said. My next question deals with Chemawa which, being located in the State I represent in Congress, creates special responsibilities for me.

I did not know that you were a graduate of Chemawa. You are one of those that went on to higher education from your Indian-school training.

Now, you pointed out in your testimony that Chemawa is made up for the most part of the student body from Alaska and from the Navajos. That's right, isn't it?

Mr. Jim. Yes.

Senator Morse. Now, you know that there is considerable amount of discussion about what we should do, if anything, with regard to changing the policies at Chemawa.

It's been proposed that it be used as a residential institution and an educational institution for those who need speeial tutoring and special training, but that it should be composed, so some say, of a student population from this area of the country, integrating every Indian child who can do satisfactory work in the public schools nearby, but use it as a residential base.

Would you make comment on that?

Mr. Jim. I remember an article of March 13 in regard to Julia Butler Hansen.

Senator Morse. Congresswoman Hansen's proposal?

Mr. Jim. Yes, in regard to the proposal to use Shemawa as a base, and perhaps this will supplement the idea that we are pushing; at least have a home base so that they can have counselors to assist them in their problems, because boarding schools to the Indian tribes are a must, and we'll support them in any way, because there are too many broken homes; there are too many which have one parent; and with the average employment and earnings, we have to have someplace for them to go.

In fact, in regard to your question about using Chemawa as a home base and putting them into the public schools, I am sure we would urge that it be tried.

In particular, we would like to have some of our children in that area, because you would only have to come to the Indian reservation, any reservation, to find out that boarding schools are needed, and anything is better than what we are being deprived of or sending our kids far away. If there is a death, there is a problem; if there is homesickness, there is a problem.

Senator Morse. Mr. Jim, would I be right in drawing this conclusion from your testimony? And if not, you modify it or, if you want, expand it, because this problem is on our doorstep. We are going to have to decide from the various alternatives as proposed, what, if any, changes we should make in Chemawa. Are these proper conclusions for me to make from your testimony?

No. 1, you testified that as far as the Alaskan Indian children are concerned, they ought to go to school in Alaska so that they can be near their families and the people with whom they are going to live after they get through school. Whatever arrangements are necessary should be made.

Is that the proper conclusion we can draw?

Mr. Jim. Yes, sir.

Senator Morse. No. 2, as far as the Navajo students at Chemawa are concerned, it is your position that they should go to school at a location located near the Navajo Tribe; is that correct?

Mr. Jim. Yes, sir.

Senator Morse. No. 3, you would not look with disfavor upon a program that would maintain Chemawa as a center for living quarters while those who are proved sufficiently prepared to go to a public school should go to public schools in that area of Chemawa during the daytime; return to Chemawa at night or after school; and that they also be maintained at Chemawa with a tutoring service in order to help them maybe with language problems to make better adjustments in the public schools.

Is that a fair conclusion?

Mr. Jim. That's a fair conclusion.

Senator Morse. And fourth and last, that Chemawa should also maintain classes for those Indian children coming from the Pacific Northwest who, because of special problems, are not prepared to succeed in a public school; that they should get their training at Chemawa, probably attending those classes in the public schools they are prepared to adjust to, but Chemawa should be supplemental educational school supporting the public schools by getting the children ready for public school education.

Is that a fair conclusion?

Mr. Jim. That's a fair conclusion.

Senator Morse. I don't know of a better witness I will ever have on Chemawa, because here is a graduate of Chemawa who's gone on and made an outstanding educational record, as your biographical material here shows, and may the Chair say to the official reporter, I'd like to have this document giving Mr. Jim's biographical background inserted at the beginning of his testimony.

As an alumnus of Chemawa, do you have any other recommendation to make to this committee as to what you would recommend in the way of changes at that school?

I want you to know that I have a very great interest in Chemawa. I am very proud of what Chemawa—under great handicaps—has done for many an Indian child.

I want this record to show my very high regard for the contribution that its faculty has made over the years. I have kept my eyes, so to speak, on Chemawa for a long time, and considering the handicaps and the difficulties which it has functioned under, I think it's made a remarkable record.

You are a good example of it, but I am not blind to the fact, and I am sure the administrators down there are not blind to the fact, that there is a great deal of improvement to be made if they could get the kind of support and the legislation is necessary to improve the offerings of the school.

Do you have anything more to say about what you would recommend to this committee that we should consider in regard to modifying the program at Chemawa?

Mr. JIM. I don't know the present condition of the school and I don't know the problems or where it can be, but I will read your article in regard to this, and talk to whoever is in charge of it, and I would like to reserve the right to provide additional information and suggestions for the record.

Senator MORSE. Let the record show that Mr. Jim, in consultation with others, will prepare for this committee a memorandum setting forth his suggestions for any changes that he wishes to recommend in the educational program at Chemawa. I would like to have you broaden it to include other Indian schools, so that we have a program that we can consider in connection with all Indian schools in the same category with Chemawa.

Thank you very much, Mr. Jim.

Mr. JIM. Thank you, sir.

Senator MORSE. Senator Yarborough?

Senator YARBOROUGH. Mr. Chairman, what year was the organization of Affiliated Tribes of Northwestern Indians formed?

Mr. JIM. I think it was formed in about 1947.

Senator YARBOROUGH. 1947. You were saying the oldest. You mean the oldest in modern times?

Mr. JIM. Yes.

Senator YARBOROUGH. You wouldn't suggest it was older than the Confederacy of the Six Nations in New York?

Mr. JIM. No. I mean of this organization.

Senator MORSE. Thank you, Mr. Jim. We would be happy to receive any supplemental information you may feel is pertinent to the record.

(The following information was subsequently received for the record:)

CONFEDERATED TRIBES AND BANDS,
YAKIMA INDIAN NATION,
Toppenish, Wash., July 15, 1968.

Re supplemental to public hearings of May 24, 1968, Portland, Oreg.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Acting Chairman, Special Subcommittee on Indian Education, Labor and Welfare Committee, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.:

First, in behalf of the Affiliated Tribes of Northwest Indians and the Yakima Tribe, let me express our regret at the loss of a friend—your Chairman—the late Robert F. Kennedy.

The supplemental statement will cover the two areas brought about by question of the Acting Chairman, Honorable Wayne Morse, United States Senator.

1. The relation to Indian education of the report by the Citizens Board of Inquiry in regard to hunger and malnutrition entitled "Hunger, U.S.A."
2. Recommendations for improvement of the Indian Boarding School at Chemawa, Oregon.

First in regard to nutrition and education, there can be no doubt about the positive correlation between success in school and proper diet. A hunger child cannot compete with a child receiving proper diet. Not only must every child have enough to eat, but it must be a properly balanced diet so that the entire body can develop and the child be healthy and happy.

In the publication "Hunger, U.S.A.", on page 8 of Introduction, I can see instances of each remark made relating to my reservation.

The Yakima Tribe would like to refer to page 9 of the above-mentioned report and request consideration of item 3 (lack of knowledge). We believe the day has come when we must have facts to adequately prepare programs.

In support of our last statement, I would refer to page 25 and the statement in the left hand column, the last four words in the bold heading "again data is sparse." In the area of food stamp programs its advantages and shortcomings, the Yakima Nation would support the "Proposals for Administrative Reform" on pages 66 and 67. We hope these fourteen points are given very close investigation and consideration.

On page 68, there is an item in the field of education and nutrition that we feel needs special mention and attention "school lunch programs". We note that a new study called "Their Daily Bread" will be out soon. Our Tribe has very definite opinions on school lunch problems but we feel at this time that we should study this report and make separate recommendations. At this time, we would like to go on record to investigate one part of the school lunch act "local school determination". This clause allows a school to do as they see fit or put it another way, to feed or not the poor of the districts. The entire school lunch program needs the immediate attention of all agencies concerned, and I refer back to our original statement "much more needs to be known."

We are very concerned about the problems of nutrition and education and we would request that the Yakima Tribe be kept informed of plans and progress in specifically the fields of research and in the report "Their Daily Bread."

The specific points from the report "Hunger, U.S.A." can only be appreciated if this study is considered in depth and applied. The viewpoint of this writer has brought out significant facts that can not be disregarded either by the United States Government, Congress or any representative group. Facts such as malnutrition during childhood can cause permanent brain damage and even if this malnutrition occurs when the mother is carrying the child it could deprive a child of up to ninety per cent of his future learning ability. This may explain why Indian children or any other child reared in hunger does not do well and never will do well in school. This alone would point out that programs or Omnibus bills, now before Congress, presuming to bring Indians out of their poverty and on to their feet in one generation, will not succeed. Hunger and malnutrition must be overcome first. Many Indians have returned from Relocation or other programs. This would in my estimation explain why tribes continuously argue they must maintain reservation systems for those who are unable to change their way of life.

Questions have been asked of the Yakima Tribe concerning their feelings on the future of Chemawa Indian School. The questions posed to the Tribe were in two areas. First, Chemawa as a preferential dormitory with the Indian children attending public school and second, our recommendations in upgrading the facilities of Chemawa.

We have lived with the State taking the responsibility for the education of our children. Placing our children in White-Anglo Saxon-Protestant oriented schools, to us does not meet the special needs our boarding school children have. As you are well aware, all of our children are placed in boarding schools because of numerous social reasons. We feel there would need to be many special education programs offered by the Public schools to meet our special needs. Are the public schools ready for this redirection? We doubt it.

If our children are re-admitted to Chemawa, we know we will still have students who could benefit from the larger offerings of the public school system. It is our thinking that those students who can function in this manner attend the public schools, but that the special programs provided at Chemawa school working to bring our children up to their grade level be retained. The ability of our children to function socially as well as academically without many changes in public schools, is of great concern to us. The difference in home background, finance, and school achievement would be areas we would have to carefully consider when thinking of public school education for our boarding school students.

Our recommendations for the upgrading of the Chemawa School can be stated very simply. As most of the present buildings now in use were constructed between 1901 and 1909, we recommend a new school be built to the east of the present site where land is already available. It is our feeling that this school should accommodate six hundred pupils from the northwest tribes. We would also recommend that the school be operated in the manner stated in our opening remarks on the type of education we feel our children need.

These are the supplemental recommendations and would extend our appreciation to the Special Subcommittee for their time.

ROBERT B. JIM,
Chairman, Yakima Tribal Council.

Senator MORSE. We will now call Bruce A. Wilkie, president of the Intertribal Council of Western Washington Indians and executive director, Makah Indian Tribe, and chairman of the education committee, Neah Bay, Wash. He is a 1962 graduate of the University of Puget Sound, Tacoma, Wash.; major, psychology and history.

Delighted to have you. You may proceed in your own way.

STATEMENT OF BRUCE A. WILKIE, PRESIDENT, INTERTRIBAL COUNCIL OF WESTERN WASHINGTON INDIANS; EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, MAKAH INDIAN TRIBE; CHAIRMAN, EDUCATION COMMITTEE, NEAH BAY, WASH.

Mr. WILKIE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I would like to express my appreciation for the opportunity to share with you today some small amount of information pertinent to the educational needs of our American Indian people here in the Northwest.

I was born and raised on Makah Indian Reservation and returned there after a short tour of educational quest off the reservation, and I had the pleasure of working with the honorable Senator from Oregon in 1964, I believe, in attempting to get the Sand Point Naval Air Station established as an Indian school in Astoria, Oreg., which, unfortunately, didn't materialize. And we do, certainly, Senator Morse, appreciate your efforts at this time.

We would also like to inform you that the Indian tribal governments today are seriously concerned about the educational problems facing American Indians throughout the country.

The lack of educational opportunities are far-reaching, from Alaska to the Southwest. Oftentimes there are not schools available to provide an opportunity for Indian children to attend, and in the heavily urbanized and growing Northwest areas in Seattle, Portland, Bellingham, Tacoma, we find the highest dropout rate which exists in any area of the United States today.

This condition is brought about most seriously as a result of cultural clash, clash that confronts the Indian students as they venture into public school.

Possibly this condition is not really entirely the fault of the American Indian. This condition exists because of the physical needs of the American Indian.

How can, for instance, an Indian student compete in a public institution where the average income, perhaps, would be from $6,000 to $7,000 a year, when the family income of which he came would be possibly $1,500 a year.

I want to point out here that the American Indian student is not accustomed to high competition. He is a nonparticipant in our general society, and therefore, we refer to the dropout as a "pushout."

Sometimes different attitudes of teachers and administrative personnel at a public school have a great effect on this "pushout" rate.

In western Washington, for instance, we have a "pushout" rate as high as 100 percent in some schools, and have rarely lower than 60 percent.

The Northwest Indians were pushed out of Chemawa in 1948, I believe, and then pushed into public schools, and then pushed out again.

The problem facing us mutually, since we are both concerned with the educational opportunities for Indian students, is that this rate is on the increase. It's not improving, and chances are that it won't improve until we, together, seriously consider improving the conditions under which the Indian students are educated. The social stigma which often labels an Indian student in public schools seriously injures his educational progress. The effect on the mental health of these students is staggering.

In some areas in western Washington, we have experienced, in a small community of perhaps 500 people, 15 suicide attempts. I believe 10 of them were successful, and these involved students between the ages of 14 and 20.

We often wonder perhaps if pride, an integral part of Indian life, is sometimes threatened.

The effect on the community, as you can well understand, is not a very pretty picture. The Indian community has, for a little over a hundred years, suffered under the threat of being entirely wiped out from time to time, either by coercion or total removal to other areas.

One may ask oneself, can an Indian community survive in today's highly competitive society—general society—and I would say that the Indian people have the best chance of any ethnic group of surviving.

The question is how we survive. Are we to, because of the lack of educational opportunities here in the Northwest, survive with an infant mortality rate of six times the national average, and an average life span of 38 years of age and an unemployment rate as high as 50 percent or more in western Washington?

I think together, honorable Senators, if we take a good comprehensive look at the problem, and Indians look at this problem in practical terms, that together we can provide an opportunity for the Indian youngster to gain the type of information, type of education that we need to make a continuing, solid Indian community, contributing to the general society in a practical manner.

The problem with Federal Indian schools today, in our terms, is very practical. Federal Indian schools are not governed or not counseled by a school board. If the Federal Indian school is to be constructed or increased, it should have at least Indian representation governing the school or passing along pertinent and available information to the administrators in that school.

In other words, what is wrong with having Indian school boards for Federal Indian schools? Then that way, in that manner, the school would get a continuous flow of information from the Indian community.

The problems faced in discipline and curriculum and other areas of education in Federal schools would be lessons of a great degree of value. The whole area of Federal Indian education, Federal Indian school systems, we feel, in this great country of ours, is a sham.

We feel that, by God, if we're going to have a Federal Indian school system, it should be the best in the world, and if it isn't the best in the world, then these conditions I have set forth for you today will not be alleviated.

Until this Federal school system, which is the only one in the country, is improved to a point so that we offer our Indian people the best educational opportunity the country has to offer, the conditions that we are faced with today will not be alleviated.

I just want to add that all the Federal aids to education, which are important to the educational opportunities of the American Indian student, should be increased. I think more attention should be paid to them—Public Law 89-10, Johnson-O'Malley Act, Neighborhood Youth Corps, the antipoverty programs, Headstart programs and community action programs. The volume of people should be taken into consideration and should lead to increases of appropriations and concern.

The problem facing the Indian tribal leadership and, I believe, Members of Congress today, is that, is it moral to permit conditions such as these to exist?

Certainly, if we can conduct ourselves in the fashion that this country is based on, with serious considerations for our youth, Indian tribes are willing to respond. Indian people are willing to respond to educational opportunities, but they just need a chance.

We just need a chance to respond, and we'd like that opportunity to respond. Every Indian individual, family unit, and tribe, wants the chance to respond, wants the chance to get out there and get a good education in a good Federal Indian school, the best Federal Indian school, and then, and only then, will the Indian student return to the reservation and make that opportunity a model we can all be proud of.

I want to thank you for the opportunity, and again express my appreciation for the honorable Senators' interest in the field that is important to us all.

Senator MORSE. Mr. Wilkie, your testimony has just been powerful. I don't know any better way to describe it. Senator Yarborough?

Senator YARBOROUGH. Mr. Wilkie, I associate myself with the remarks of Senator Morse. It has been powerful testimony.

I notice you majored in psychology and history, and being a major in psychology, you, of course, understand well the pride of the Indians, and I think that's something that our Nation and our economy should aid the community in maintaining. I think that this should be a great source of pride to us, the Indian pride.

We know that the Spaniards attempted to enslave the Indians in Cuba and Puerto Rico, and the Indians were utterly exterminated because they would die rather than be a slave. You know, they couldn't enslave Indians. They perished due to their pride, and we know that when Cortes conquered Mexico, they had terrible battles there. There were many killed the first year after the conquest. More Aztecs died when they realized that they had lost their liberty and independence. They died, perished in the terrible battles of the Spanish siege of Mexico City. People starved to death and died before they would surrender.

So I think this history has shown that the Indians will not give up, and our society should work out an accommodation so that an Indian can retain the pride he has. I think it's something of value, instead of something to be rolled under in our civilization.

Coming from a rural family, I have some slight understanding of it. My people came to this country in 1650, and until this generation, they had all been farmers and out on the farms in the rural areas.

We had a certain contempt for those who went into the cities and went to work for three times as much. He was working for somebody else, and they stay on the farm with far less income because he was his own boss. He was his own man, and the rural areas of America had some of that feeling before mechanization had driven them into the cities.

I hope with mechanization we don't drive all of you into the cities and cause you to either perish or lose that pride. We should work and help you, and you have pointed out this problem here.

Will you let me ask you, under the present system, do the Indian parents have any way to express their views on education of their children or are they serving on school boards? Do they have representation? I don't mean you as a tribal representative, but the parents out where the children go to school?

Mr. WILKIE. Well, in most cases in public schools, or near reservations, no. I would say that the Indian point of view is not really represented.

Senator YARBOROUGH. You are not permitted to have trustees, special persons to represent that community?

Mr. WILKIE. Well, in a few cases there are Indian representatives on school boards, but usually the balance of voting power is against him. In other words, we might have one Indian representative and four non-Indian representatives.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Well, Mr. Wilkie, with your terrifically powerful statement, in a few minutes you raised many questions that I know Senator Morse would like to ask about and I would like to ask about, but in the interests of time and the number of other witnesses, I will forego mine, except for one question: What is the size of the Makah Reservation now? How many Makahs are there, and how many——

Mr. WILKIE. Approximately 1,000 Makah Indians and the reservation is 30,000 acres.

Senator YARBOROUGH. How much?

Mr. WILKIE. 30,000 acres. Of course, we aren't accustomed much to living on land. Our living is from the sea, so we can say our reservation extends——

Senator YARBOROUGH. You are probably the original whalers of the Pacific Northwest.

Mr. WILKIE. Yes.

Senator YARBOROUGH. How far back did that go in tribal history? Was that recent or was that far back?

Mr. WILKIE. Robert Jim says they are 13,000 years old. I think we might be 15,000 years old.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Well, originally, was yours the only great whaling tribe of the Pacific? It was the foremost one, wasn't it?

Mr. WILKIE. That's true.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Was it the only one?

Mr. WILKIE. Only one in this country.

Senator **Yarborough.** In this country, predominantly where the occupation was capturing whales?

Mr. **Wilkie.** Yes, that's true.

Senator **Yarborough.** I won't explore this. It's too intriguing, Mr. Chairman. Time is so short.

I'd like to visit with you sometime, Mr. Wilkie.

Mr. **Wilkie.** Thank you.

Senator **Morse.** Mr. Wilkie, I'd like to make a suggestion for two supplemental memorandums, if you will prepare them for us, because I think your insights will be very helpful to us on both of these points:

I wish you would prepare a supplemental memorandum in which you describe the public school situation in your own community; then note the problems which are involved in that public school situation. You have covered it to a degree in your testimony, but I think a formally prepared memorandum in which you set down for us here your comments about the public school situation in your own community, your suggestions as to how it should be improved, the problem that faces Indian children, why those problems create the "pushout" rate to which you have referred, would be helpful to the committee.

One of the things confronting us in the Congress, because of the problem we have of applying the Supreme Court's decision of 1954 and the Civil Rights Act of 1964, is the constant charge by those who aren't too anxious to have the Civil Rights Act of 1964 applied in schools, where there are many Negro children, is that we don't seem to be concerned about similar problems with Indian children.

And it will be very helpful to us if you would give us a memorandum which advises us as to what you think, on the basis of your background and knowledge, needs to be done on the problem of Indian children in connection with public schools; for the drive in Congress, as you know from the debates, is that we ought to do something about integrating Indian children to a greater degree in public schools.

Take, for example, the District of Columbia. Senator Yarborough knows I am chairman of the Subcommittee of the District of Columbia Affairs, which has jurisdiction over the schools of the District of Columbia.

Well, 92 percent of the children in the public schools in the District of Columbia are Negro, and many of the children from white families go to private schools, but down in the grade school level in the District of Columbia—you will be shocked to learn this—but this happens to be a statistical fact—in many of those grade schools, by the time the Negro child gets through sixth grade, he or she just has a fourth grade education.

By the time they get through eighth grade, if they don't drop out before eighth grade, they fall a little short of a sixth grade education, between a fifth and sixth grade education, which means that you are cutting them out of any opportunity of going to high school.

In a standard high school, they can't compete successfully scholastically, and so we are putting on a terrific drive in the Capital City to upgrade those schools where you have this tremendous proportion of Negro boys and girls. There are areas of Washington, D.C., where there isn't a white child in the school, because there are no white families living within the school district.

So we have this lag. It goes back to what Mr. Jim was talking about, the relationship of the family to the school. Unless you have a family which can supplement the teaching in the school, then the child of that family is handicapped in the school.

Well, I assume that there is this problem in connection with Indian children going into public schools, but you are a better witness than I am on the subject, and therefore, I ask you if you would be willing to prepare for us a memorandum on this general subject matter.

Mr. **Wilkie**. Yes, I certainly will.

Senator **Morse**. And then I'd like to also have another memorandum—in the interests of time, I am going to have to do it this way—in which you prepare for us, compile for us, some statistics on the "pushout" rates for the various Indian tribes in western Washington.

I think this dropout problem, not only in regard to Indian children, but Puerto Rican children, Mexican American children, Negro children, is one of the greatest problems that confronts us in this educational crisis in this country. We've got to do something about this dropout rate or, as you say, this "pushout" rate.

I wish you'd give the committee the benefit of the research that you can do. You can get people to help you with it, I'm sure.

I'd like to have a memorandum compiling the "pushout" rate for all the western Washington tribes.

Thank you very, very much.

(These memorandums not yet received when these hearings went to press.)

Senator **Morse**. Senator Yarborough, anything further?

Senator **Yarborough**. I'd just like to say to you, Mr. Wilkie, and to others representing the Indians, that the testimony I am hearing, the problems are very similar to that of the Mexican Americans in my State, where the children come there from Spanish-speaking homes. They go into school where English only is spoken. They are prohibited from speaking Spanish or any other language than English.

They go back home. Their parents don't speak English. They learned a national language. They speak their mother tongue, Spanish, and it creates a psychological barrier between the parent and the child, causes problems in the home.

The result is that in my State, nearly 11 million people, a million six hundred thousand being Mexican Americans, a hundred thousand Negroes, level of education is this, what they call the Anglo-white, average between 11 an 12 years of schooling. The Negroes between 8 and 9 years of schooling; Mexican Americans, the second largest ethnic group, 4.7 years of schooling. The average Mexican American gets half as much as the average Negro because of what we call the dropout, but I think your langauge is more descriptive of it, the "pushout," and I have been struck with the similarity of the problem which those children from the Mexican American homes, though they have been assimilating into our culture, as ranchers and on farms for a long time, still educationally have not been, and the problem has existed for over a hundred years, and under the leadership of Senator Morse authorizing the free issue of the bilingual educational subcommittee, we think we are moving on that problem at last, after a hundred-year lag.

Of course, in the case of the Indians, it's been several hundred years. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator MORSE. Thank you, Senator.

Mr. WILKIE. May I respond briefly?

Senator MORSE. Yes. You certainly may.

Mr. WILKIE. Many Indian tribes, all Indian tribes, feel very threatened that Congress may discontinue the Federal Indian school system altogether sometime in the future.

I think if Congress does this, Congress will be admitting defeat in its effort of educating the student, so I want to thank you for the opportunity.

Senator MORSE. We thank you.

Now our next witness will be Stanley Smartlowit. Will you please come up to the stand?

Mr. Smartlowit is a high school graduate. He took two short courses at Washington State College, was in the Army 4 years, boarding school 2 years, tribal council 14 years, member of BoyScouts, American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Yakima Valley Council for Community Action; area vice president, NCAI.

He is also chairman of the tribal education committee.

Delighted to have you with us. You may proceed in your own way.

STATEMENT OF STANLEY SMARTLOWIT, CHAIRMAN OF EDUCATION COMMITTEE, YAKIMA RESERVATION

Mr. SMARTLOWIT. Thank you.

Mr. Chairman, Senators, with the permission of the chairman, I'd like to invite some of the delegation I had invited to come along to give me moral support on this exhibit.

Senator MORSE. Delighted to have them give the committee support. You don't need any support, but they can give the committee support.

Mr. SMARTLOWIT. I'd like to call on Mr. Dell, superintendent of Wapato School District; Victor Anderson, superintendent of Mount Adams School District. We have Conrad Potter, chairman, education center, from Washington State College.

We also have Harvey Adams, a member of the education committee here with us.

Senator MORSE. Gentlemen, please come forward. We are pleased to have you, as you know.

Mr. SMARTLOWIT. Mr. Chairman, we, too, want to thank you for the opportunity today to speak on behalf of the education of our Indian children. These men I have to my right are very concerned about education of our most valuable resource, the human resource, and as we introduce our exhibits, I will call your attention to the exhibits that these gentlemen would be concerned with.

To start with, I am speaking of 1,625 Yakima Indian students. One hundred of them have been to boarding schools. We have 1,447 in four school districts in Yakima Valley, and we have 78 in post-high school education. This is colleges, universities, and vocational training.

We of the Yakima Tribal Council, and particularly on the education committee, were concerned about our attendance. When we don't have the body in school, there is not much you can do toward educating them.

We started the study in 1960 and 1961, and asked the cooperation of the four school districts in the Yakima Valley to give us 20-day reports on each of our Indian students.

In 1960, our children were going to school 80 percent of the time.

Seven, 8 years later, this has been raised to 92.

In the first 140 days of this school year, it has dropped down again to 89. This is due to the fact that when the school attendance percentage was raised, we had VISTA people working on our reservation. They made the home visitations that we of the members of the tribal council are notable to do because, as was pointed out by Mr. Jim here, we are always fighting fires, and we don't spend too much time being concerned about our children who are not in school.

Since VISTA has left us, this is the reason for our drop in school attendance, and I would like to introduce here exhibit I, and this has to do with our attendance records.

Senator Morse. It will be inserted in the record at this point as exhibit I, dealing with the attendance record of the schools covered by the witness' testimony.

(The exhibit referred to follows:)

EXHIBIT I.—SCHOOL YEAR, 1967–68, 140 DAYS

School district	Enrollment	Percent of attendance
Toppenish	356	89
Granger	120	88
Mount Adams	455	90
Wapato	516	90
Total	1,447	89
Grades 1 to 8:		
Toppenish	298	90
Wapato	435	91
Mount Adams	345	91
Granger	81	85
Total	1,159	89
Grades 9 to 12:		
Toppenish	58	84
Mount Adams	110	88
Granger	39	86
Wapato	81	85
Total	288	86

Mr. Smartlowit. Then to further go on with education, I think that you will note that we are asking for education from our child who might start in Headstart kindergarten all the way up to adult, and we don't care how old they are. We're still concerned about their education.

At the present time, we are only covering half of the reservations in our adult education programs. We'd like to do this with the whole reservation, but because of staffing, we are not able to serve all the people we are concerned about, and this I will introduce here, exhibit II, and I think that we are concerned about here, we are talking about the children from the time they start school until they finish high school, 12 years, and I'd like to report here that our seniors are graduating now, their grade point average is 1.76, which is not too strong.

We have the problems of dropouts, and I think that as we go down further, we have many problems.

I am sure that will be covered and has been covered by other witnesses here.

Senator MORSE. It will be received in the record at this point as exhibit II, and the exhibit offered by the witness is entitled "Education and Welfare Report, 1966–67."

(The exhibit referred to follows:)

EXHIBIT II

EDUCATION-WELFARE REPORT, 1966–67

EDUCATION-WELFARE

I. Drop Outs: This report on drop outs will cover the first one hundred and forty school days of school year 1966–67.

All four districts providing education services for the Indian children of the reservation have high schools. Of the four districts Granger, is the only one who have no drop outs among its Indian students. Following is an analysis of the three districts having drop outs:

A. Mt. Adams School District, White Swan, Washington

This is an 8–4 school system with a high school enrollment from grades 9 to 12 with 94 Indian students. As of the end of the seventh reporting period, we have had 24 drop outs from the senior high school. This drop out figure represents 25.5% of the total school Indian enrollment. We feel that it is significant that of the ninety-four Indian students enrolled in high school eleven will graduate as of this date.

B. Toppenish School District

This is a six, three, three district and our drop out figure will cover the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth years of school.

In the upper three years of school in Toppenish, there are thirty-one Indian students enrolled. As of the end of the seventh reporting period (140 days) there has been eleven drop outs.

To date, through drop outs, we have lost 35.4% of the entire Indian student body in this district. The entire school has an enrollment of 352 Indian students in all grades. This year only three will graduate from high school. Only one is an enrolled Yakima. The graduates average grade point is 1.80. One student has possibilities for further education, the other two are very doubtful.

C. Wapato School District

Wapato district is a six, three, three district and this portion of the drop out figure will cover grades ten, eleven, and twelve.

As of this time there have been 48 Indian students enrolled. To date, we have had seven drop outs which is 14.58% of the total Indian enrollment. This is the largest school district serving the reservation with a total enrollment of 446 in the entire school system. Of the 446 students enrolled, we will have six seniors graduating. The graduating seniors have a grade point average of 1.90.

The total enrollment of Indian students in the three districts is 173. Of these, in the first 140 days, we lost 43 students. This is 24.8% of the entire Indian student body. In the same three school districts, in the seventh, eighth, and ninth grades, we have an additional seventeen drop outs making the total for the reporting period fifty-nine. It is the feeling of the staff, concerned with this problem, that we have the reporting system to point up their problems. We feel that our deficiencies is in our inability to work with these children before the situation is beyond help, due to the size of the problems and the lack of staff.

II. Attendance: On the Yakima Reservation we had a total enrollment in the four districts, last school year of one thousand three hundred eighteen students.

A year ago we were fortunate enough to have Mr. and Mrs. John Stormont (VISTAS) assigned as home visitation people working on attendance problems. This couple were very highly qualified and made over 800 visitations explaining education, what it means to the student when school is missed, and working with various agency branches in working out problems that prevent students from having regular attendance. This program has had to be discontinued this year, as the services of these people have been lost to us and no suitable VISTA replacement was found.

Because of the loss of our visitation program, in examining our graphs, almost without exception in the seventeen schools that report to us each twenty days, we see a decrease in attendance in the elementary school, as well as, the high schools. For this report we will concentrate on the figures of the three high schools used in the drop out report.

The White Swan High School has had 88.0% attendance. Each Indian high school student is out of school on the average of 12% of the time. Over a 180 day school year, this would project to 21 days per year. Educators and specialists whom we have consulted, say five days per year is critical. Our poor achievement in grade and high school and to be able to be properly prepared for life.

The Toppenish School District in the three upper grades has an attendance figure of 85% or an average of 15% of the time out of schol for every enrolled Indian student. For the 180 day school year this would mean twenty-seven school days missed on the average for each student.

As in all school districts, we are faced in this one with social promotion in the grade school years. Our Indian children do not need less time in the classroom to compete but more time in class than their fellow students.

At the Wapato School District, for the first 140 days, we have an attendance figure of 87% or 13% of the time out of school for the average Indian high school student. If we were to project this rate for a 180 day school year, we would have an average days absence for each Indian child of 23.4 days.

We cannot anticipate any improvement without an incrase in services to work with the many problems that make up the total reason for these very dismal figures. When we refer to reasons, we include school attitudes, home conditions, low achievement, lack of study opportunities, distance from libraries, etc. All of these areas need a concentrated effort for the good of the student.

III. Scholastic Achievement: The scholastic achievement of the boys and girls of this reservation in the public schools, is a problem that should be of great concern to everyone involved in Indian education. We do not have the total picture on achievement available to us as we do the attendance picture. At this time, some facts are known that we believe need to be brought out. Two years ago our largest high school was studied and at that time, we found the average Indian student was a "D" student. In recent years, we have found difficulty in placing our seniors in such schools as Haskell Institute or even AVT schools because of their low grade transcripts.

On the Yakima Reservation this year, we have twenty-three graduating seniors. At the present time the senior class has a grade point average of 1.99. Of these twenty-three seniors, thirteen are two points, or better and none are above 2.75. The remaining ten are under two points, some at 1.1 and 1.3, and the placement of these students is very difficult in such programs as Haskell Institute, AVT, scholarships or grants.

We see in the transcripts of our students both in public schools and adult education programs that a great deal of social promotion is taking place. A case in point is a sixth grade boy failing all subjects but a "D" in art, and his mother was told he will pass on to the next grade, even though she is against it. If this type of indifference continues, it is very hard to see how the type of improvement we are seeking can be accomplished.

Although this will be covered under its own heading in this report, we have at this time in one eighth grade class twenty-eight Indian students enrolled. Of these twenty-eight students, twenty-one are non-readers. This type of statistic is available on hundreds of our students on the Yakima Reservation. It will be very intesting to see how many of these eighth graders complete high school. We feel, if we, with our present programs, see five of these twenty-eight through, we will be very fortunate.

A great deal of the problem of poor accomplishment with our children is in the area of achievement. This is due to the lack of pre-schools and kindergartens. The existing home conditions of our children place them one to two or more years behind when they enter the first grade. Any child with a slow start in school, socially promoted, and with a poor achievement record, must go to school each day and eagerly await his sixteenth birthday or the completion of his eighth year so that he may remove himself from a life of constant failure.

These are remedies to these problems for the Indian child, through programs designed especially to meet them. The programs must also go beyond the school day. With an improvement in public schools in realizing and meeting these problems, we will still be faced with a need to provide the schools with a great many supporting services.

IV. Dalles Dam Minor's Trust and the Yakima Nation Tribal Scholarship Program: At the present time the Yakima Nation has a Minor's Trust fund valued at $5,678,847.58. Youth who are entitled to these funds may apply for educational expenses from the ninth through post high school. The youngest of those eligible for trust funds are now fourth graders. If we are to make progress in Indian education for the Yakima Reservation, we have eight years before the trust funds are depleted. Unless there is a complete reversal in the economic picture on the reservation by that time, it will be financially impossible for the majority of Indian students to go to high school. If the current achievement rate continues, it would not be practical to expect Grants or AVT to take up the programs which we will lose when the Trust is no more. The Trust now supplies all of the money needed for high school and leaves a good sum for further education beyond high school.

The Tribal Scholarship Program at this time, provides $35,000 per year for scholarships. When Trust funds are no longer available the need for scholarships will decrease, due to the lack of candidates qualifying for Higher Education.

We have at the present time, available funds for a large percentage of children to complete their education. We hope that in the next eight years, we can educate the children so that they will become responsible parents. Then their children will complete school because they are able through their training to provide for their children.

V. Needs on the Reservation: As this report points out, we have many education and social problems on the Yakima Reservation. One of the greatest concerns of our office is meeting the needs of our Indian people with our present staff. We realize that progress will be minimal unless a change can be made. We have seen J.O.M. funds, 89–10 funds come to the schools of the reservation for some time. We feel that the increase of these funds would not attack the total education or social problems that are facing us.

Together with the problem we have outlined herein, we also have proven programs that, if expanded, could help improve our situation. We do not feel all problems could be solved, but we do feel that the 30% success and 70% failure could be reversed. Hopefully, the Bureau program of 90% high school completion could be realized.

To start this program we would request a conference to construct a program for an education specialist, school social worker, and an Indian Aid for each of the four areas of the reservation. When the problem is investigated and the program prepared, a request for Title III funding under the Elementary Secondary Education Act, PL 89–10, or other special project funding should be investigated.

READING PROBLEMS

I. Reading Gap: Our recent survey of reading achievement for Indian children on the Yakima Reservation exposes an academic weakness which alone is destroying the educational future of at least one out of every three Indian children on this reservation. There are 123 Indian children enrolled in the eighth grade at local public schools. Thirty-three per cent or 41 of these children are reading from two to six grades below the median level of their present grade. The severe retardation, which shows up in every grade, increases without exception at each succeeding grade. The attached graph show's an extreme growth in the reading gap from the fourth grade to the fifth grade and from the seventh to the eighth grade.

II. Sample Group: The sample group represented on the attached graph includes only Indian students whom we could identify as the most extremely retarded, taking into consideration their chronological age. Our criteria for identifying these students had to be flexible because students at lower grades did not have as wide a retardation gap as those in the higher grades. For instance, in the third grade we chose students who were one year or more behind their present grade considering both reading scores and chronological age. In selecting our sample eighth grade students we took only those who were two or more years retarded, considering both their reading scores and chronological age.

III. Age Factor: The reading level gap for this sample group as it is pictured on the graph does not show the age factor but only the distance between the reading achievement and the grade where the student is actually placed in school. If we were to calculate the gap between their reading level and the grade these students should be in according to their chronological age we would see an even greater retardation factor.

IV. Less Retarded Readers: There are many other Indian students not represented on the attached graph who are seriously behind in reading. Their reading problem combined with other problems Indian children face in a public school situation will help to crush any hope of a high school diploma.

V. Hope: Most of these children can learn to read. A local principal told us two years ago that a certain sixth grade Indian boy who was reading at low first grade level would never learn to read. We did our best to help this young men through supplementary reading programs for two years. The actual time we spent with him was relatively small. At the beginning of the school year, his eighth grade, this same boy measured at the fourth month of fifth grade reading level, a growth of four academic years.

VI. Obvious Solution: The obvious solution is more intensive and enlightened developmental and remedial reading programs. Someone must initiate these programs immediately. The longer we hesitate the more children we are destroying. You may ask, "Is this not the responsibility of the local school districts? The answer is, yes." However, we are talking about who is going to do it, not who should do it. Unfortunately small, isolated school districts on the Indian reservations do not attract the best teachers and administrators. Also school boards in these reservation towns are normally made up of people with very narrow, localized viewpoints unsympathetic to Indian needs. Local community action groups might be the next consideration, but here they are yet in the organizational stages unable to offer an effective program, and perhaps too unstable to attempt a program which must follow through for years to come.

The only organization we know which is interested enough, stable enough, and financially big enough to wage war against this reading problem is the Bureau of Indian Affairs. No doubt, there are priorities involved. But what type of priority is it that pours thousands of dollars into management of physical resources on the Yakima Reservation and gives relatively little importance to developing the mentally under-nourished human resource which must someday begin to manage itself and its own physical resources? Certainly this is a priority which puts the cart before the horse.

VII. Proposals: Here are some proposals. We need at least two reading specialists with funds to hire and train aids. These people could run supplementary reading programs in the summer, in the evenings, and possibly in the schools themselves. Johnson-O'Malley funds could help upgrade reading programs in schools only if the Indian agency could oversee the school's use of these funds.

Experience has shown that the Johnson-O'Malley funds appropriated to our local schools have been entirely ineffective.

Those reading this report that have decisive authority in granting its requests will, we hope, ponder the awful consequences of a negative response.

Reading handicaps alone will continue to eliminate at least one-third of our children from any chance of obtaining the educational level necessary for a productive life. For at least another one-third of our children, reading handicaps will be the straw that broke the camel's back. In both cases the product is the same, an unemployed, socially maladjusted human being.

PRIMARY EDUCATION

I. The Need: We are concerned, here, with primary education on the Yakima Reservation. We believe that the major need in the primary area is for a full academic year for both four and five year olds in pre-school. We believe this for two major reasons.

First, there is widespread cultural, physical and emotional deprivation of Indian children on the reservation. This has resulted in a very high percentage of Indian children entering the first grade who are not yet ready to do first grade work.

For example, we found that of the forty-two first graders enrolled in White Swan, eighteen were declared not ready for first grade level work on the basis of teacher evaluation and readiness test. Of the twenty-six children in our kindergarten in White Swan, all but five tested below average in their development.

This, of course, leads to unsatisfactory progress and together with social promotion, begins the under achievement spiral. Each successive year the child begins a little farther behind with less chance of success and reward, until the point is reached where his only escape from the frustration is to drop out.

Secondly, it is the first six years of a child's life that are the most important learning years. Effective programs here can be the most economical and efficient.

In a situation of limited resources, we argue that it is critical to assign top priority to work at this level.

II. The Situation at Present: We can estimate that there are approximately 140 children who are four years old and 140 who are five years old among the Indian population of this reservation. Of these numbers, there are now approximately 64 enrolled in kindergarten and 20 enrolled in pre-kindergarten programs. However, these figures do not show the full impact of the problem. Most of these children are enrolled in the Wapato area which has a very complete and untypical program for pre-school children. The district has one full year of kindergarten and one full year of pre-kindergarten available through the Head Start program. Most of the resident Indian population is outside this district and consequently cannot enroll children. Moreover, the White Swan Community Indian Kindergarten is a one year program staffed by VISTA Volunteers and there is no guarantee that such a program will exist next year.

Summer Head Start programs are at this date planned for Toppenish (funded) and White Swan (not yet funded). These programs, in our opinion, have very seriously reduced effectiveness because they last only two and one-half months. Therefore, next year we can expect an enrollment in the first grade of only four or five children who have had a year's pre-school experience out of the 226 children living outside the Wapato School District.

III. Recommendations: The most satisfactory solution would be for the other school districts to follow the lead of Wapato and institute full year kindergarten and Head Start programs. We must continue to encourage the other school districts to emulate Wapato's efforts in pre-school training.

The only way we can foresee a professional level pre-school system, without them being established by the school districts, is for the Bureau to operate kindergartens and Head Start winter programs.

VISTA Volunteers could be brought in to establish cooperative kindergartens. This would put an extra burden of supervision on the Agency Education Staff. Moreover a calculated risk is involved in that the quality of teaching would vary year by year as new volunteers entered the program. These are some of the possible ways to provide a workable pre-school system.

We recommend that renewed effort be made to convince the school systems to provide kindergartens; to see the establishment of nine months Head Start programs for the four year olds at all districts on the reservation; that cooperative kindergartens, staffed by VISTA Volunteers, be established at White Swan, Toppenish, and Satus. Finally, that an Education Specialist be assigned to the agency to work in the area of elementary education.

EDUCATION-WELFARE

I. Problems of Public School Students: Initially, as a supplement to the overall report on the educational problems of the students on the Yakima Reservation and specifically the 60 students who have dropped out of school, the Branch of Social Services intended to write a brief summary on each student. This approach, although illustrative, is not feasible because of the time required to prepare a concise diagnostic summary on each student. There would be little to be gained by the repetition of individual case situations, however, selective summaries will be used to describe particular problems facing these students. The problems facing our young people on the Yakima Reservation have been pointed out in previous reports, both from the Branch of Education and the Branch of Social Services.

A. It is difficult to assess whether problems involving our young people are increasing or whether it is due to the fact that many of us working in the field are becoming more aware of these problems as a result of our contacts with people. The problems of family disorganization and its attendant problems facing the students such as irregular attendance, being away from home, use of alcoholic beverages, continue to plague us. These young people appear to be restless and seeking a change, however, there is no direction being given to channel this restlessness; in a more positive way. In many instances with these young people there is dissatisfaction with their home situation but also the feeling of helplessness, that they can do little to change matters, their only avenues seem to be escape. They fail to realize, however, that their running away from home only creates more problems rather than providing them with any security or stability. The agency created to provide servcies to young people encountering difficulties such as this, in our case the Yakima County Juvenile Court, feels at a loss to know what to do for these children. It appears many times all that happens is that the children are picked up, lodged in a detention home for a brief period and then released back to their parents, the same situation from which they came.

Due to the limitations in staff of the Yakima County Juvenile Probation Department, they are unable to provide services to many of the children who come to their attention. They have six juvenile probation officers to provide services to the entire Yakima County due to their staffing pattern and the limitations of their budget, the Yakima County Juvenile Probation Department views its services as one of planning for children once a legal determination of their status has been made by the juvenile court. They do not feel that they should become an investigative agency and that this is a function for law enforcement officials. Nor can they, because of staff limitations, provide follow-up services to children who are declared to be dependent. This classification of dependent children as presently defined includes many of the acts which involve our Indian youth. Such things as running away, violation of curfew, minor in possession or incorrigibility, constitute many of the problems that bring our children before the juvenile court. As a result the juvenile probation officers usually call upon the agency staff to carry out the function of following up with these children once they have been released from custody. This request for follow-up services has never been done on a formal basis of referral from the juvenile probation department. This semi-formal form of referral is an area of concern and one that needs to be clarified and some guidelines established. However, the more basic problem is the fact that by the definition of service from the juvenile probation department and the inadequate staff at this agency, intensive follow-up with these children becomes almost impossible. This situation is perhaps best illustrated in the case of Patty S.

Patty comes from a family of 13 children, nine of whom are still in the home. The S. family became known to the Branch of Social Services approximately a year ago when one of the older boys made application to attend federal boarding school. It was learned at that time that several of the children had been placed with relatives because of the inadequate living conditions of the family. The home that they were occupying at that time did not provide enough room for that many children. Their son, Benny, had been staying with his grandmother but had returned to the family and was exhibiting behavior problems which the family was unable to control. He attended boarding school for two years but has since returned because the school was unable to work with him. Early in the school year Patricia developed a pattern of being tardy to her classes. As the year progressed she began skipping classes with two or three other girls from Harrah school. It was some time before the family learned that Patricia was skipping school but the pattern continued. At the point the family had learned about her skipping school, Patty would then skip class but instead of returning home she would go to stay with one of her girlfriends and would be gone for periods of two or three days. The family would find her and would return her home but they were unsuccessful in their attempt to solve the problem. Patty began leaving home in the evenings on the pretense of going to a dance or party and then not return home. It also developed that there was a problem of glue sniffing involved.

Because of her excessive absences and other problems, Mr. Elmer Kimm, the Principal at Harrah School, did not feel that he could continue to cope with Patty's problems and a transfer was arranged to White Swan School to try to break up some undesirable peer group relationships which had developed. This did not break the pattern of Patty's leaving home and Mrs. S. contacted the worker regarding the possibility of Patty attending boarding school. Worker did submit an application, however, it was returned. Consideration was being given to resubmitting the application but in the interim Patty again ran away from home and involved in a minor accident and car theft. She was finally brought before the juvenile court for a hearing and was sent to the Cascadian Diagnostic Center for evaluation and then transfer to an appropriate institution. With the demands made upon the child welfare worker at the agency it was not possible to offer intensive case work service to them. There was no guarantee that such services would have wrought any great change in the situation, however, by the same token, there was no indication that if such services had been offered that it might have been possible for Patty to remain in the home.

B. A second factor in validating the use of the summary approach regarding these 60 students who dropped out of our local high school is the fact that 60% or 36 of these students or their families are unknown or little known to the Social Services Branch or Education Branch of this agency.

The case of Kathy E. presents a vivid illustration of the problems encountered by students who are relatively unknown to either branches of the agency. In this case no request for service was made of the agency and because of the nature of the mother's employment adequate plans were made to help the girl. Until this year there was no reason for the school to be particularly concerned with Kathy. Her attendance had always been good. Her grades were average and above. She was described as being one of the "better" Indian students at White Swan High School. Kathy's parents are reasonably adequate and no problems have been apparent in the past. Her father is in poor health. Her mother works as a receptionist at Friendship House, a church related agency in Toppenish. Because of their involvement in other interests outside the home perhaps they lacked an awareness of their daughter's activities. Because of a lack of supervision Kathy became involved with a young man and the two of them spent considerable time together. As is many times the case when two young people are thrown together with no control on their relationship, Kathy became pregnant. At the present time she is in a maternity home in Seattle. In this instance the family apparently did not recognize or were willing to seek help from any agency.

C. The statistics are revealing and points a basic multi-faceted problem for those of us in community services. Our lack of knowledge about 36 of these children is due to the following facts:

1. The parents are unaware of the fact that there are professional personnel at the agency who are concerned and who can be of help to them.

   a. Those families of children who are enrolled or are enrolled on other reservations may feel this agency would not be interested in them or want to help them.

2. Failure of the schools to notify the agency that a child is experiencing difficulty in school or relating knowledge about problems in the family affecting the child. Schools usual response is an appeal for assistance when a situation involving a child has reached a crises and they cannot deal with it or find any other resource willing to assist them.

   a. Failure of the agency to develop a proper referral system so schools know who to contact and a determination can be made as to whether or not the particular situation lends itself to the services rendered by agency staff or whether this might be referred to another community resource.

   b. Lack of responsiveness on the part of the agency personnel to appeals by the schools and failure to report back to the schools results of contact regarding their request. This leads school personnel to doubt the efficacy or willingness of the agency to provide services to Indian children.

3. Lack of agency staff to adequately meet the needs of students. At the present time there are four staff people in the branches of Education and Social Services to provide service to approximately 1,300 children enrolled in our local schools. This is in addition to the responsibilities of the respective branches in providing servces to adolescents who are out of school and problems concerning adults.

Certainly not all these students will require the services of either branch regarding problems. Students encountering problems require a great deal of staff time in working with them and with their families if we are to adequately do the job. Also, hopefully, there will be time to develop preventive programs and to work more closely with the schools in a more positive manner. So far this aspect of development has suffered because of the need to meet crises situations.

D. Providing services to our Indian students is another area of social service where there is a gap that is not being fulfilled either by the schools in extending their service through the use of the agency Branch of Education or Branch of Social Services because of the lack of staff time. Another problem not previously mentioned in the relationship with the schools in working with Indian students is the lack of authority in providing services. In one respect perhaps the invitation from the school personnel to talk with the student or to investigate a situation provides adequate authority for working with the sudent, however, as a part of treatment planning, the cooperation of the school is necessary and our relationships with them have not been such that we can obtain such cooperation. In order to perform this function adequately it would require the services of one person working directly with the schools on a full time regular basis. As briefly described this position would be for a school social worker, a well established service in many areas which is only beginning to take hold in the Yakima County. At the present time there are two school social workers for the city of Yakima and it was hoped that another position could be developed for the Wapato School system but this is not a definite commitment at this time. There has been recognition that this is a legitimate function of the schools and many of these school officials where our children attend school give lip service to the fact that they wish they had such a person available to them.

It appears unlikely that this will go any further. If such a service is to be provided for our children it would almost certainly have to be done under the auspices of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Creation of such a position poses some problems that certainly need consideration, however, it appears that if service is to be given to our Indian children that this is the only way to accomplish it. There are also dangers in just "putting more people in the field" as we are already faced with the problem of uncovering more problems involving students than we can deal with. There is an area of service where aides could work effectively but it would have to be well defined. There is also the danger of putting more people into the field that will compound the complexity of relationships of agency involvements these students and their parents are already faced with. Despite the negative comments with regard to the addition of staff we are faced with a rather serious problem with our school age population and an increase in staff appears to be a most feasible means of providing services to these young people. We would certainly concur in the need for a joint meeting with the agency and staff at the area level to discuss this problem in depth.

Mr. Smartlowit. And, Mr. Chairman, the next concern we have here, and I hope that this Subcommittee on Indian Education would be able to do something about it, and this is the reason why I have invited Mr. Anderson and Mr. Dell, and I would invite the chairman and the other Senators for questions on this Public Law 874. I am not too well versed on it. I know that it has affected our Indian education on the Yakima Indian Reservation, and at this point, with the permission of the chairman, we do have the exhibits here from White Swan, Wapato, and Granger.

This is in regard to Public Law 874.

Senator Morse. The exhibits connected with Public Law 874 will be inserted in the record at this time. I want to identify the exhibits as exhibit III, exhibit IV, and exhibit V, dealing with the schools in the area as identified by the witness.

(Whereupon, a discussion was had off the record.)

Senator Morse. Exhibit III deals with Mr. Adams; exhibit IV deals with Wapato School District; exhibit V, the Granger schools.

Thank you very much for those exhibits.

(The exhibits referred to follow:)

Exhibit III

Mt. Adams School District No. 297,
Yakima County,
White Swan, Wash., April 29, 1968.

Hon. Warren G. Magnuson,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Magnuson: I was very happy to receive your notice that our School District is to receive an entitlement of $155,222.00 for this school year and that we have been certified to receive $77,611.00 at this time. However, I wonder if you realize just what happens to this entitlement?

Out of the $155,222 we charge $10,000 for the necessary expense of gathering the necessary information to comply with Federal regulation proving this entitlement. During this fiscal year, according to our State Formula, we lose 70% of the balance. Seventy percent of $145,222 amounts to $101,655.00. Subtracting that from $145,222 leaves $43,567 to educate children in our district. Next year, the percentage is to be raised to 85% leaving very little to the district that qualifies under P.L. 874. In our district, where very little of the land is taxable due to our location on the Yakima Indian Reservation, special levies are almost prohibitive.

Any help that you may be able to give us in this matter will not only be appreciated by our School officials but by the Children of our district.

Yours truly,

Victor C. Anderson.

EXHIBIT IV

WAPATO PUBLIC SCHOOLS,
SCHOOL DISTRICT 207, YAKIMA COUNTY,
Wapato, Wash., May 20, 1968.

To Whom It May Concern:

For the school year 1967–68 we would receive in Federal funds approximately $149,000 of which the state will withold some 70% or $104,300. For the 1968–69 school year, we will probably receive better than $158,000 of which 85% will be deducted by the state or $134,300.

As you can see from this, it makes it quite difficult for our school district to give the Indian children the education that they truly are deserving of and definitely need when we deduct this amount of monies.

This year we are educating approximately 525 Indian children and then approximately 192 youngsters that are working on Indian lands. When you consider that nearly 50% of our lands in the Wapato School District are non-deeded or in actuality Indian land, you can see how badly we are getting hurt by the state withholding such large sums from our Public Law 874 monies.

Sincerely,

ROBERT L. DEAL, *Superintendent.*

EXHIBIT V

GRANGER PUBLIC SCHOOLS,
YAKIMA COUNTY DISTRICT NO. 204,
Granger, Wash., May 21, 1968.

Hon. SENATOR WARREN G. MAGNUSON,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: The educational program of Granger Schools, District #204, has been greatly affected by equalization P.L. 874 funds by the State of Washington. Since more than two-thirds of the school district lies on the Yakima Indian Reservation, P.L. 874 monies supplement the district support in lieu of property taxes. Starting with the school term of 1965–1966 P.L. 874 was equalized at 40%. Since that time the percentage of equalization has increased to 85% of actual revenue. This represents a loss of approximately $15,000.00 in basic support to our schools.

I am enclosing a sheet of comparisons for your study.

Sincerely,

MELVIN COLBERT, *Superintendent.*

GRANGER SCHOOL DISTRICT NO. 204 GENERAL FUND—EFFECTS OF EQUALIZATION

	Actual receipts		Estimated receipts	
	1965–66	1966–67	1967–68	1968–69
1. Local property tax	41,998.22	58,398.16	68,159.17	73,123.98
2. Real estate excise	18,729.56	15,641.59	17,205.75	19,000.00
3. Public Law 874 receipts	17,882.24	18,583.20	25,385.39	32,256.00
4. Federal forest	2,616.74	2,989.64	3,804.97	5,559.85
Total	81,226.76	95,612.59	114,555.28	129,939.83
Subtotal		14,385.83	18,942.69	15,684.55
Grand total			49,013.07	
1. Local property tax	47,660.65	50,684.89	47,901.09	47,354.58
Levy (10) mills			38,659.18	39,800.00
2. Real estate excise	18,729.56	15,641.59	17,205.75	19,000.00
3. Public Law 874 receipts	15,644.00	40,360.00	43,177.70	44,000.00
4. Federal forest	6,541.85	5,435.70	6,541.72	6,541.00

Since the distribution of state funds to the local district is based upon equalization of local property taxes and federal monies our district must resort to special levies.

The above listed information clearly indicates why the Director's are seeking voter support for a ten (10) mill levy on January 30, 1968.

If the levy should fail, the district will have to cut back on maintenance and operations similar in nature to the action taken during the school term of 1966–67.

Mr. SMARTLOWIT. Yes. I'm sure that no matter what we do, where we go, or what we say, that question always comes up, that when you have problems, especially in education, "What have you tried to do?"

And this is where our next exhibit comes from.

We, in our studies, have found that our Indian children in the four school districts are 2 years behind their grade placements and, of course, we are also concerned about social promotion.

Senator MORSE. That's interesting. That's just about what we find in regard to the Negro children I talked about a few moments ago. The Indian children also are about two grades behind?

Mr. SMARTLOWIT. Yes.

So in this little survey, we were quite concerned. We knew what we wanted to do and we were helpless, I'd like to report, to do something about it, until the Office of Economic Opportunity programs came along.

We wrote up a remedial education program for our children to try to help these people who are 2 years below their grade placement and some of them may be further behind.

In 1966, this was written in regard to our program, remedial educational program, in their youth camp.

Senator MORSE. Received in the record at this point in exhibit VI, identified as, "It Can Be Done," an Office of Economic Opportunity program sponsored by the Confederated Tribe and Bands of theYakima Nations. Delighted to have it.

(Exhibit VI may be found on p. 2038.)

Mr. SMARTLOWIT. It's only 1967. This, incidentally, was written for 40 students.

Senator MORSE. Forty students?

Mr. SMARTLOWIT. Yes; 20 boys and 20 girls for 8 weeks, and it will point out to you the pretesting and posttesting, and the growth of the child in this 8-week remedial education program.

In there, and we can say here, we were concerned about the present-day education as it is presented in the school.

So what did we say? We threw out the textbooks. We didn't want to do anything about that. We used SRA materials, and when we pretested, we found what the ability of the child was, and they were put into small groups with a professional teacher and a teacher's aide—one of our tribal members is a teacher's aide—in groups of 10, not because of the grades they were in, but their achievement level, and this is the reason for the growth that you will note in this book.

Senator MORSE. Counsel just informed me he has seen the report. Approximately 1 year's growth was realized in the 8-week program, as brought out by this report.

Mr. SMARTLOWIT. Yes.

Senator MORSE. That's all you need to know, it seems to me, as to the soundness of this approach and why we should really escalate it.

May I take this moment, because it bears on this, too. You pointed out what happened to your attendance records in school after VISTA was dropped from the area. What reasons were given to you for the dropping of VISTA, because I am also Chairman of the VISTA Committee, which——

Mr. SMARTLOWIT. And I think that because we, in our letter of intent, had our little goals set too high for the type of person we were looking for. I think we were spoiled here when our two VISTA's came out of Arizona State University, a retired professor emeritus from the Uiversity of Hawaii. His wife had taught English in the penitentiary.

With that type of a start, you know, it was hard to come down to somebody that didn't have this background.

We were fortunate again to get two graduates with teachers' certificates and teaching experience from San Jose College, California, and they did a tremendous job for us in regard to our attendance, and when you have those kind of people, you can't set your sights down any lower than that, and I think that rather than get anybody to come to the Yakima Valley to work in education, we'll let it go, because it's taken us years to get this education program up to where it is, and just one little bad apple could tear the whole program down and then we'd have to start all over again, and then to go further——

Senator MORSE. May I take this next exhibit? I haven't identified it yet for the record?

This is your exhibit VII.

Mr. SMARTLOWIT. This one says, "It Is Being Done." This is also a remedial education program for a hundred students.

Senator MORSE. The Chair will mark for the purposes of identification exhibit VII, a booklet, entitled "It Is Being Done, Indian Approach to Education, Sponsored by the Confederated Tribes."

Now, let the record show that both exhibits VI and VII will be received into the record as appendixes to the record and will not be transcribed into the transcription of the record. Because of their length, I will make the same ruling that I made on another exhibit earlier this morning, but they will be before the committee. When we come to mark up any legislation that we propose, you can be sure they will be very carefully studied.

I would like to suggest to the counsel of the committee and to the witness that we should get some extra copies of these studies, so that each member of the subcommittee can have one of VI and VII.

(Exhibits VI and VII may be found on p. 2038 and 2055.)

Mr. SMARTLOWIT. Thank you. So be it.

And to go further on, what have we done? And I think this is where Dr. Potter will come in, the Yakima Tribal Council, by their actions, have permitted to be built on tribal land a Yakima Valley Center for Rural Education.

This is Indians and migrants.

Again, Mr. Chairman, I would invite you to ask the gentleman a few questions here, because we find this is something we have been concerned about for many a day.

It has a lot of potential.

To go over it briefly with you, some of the things—well, here, curriculum clearinghouse for education, initiate pilot projects and evaluate, attune administrators and student teachers to rural education realities; initiate inservice education for experienced teachers during the school year with outside resources.

Some of them work with experienced teachers, and I think that we go over here and we find that there will be some training for teachers' aids, health aids, and many more I am sure that I am not able to cover.

To go further on what have we done, about 3 weeks ago, the educational committee went to the tribal council and requested permission for the use of the youth camp for 260 sixth graders from Wapato School District.

These are non-Indians. They are Mexicans, Filipinos, Chinese, Japanese, et cetera; some Indians, too.

They were able to go to our youth camp for two and a half days, and again, Mr. Chairman, a Mr. Dell was the motivating factor behind it. Besides his assistant, Mr. Patton, Lou Patton, the tribal council unanimously voted to let the children use our youth camp facilities.

I have one part of the newspaper coverage on it which I would like to introduce as an exhibit, because to me, to us, this is the best thing that ever happened to our children.

It put them to the point here where they were in their own environment: instilled in them some little sense of pride. "This is our camp; this is our mountains; this is our river."

You are welcome to run through it as you please, and this was a better relationship between non-Indians and Indians themselves. This was within a closed area of the reservation. Nobody goes in there except unless they have business or a courtesy permit which is issued by the tribal council, and I am sure I got just as much out of it as the non-Indian children who were able to go.

Senator **MORSE**. I would be glad to put it in the record. It will be marked for purposes of identification as exhibit VIII, an article entitled, "Nothing Like a Stroll Through the Woods" in the Yakima Herald Republic for May 20, 1968.

(The exhibit referred to follows:)

EXHIBIT VIII

[From the Yakima (Wash.) Herald-Republic, May 20, 1968]

NOTHING LIKE A STROLL THROUGH THE WOODS . . . AND WAPATO SIXTH GRADERS FIND IT CAN BE EDUCATIONAL, TOO

(By Noy Guess)

WAPATO.—Learning can be fun. That was the reaction of Wapato sixth graders this week after spending two days as guests of the Yakima Indian Nation on an outdoor education and forest conservation program planned by the Tribal Council education committee, school officials, the Indian Agency education department, CAP and others.

The 260 sixth graders went in three separate groups. They were housed at Camp Chapparel and were conducted on tours of the reservaton timber and grazing lands.

The camp is about 30 miles inside the closed portion of the Reservation which can be visited by non-Yakimas only by permission from the Tribe.

Camp Chapparel was established first as a recreation center. The site of the camp was early Indian camping grounds. Later improvements were made, a well drilled and buildings constructed. It now has dormitories, a kitchen, a dining room and other facilities.

For the past two summers a summer education program has been carried out for Indian children. This excursion is the first time it has been opened to others.

The youngsters were lectured by Conrad Shelland, forest manager, and other expert foresters; Richard Anderson, land operations manager and members of his staff; Stanley Smartlowit, chairman of the tribal education committee, and state fish and game protectors.

Lewis Patton, assistant superintendent of Wapato schools, said the youngsters derived many fringe benefits from the program.

"For instance one boy whose parents are migrant laborers expressed amazement at the huge forests when he looked at them with me from the top of the Signal Peaw Lookout Tower," Patton said. "For the first time he realized that there is a world of job opportunities, such as forestry, and that he need not follow his father's work if he did not wish to," Patton reported.

Mrs. Winifred McCready, curriculum supervisor for Yakima County schools, said the projects was one of the most worthwhile she has ever witnessed.

Robert Muehe, education officer at the Agency said he is pleased with the program and the reception it received. "It is, to me, the best program in which I have participated in 17 years as an educator."

Specific information taught during the project included forest conservation through protection from fire, insect and disease control and a maintained yield management program that guarantees having forests forever.

They learned the importance of forests as a habitat for fish and game and for a watershed to prevent melting snow water from running off too fast.

They also learned the use of maps and compasses, how a tree grows, how to determine the age of a tree and to identify certain species.

They observed beaver at work in an area that has housed the animals for centuries and learned of their food, habits, and their construction of dams, canals, and lodges or homes.

They also learned that beaver dams store water during dry periods and releases it slowly. That the dams prevent erosion, help in flood control, that beaver lakes serve as forest fire guards, make excellent habitat for fish and other water creatures and serve as watering areas for elk, deer and other animals.

In addition to showing and teaching the youngsters the subjects each student received stenciled copies of the information for future reference.

Mr. SMARTLOWIT. Then to go further on what have we done, the general council, by their actions, when the settlement was made, said that the minor's fund shall be held in trust for education.

This is spelled out very clearly in the trust agreement, and in the resolution that supports this move; $3,270 was the share of each member of the Yakima Tribe.

Now, the children have been able to use this for their clothes, books, and supplies, school lunches, typewriters, sewing machines, and some transportation to Oklahoma, and to date, the education committee has recommended the approval to the bank on the disbursements, $251,326.94 of this trust fund.

And then to go further, in our scholarship program, we have to date in this 1 school year spent $41,000 to the total of $295,326.94.

Now, when we talk about that kind of money, we are talking about a grade point average of 1.78, which is not too good, and this is why we appreciate the opportunity here to be heard, so that you might be able to help us.

I'd like to wish you a success in this move, because we know that we need help.

I have another exhibit here, Mr. Chairman, which describes the exemplary program in the Mount Adams School District, which Mr. Anderson is very familiar with.

Senator MORSE. Marked for purposes of identification as exhibit No. IX, exhibit that deals with the Mount Adams School District that has been identified by the witness.

(The exhibit referred to follows:)

EXHIBIT IX

EXEMPLARY SCHOOL PROPOSAL NO. 1 FOR INDIAN CHILDREN

MOUNT ADAMS SCHOOL DISTRICT NO. 209, WHITE SWAN, WASH., VICTOR C. ANDERSON, SUPERINTENDENT

Identified Needs of Indian Children

1. Need for closer teacher-pupil relationship and better understandings of Indian nature by the teachers.

2. More attention to health and nutrition.
3. More parental interest in the school and the education of their children.
4. Better communication with the homes.
5. Richer cultural and social experiences.
6. Better academic achievement.
7. Positive attitudes and self-worth development.
8. Worthy long-range goals.

Objectives of the Program

1. Reduction of class loads in the elementary school from the present 31–32 to 20–25.
2. Attention to all health problems and medical needs of Indian children.
3. Provision of adequate nutritional supplement.
4. The building of good rapport for home and school understanding.
5. The provision for a program that makes it possible for Indians to retain pride in the Indian heritage while preparing to live in a far more complex and changing world
6. Enrichment of lives and background of understanding of Indian children through different cultural and social experiences
7. The training of teachers and other staff members to provide effective learning experiences geared to the nature of the Indian children
8. Hold Indian children in school throughout K–12 program

Proposed Activities and Services

1. Provide additional staff who directly serve children in the proposed project so as to increase *the ratio of teachers to pupils* to a more realistic standard. This will make it possible for small groups to meet with teachers and for some important individual attention.

2. Physical Health. The physical health of the child often determines his attitude toward his success in school. If the diet is deficient, if there is poor health, or if good health habits are lacking, there may be no energy for learning. Lack of clothing, lack of medical and dental attention, lack of food, etc., critically affect the motivation and the attendance of these children. The proposal is designed to:

a. regularly administer vision and hearing tests, weigh and measure all children, and keep records of progress

b. check health records and check for deficiencies which need follow-up and referrals to home-school counselors

c. provide balanced breakfasts and/or lunches as needed

d. provide nutritional information and training for pupils and parents

e. provide medical and dental examinations and referrals to specialists as required

f. have home-school counselors cooperate with homes, and community agencies to affect improvements in the physical environment

g. cooperate with and use resources of other community agencies concerned with the health and welfare of the school and community

3. Involving parents: The child suffers when the parents do not realize or do not know how to fulfill their responsibilities in the education of their child. There is every indication that the schools have greater success in working with children if the parents are involved. We cannot expect to bring about any permanent changes in attitudes and aspirations of the pupils unless we attempt to involve and change values held by parents. Frequent absences, tardiness, and indifference towards school on the part of the child are often the reflection of attitudes and values which exist in the home.

There is also indication that given the proper assistance the parents of these children are vitally concerned with the education of their children. The proposal is designed to solve these problems by:

a. inviting and providing for parental visits

b. planning programs which involve parents

c. having home-school counselors make frequent visits to the homes of these children

d. having parents present at crucial times, such as, initial registration and during health checkup

e. encouraging and providing time for teachers to visit homes of pupils

f. providing inservice education programs for parents drawing upon the consultants and personnel of the community, county and state agencies

g. informing parents of what the school is trying to accomplish for their children and how they can help

h. using Indian adults in staffing as many of the school personnel openings as possible

4. Communication between school and home: A more intense effort will be made to keep the homes in closer contact with the schools. This will be accomplished by newsletters and increased use of the news media. Indian natives will *be used whenever possible as* home-school contact people.

5. Cultural and social experiences: If the level of aspirations and motivations of these children is to be raised, there is a need to provide cultural and social experiences which will increase the awareness of other and higher levels of culture and to promote the desires of the children to be actively engaged in such opportunities. In the homes of these children, books, magazines, and stimulating conversation are lacking. There is a special need for social and cultural experiences in art, music, literature, and conversation which will broaden the horizons and help Indian children adjust to change. The proposal is designed to solve these problems by including:

a. opportunities for field trips to cultural, civic, historical, and industrial centers

b. provisions for music, dance, and speakers in school assemblies

c. opportunities for inservice education for teachers in the arts and crafts (Much of this to come from Indians themselves)

d. participation of parents in field trips

e. use of resource persons from the community to visit, to be visited by, and to travel with these students

f. participation in events and programs within the school and the community

6. There is a need for a program of instruction and for materials geared to the interests and abilities of these children. Emphasis should be placed on the development of work-study skills which will facilitate the growth of independent work-study habits. This project would provide study areas where tutorial assistance and materials are available.

The proposal is designed to:

a. provide remedial work

b. provide materials which are of interest to the pupils and on their level of ability

c. provide materials which have been adapted from newspapers, magazines, advertisements, pamphlets, and other sources so that the child's interest is captured through their awareness of the practical value

d. provide space and supervision for before-and-after school study

e. use a variety of audio aids and visual aids

f. use new and innovative approaches to teaching

g. provide lessons on how to study

7. Each child's concept of himself plays a highly significant role in his learning. When there is a positive self-concept, the child feels he is liked, wanted, accepted, worthy, and capable of achieving; he accepts his limitations as well as his strengths; he is challenged rather than threatened by new experiences; and his self respect leads to respect in others. Fear, anxieties, frustrations, and repeated failures which destroy his self-esteem impede his ability to learn. The continued appearance of extremely low or failing grades each grading period provides little incentive for learning in the child and encourages a continued negative relationship between school and home. As a result, he often drops out. The proposal is to prevent this by including:

a. consultant services for teachers on the nature and problems of these children and the most effective methods of teaching them

b. a variety of learning and recreational experiences which will motivate the children to participate in school and learning activities

c. expanded vocational education program

d. program which capitalizes on what these children know and what they want to know more about

e. increase the ratio of adults to pupils so that closer relationships and greater ease of communications can be established

f. visiting the homes and providing opportunities and transportation for parents to visit the school and to become increasingly involved in the education process of the children

g. a sequence of learning experiences which have been structured to insure continuous success and progress

8. Special Education program is too limited to include all children that are in need of this program. The proposed project is designed to solve this problem by

adding the necessary facilities and staff to include all children that are in need of Special Education.

9. Limited classroom space. The project is designed to solve this problem by adding the classroom space needed.

10. Lack of certified staff and the housing for this staff. Many additional staff members will be needed to carry out this program. The school district, being remote as it is, has great difficulty in completing its staff each year due to the fact that housing is not available. The proposal is designed to solve these problems by:

a. adding several staff members both certified and non-certified

b. constructing housing in the community sufficient to attract and accommodate the complete staff

Mr. SMARTLOWIT. Also in behalf of the Yakima Tribe, we would like to introduce a resolution which was passed by the Yakima Tribal Council, it is number T-2668, and it has to do with the boarding schools, and I think that we won't go into reading of the whole bit. Robert Jim, the first speaker, touched on this, but we hope that our resolution will be considered by the committee.

Senator MORSE. Marked for purposes of identification as exhibit X, resolution passed by the council meeting here in Portland of recent date, dealing with the problems of the Yakima Tribe.

(The exhibit referred to follows:)

EXHIBIT X

RESOLUTION

Whereas, the adequate education of the Indian child, when other resources are not available, is a treaty responsibility of the Federal government; and

Whereas, it is nationally and locally recognized that there are inadequate facilities for (1) homeless and neglected children, (2) children from broken or disrupted homes, who due to economic factors and poor learning situations may be forced to drop out of school, (3) children who have an adjustment problem to the public school system, (4) children who for other social reasons find it impossible to compete in the public schools; and

Whereas, the State does not have proper facilities for these children; and

Whereas, the Bureau of Indian Affairs does not favor the establishment of a Tribal facility for these children; and

Whereas, the State of Washington does not plan facilities to handle problems in education of this nature; and

Whereas, the Chemawa Indian school was closed to Indian children of the Pacific Northwest over the protest of all reservations affected, making Chemawa an Alaska-Navajo project and forcing our children to leave school or go to Oklahoma at a great expense and inconvenience; and

Whereas, the Bureau of Indian Affairs has placed millions of dollars on Indian education to Alaska and the Southwest in past years; Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Yakima Tribal Council meeting in regular session at the Yakima Indian Agency, Toppenish, Washington, a quorum being present, that we hereby petition the Bureau of Indian Affairs to re-open the Chemawa Indian School to Indian children of the Northwest at the earliest possible date: be it further

Resolved, That funds be made available to make the necessary capital improvements to facilities to adequately house and educate these children of the northwest.

Done and dated on this 7th day of November, 1967 at the Yakima Indian Agency, Toppenish, Washington, by the Yakima Tribal Council by a vote of 12 for and none against.

ANTOINE SKAHAN,
Chairman, Yakima Tribal Council.

Attest:

HARVEY E. ADAMS,
Secretary, Yakima Tribal Council.

Mr. SMARTLOWIT. To go further on what have we done—before we go into that, we are not above stealing. We will swipe anything that we can get ahold of that will improve the education program of the Yakima, and so I say this because we have used the services of the—there's a Newman Club in the Yakima Valley College. Because of studies that were made of our Indian children from the third to the eighth grade, 40 percent of them couldn't read, can't read, so we use the services of the Newman Club 2 nights a week to help these children improve their reading.

We have used the services of the LOS in our study hall programs throughout the reservation, and, of course, we have these adult education programs, and so the whole family can come to these classes, whether it will be for remedial reading or math or whatever the case may be, plus the education program.

We use every means we can to improve the lot of our tribal members, and I think that before we close here, I'd like to make this recommendation:

You will do everything within your power to improve this situation of the 874, not only in our four school districts in the Yakima, but I know it's of concern to the people over there of Bremerton, the navy yard there. Senator Morgan is quite concerned about it. She wants to take the case to court, and these things cost money, and I am sure that there are other ways to improve this situation that we have, and I think one suggestion that I heard one day, the General Accounting Office could do something about it, but you know more about these things than we do, and again, Mr. Chairman, these men have traveled many miles because of their concern about Indian education, and if you have the time for them to speak——

Senator MORSE. I want to say you are a very challenging witness. You don't have to worry about this committee responding to your recommendation. We will do everything we can to help alleviate the problems you have so ably outlined here, along with your predecessor witnesses this morning.

Of course, we want to hear the gentlemen with you, and if it is satisfactory to the Senator from Texas, I will let you gentlemen make whatever statements you wish. We will ask questions of the entire panel.

STATEMENT OF ROBERT DELL, SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS, WAPATO, WASH.

Mr. DELL. Honorable Senators, I am Robert Dell, superintendent of schools of Wapato, Wash., and before I start in, Senator Morse, I'd like to congratulate you for introducing a general education bill just recently which I hope will receive favorable action in regard to $100 per student, I think this will be it.

Senator MORSE. I never predict what the Congress will do, but I will give you the benefit of my best judgment. We are going to pass it.

Mr. DELL. I hope so.

Let me say of the Yakima Nation, I am new to the Wapato School District this year, last July, and they really understand the problems they have, and they are making sure that as superintendent I understand their problems.

Having only arrived 3 or 4 days after the 1st of July, witness Stan was at my office asking questions to find out if I would at least cooperate with the problems, and I want to say that they are most cooperative, and we are trying likewise to be, and we are doing everything in our power not to have the "pushouts" as was mentioned on the west side of the mountains, and I am real sorry to hear this, but we do have a "pushout" problem, because of things that have been mentioned.

As an example, we lost 70 percent of the Indian students from grade K through 12, and we, due to the Johnson-O'Malley Act and through 89–10, and this year have hired Indian aids and counselors to work and to make home visits, and I think we will find that since hiring them our attendance is getting much better. We hope to get it back up to the 92 percent.

Now, for just a little bit about our district:

We are very unique. Of some 3,000 students, approximately 500 of them are Indian youngsters; another 1,200 to 1,300 are Mexican-American youngsters. We have a couple hundred Oriental youngsters, and a handful of African-American youngsters, and then we white people are in the minority, as you can see by the tabulation. My greatest concern is, naturally, Public Law 874, inasmuch as our State through legislative action in 1965 and their apportionment formula created withholding from State apportionments, starting in 1955, 40 percent of our entitlement from the State apportionment formula to 85 percent this coming school year.

Now, in a district such as ours of 150 square miles, of which little better than 50 percent is Indian, nondeeded lands, this last created a hardship and it could create community misunderstandings, in that we have had to go to the people for special levies to operate our schools, which means the deeded landowners are taxed twice to actually take care and see to it that all children in our district receive a good education.

Senator Morse. I want to interrupt at this point, because of the very important issue that you have raised and which Stanley raised, too.

I want to say for this record that in my judgment, the administration of 874, as you have outlined it, just does not correspond with the intent of the Congress; and Stanley, you are quite right in raising the point that we are going to have to have an adjudication of it. I want the record to show that it is the understanding of the acting chairman that it is already on its way to the appellate courts coming out of a Virginia case.

It was raised in the Virginia case, and the appeal is being taken from that case, but certainly it was never the opinion of the acting chairman, never the intention of the Congress, that 874 should be applied in the way that it is being applied, discriminating against the very boys and girls that you gentlemen are testifying in behalf of here this morning.

Mr. Dell. Thank you, and I, as many others, hope that something can be accomplished in this light, because——

Senator Morse. Well, I hope we can get it solved by adjudication, and I hope that will end it. If we can't get it solved by adjudication, then there is no question about what Congress' responsibility is, to pass a clarifying statute that leaves no room for doubt as to what our intention was.

Senator YARBOROUGH. May I say there, Mr. Chairman, I don't believe the Congress—I didn't know this was being done. I think the Congress must stop that immediately.

Senator MORSE. I think so, too.

Senator YARBOROUGH. If they are cutting down the other moneys, unfortunately, the dangers would be great. In Public Law 874, there was great opposition in the Congress. It's badly needed in my State with the vast military reservations. We have a terrific fight to get those funds. I consider this an abuse of it that will be detrimental to all 874. I think that the States should not do this, because they are going to kill the goose that laid the golden eggs.

Mr. DELL. Pardon me. Our State department of public instruction was forewarned on this, but because we 874 districts are in the minority in number, they did not give us full consideration in enacting an apportionment formula such as we have in the State of Washington.

Senator YARBOROUGH. I think it's very unjust. As I say, the great danger is that they will stop Public Law 874, because there is much opposition to it in the country, particularly in the larger cities of the East which don't participate. They want the money distributed under some other formula, under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act or something, and 874 is under strong attack now, and this kind of thing will kill it.

Mr. DELL. Well, we have read about the happenings in Virginia and, frankly, we would hope that something can be done without a long legal transaction so that we can get the money and use it to further the education of all our youngsters, and naturally and particularly, these Indian youngsters who have the grave problems they seemingly have in our area.

Senator MORSE. I am going to go into it right away when we get back for our education hearings, and see if we can't get some clarification and legislation passed this year as to the congressional intent. I don't think we can permit this injustice to continue.

Mr. DELL. But again let me say in closing that I think the Yakima Indian Nation is really doing everything they can, and we certainly, as public school people, in this area, at least in the Yakima area, are doing everything we can to have this cooperation, as mentioned in the newspaper articles of Camp Chapparall. We feel in our school district that this was the greatest breakthrough and the greatest single educational achievement that we have accomplished this year, and I know that it has given the Indian youngster much stature in our district.

Senator MORSE. Thank you.

Mr. DELL. And we really appreciate the chance of being here today and working with the Yakima Nation.

Senator MORSE. Superintendent Dell, thank you very much. I want to say that you gentlemen can supplement your statements with supplemental statements, but I want to give each one of you an opportunity to make a few comments. I want to say that because of our time schedule—it is necessary for Senator Yarborough to catch an early afternoon plane—the acting chairman is going to run these hearings right through the noon hour.

We must complete them so that Senator Yarborough can catch his plane.

If any of these subsequent witnesses really are hungry, they'd better get themselves a bite before the noon hour.

Senator Yarborough will tell you this is not an uncommon practice, on the part of this acting chairman. This business has got to come before food, and I am going to expedite the hearings just as rapidly as I can and still give everyone an opportunity to make their remarks for the record, but I hope the subsequent witnesses will take note of the time schedule and be willing to shorten their statements and supplement them with memorandums because I can give you this assurance: Your memorandums will receive the same careful study as your oral statements will receive.

I want to hear the next witness.

STATEMENT OF VICTOR ANDERSON, SUPERINTENDENT, MOUNT ADAMS SCHOOL DISTRICT

Mr. ANDERSON. I am Victor Anderson, superintendent of the school at Mount Adams School District, with offices at White Salmon.

Our district, square-mile-wise, is probably one of the largest in the State of Washington. Approximately—well; no. I was going to say approximately half, but not quite that now—of Indian children. We have a little under 1,100 children in the school; 450 are Indian boys and girls. Again the white race is in the minority. We are very comparable with the Wapato District.

I can't add too much to what Bob has said here. We are probably even more dependent on Public Law 874 than they are. About a little better than one-fifth of our budget comes from Public Law 874, yet beginning next year, out of our entitlement of approximately $155,000 for this year, if that holds for another year, about 7 percent of the money that would come to the district is actually available to educating children. The rest of it goes into the State of Washington and the costs of election within our own district.

One exhibit Stanley presented to you is an exemplary program. It was asked for by our State office. We were one of two districts in the State of Washington which was asked to submit a program we thought would be of value to our Indian people, and you have a copy of that in your program.

Yet apparently due to the cutbacks from a national level on new programing, this fell by the wayside.

We would hope that it still had a breath of life in it.

We wrote a program that we thought—and along with the tribal council, and education committee of the tribal council—was a worthwhile program, involving smaller classrooms, a program that was, we felt, adapted to the Indian.

In place of trying to set our whole program on an academic, college-bound level, more vocational, more on-the-job training, this type of a program for many of our boys and girls who, by the very nature of this 1.7 grade point average, we know have very, very little chance of excelling on a college level program, and tried to write a program so that we could train these young people to be gainfully employed in the job in which they could feel the pride of accomplishment.

I believe that's about all. With the time pressing, I will stop there, Senator.

Senator MORSE. Thank you, Superintendent.

Mr. ANDERSON. And thank you for the opportunity of being heard.

Senator MORSE. I have one quick question, because there's been testimony on this problem earlier this morning. You testify that nearly 50 percent of your students are Indian children.

For the record, would you tell us the composition of your school board? Are there any Indians on the school board?

Mr. ANDESON. We always have had at least one Indian member on the school board.

Senator MORSE. Out of how many?

Mr. ANDERSON. Out of five, and possibly contrary to a report this morning and with no quarrel, our Indian member is very well heard and has the opportunity to speak out and his judgment is taken into consideration, I think, on every decision that is made.

He is a very competent school board member.

Senator MORSE. Thank you very much. I would like to hear you further.

Mr. ANDERSON. Senator Morse, I appreciate the opportunity to be here, due to Stan's invitation.

STATEMENT OF DR. CONRAD H. POTTER, CHAIRMAN, DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, CENTRAL WASHINGTON STATE COLLEGE, ELLENSBURG

Dr. POTTER. My name is Dr. Conrad H. Potter, chairman of the Department of Education at Central Washington State College, Ellensburg.

In view of the limited time, Senator, let me just highlight some of the things that we are involved with, as we are working in the Yakima Valley.

I think one of the more significant things that's happened is that we have been able to pool together representatives of 15 or more rural school districts in a cooperative venture.

I think we have the unanimous support, and we are going to try the best that we can as a college, and it is a very new role for us in this particular instance to provide coordination and service to these rural school districts and programs dealing with migrants and Indians in a way that they are not agencies by themselves, so we have this as our fundamental objective.

We want to work very closely with them in providing these kinds of services.

We have another objective, and that's that already a wide variety of Federal programs available, many are being administered by a number of different agencies. Many, of course, in this case all of them, apply to the Indians or migrants, and we have seen a tremendous amount of overlapping, I would say waste.

We hope that through this center we can provide again a coordinating service where we can focus all of these programs and perhaps we may, in some of these ways.

These are the basic two objectives we have.

Within the center, just very quickly, we are going to have four major components:

We will have one which has already been mentioned by Stan, materials, development, storage, retrieval, and dissemination.

It will be a clearinghouse for materials designed specifically for use in the participating schools and dealing specifically with Indians and with migrants.

This, we think, probably will encompass a major portion of our operation there.

The second will be instructional programs which will include ~~in~~-service for their faculties. These are the kinds of things smaller districts are not able to do. We may be able to do it for them.

. Included also will be preservice. We are vitally concerned about the kinds of teachers we are turning out. None of them specifically are being turned out of our program to work with the disadvantaged.

We have now at Central an urban center teacher preparation program in cooperation with Seattle and Tacoma.

We are trying in this program to train—25 teachers who will go out and be prepared to work in an urban center.

We are applying this same program.

Senator MORSE. So glad to hear this. I want to make this statement for the record very quickly:

> Our staff has given me a note which is inservice and preservice training of teachers for the Indian child is sadly lacking in many of the schools that we have visited, and this program that you are talking about now tries to come to grips with this problem.

Dr. POTTER. We are dealing with this problem in Seattle and in Tacoma. We have 25 students teachers in each center, specifically being trained for the urban setting.

This fall we will, in one component of the center, have 25 student teachers working with the school districts, and particularly with Indian and migrant children, and we think it's a giant step.

We have high hopes for it. So far our urban project has been very successful.

We are going to also work with them, trying to help them in training aids, teacher aids, to work with these same teachers.

We are going to have health programs in continuing education. These are all yet to be defined, but we think they will be significant.

The third component is family service. We are going to hopefully get deeply involved with the parents and get them involved, not only in the community, but in the school operations themselves and out of this, hopefully, then, we can come to grips with this attendance problem we have heard so much about.

We plan to get involved with employment, providing information services, and this sort of thing, and the last one, very briefly, has to do with research and development and developing hopefully some better lines of communication, not only within the districts, but with the program itself.

So let me say this: It is a new role for us. It's contrary to many traditions. We are getting off the campus. It's going to be a field-oriented program. We think it's going to have great significance for us.

We hope it will be a success.

I certainly appreciate the opportunity to tell you about it this morning.

Senator MORSE. Gentlemen, you have conducted a wonderful seminar for your two students here. I hope we pass the examination when we came to pass the legislation.

Senator Yarborough?

Senator YARBOROUGH. Senator Morse, I have only two or three questions that will require only one or two words to answer, in the interest of time. It is running so short, I will forgo others.

First is, Mr. Smartlowit, and you do not have to answer. Please compile it and mail it to us in a letter.

Mr. Smartlowit, how many Yakima veterans have gone to school under the GI bills from World War II, the Korean conflict and now the cold war GI bill?

Senator MORSE. You are answering the author of this last GI bill. He made a great fight for several years. I was a cosponsor with him, but he put it across, so I can see his interest in this question.

Senator YARBOROUGH. But, of course, the veterans could go either to high school, college, vocational, technical, all types, on-the-farm, on-the-job, all types of training. If you don't have that, if you need time to compile it, just send us a letter.

Mr. SMARTLOWIT. OK. I will do that. I don't have it on the top of my head.

Senator YARBOROUGH. We would like very much to have that.

Has it had a real impact in the tribe? Has it been beneficial? Have a relatively good percentage of the veterans taken the education training or not? If you need time to compile it, this is fine.

Mr. SMARTLOWIT. Well, I would have to answer no on this, because I think this is why we are so concerned about education. This is why we are trying to get people involved.

You see it here today, and you will read about it. It's being done. We are getting the parents involved in this.

Senator YARBOROUGH. If you will send us a letter, that will be fine.

(The letter referred to was not yet supplied when this hearing was sent to press.)

Senator YARBOROUGH. My next question is of the two superintendents. The first district has over 500 Yakima children, is that right? The next over 400?

Mr. DELL. About 450.

Senator YARBOROUGH. How many Indian teachers are there in each district?

Mr. DELL. Yes, we have four Indian teachers. We have one Indian counselor at the high school, a man, boys' counselor.

Senator YARBOROUGH. How many Indian teachers do you have?

Mr. ANDERSON. We have one. We wish we had half, but——

Senator YARBOROUGH. Pardon?

Mr. ANDERSON. We wish half of ours were at least Indian, but one is all we have at the moment.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Let me ask you: Do either of you gentleman have in your curriculum material the cultural background and the history of the Yakimas in your school? Do you have any materials at all for the children?

Mr. DELL. I would say that the only—maybe Stan could answer this better than I. We have tried to get all that is available.

Senator Yarborough. Do you have any of it published, either mimeographed or any other way, available to the children there, for use in the school, either in the library or as a supplemental text or supplemental reading?

Mr. Dell. Yes.

Senator Yarborough. If you don't have time to list it all, since we are running so late, if you will send us a letter on what you have.

Mr. Dell. All right.

(The letter referred to had not been supplied when the hearing went to press)

Senator Yarborough. We'd like to have that in the report.

Senator Morse. I'd like to have it very much.

Mr. Anderson. I've got one question that I would like to ask while there's a good chance: What is the possibility, Senators, getting back to Public Law 874 and realizing that you understand our concern, in place of waiting here until the courts in the State of Washington resolve this by suit, which we understand is coming out of the Bremerton School District, which may take a year or 2 years to resolve, what are we to do in the meantime?

Senator Morse. General counsel of the committee, Mr. Forysthe, tells me that what our problem there is, the Federal money goes in, but then the State deducts State money, and so you've got a State problem, and we have this involving other Federal funding, too. We get some of this in connection with our social welfare programs. Send in the Federal welfare money, and then the States seek to deduct.

So it's a question of how we can work out an agreement with the States so they will not do this.

They succeed by doing this in defeating the congressional intent that the acting chairman spoke about a few moments ago.

Now, on the last one, in my hearings I am so careful never to make false promises or raise false hopes.

I don't know what we can do, but I told you a few moments ago I am going to go into this in connection with pending legislation. If there is any way we can work out an adjustment, I am going to try to work it out.

But as a lawyer, may I say, because you have the Federal-State problem, we may have no way of escaping the wait for adjudication, and that's why I mentioned the Virginia case.

I am very careful about the statement because I don't seek to interfere with State policies, but I think you ought to just take back to Washington the fact that it is a State problem and see what you can do on the State level.

General counsel says about all we can do would be to hold back Federal money and then no one would get anything, but I wouldn't buy that kind of pressure, but that would be tit for tat, but who would suffer? The children.

Mr. Anderson. That's right.

Senator Morse. And I'm not going to take my eyes off the boys and girls, our whole aid program. Senator Yarborough has stressed this along with the acting chairman. We are trying to do something for the children. We are trying to get the governmental organizations to join us in that interest.

Mr. Anderson. I think our concern is the same as your concern in this whole matter.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Mr. Chairman, acting chairman, I feel that you're speaking for the chairman, Senator Robert Kennedy, in that regard also. I think his attitude, if you will observe, would be exactly like the chairman of this committee.

Senator MORSE. Well, the record of our hearings will show that time and time again he's made the same emphasis.

We will now take a 5-minute recess for the reporter.

(Recess.)

Senator MORSE. The hearing will come to order.

Next witness will be Dr. Lionel H. de Montigny, Deputy Indian Health Area Director. Doctor, come forward.

We are very pleased that you are going to be a witness with us this morning.

For the benefit of the audience, Dr. de Montigny is Deputy Indian Health Area Director, Division of Indian Health, Portland area office.

Background: Turtle Mountain Indian Reservation, BIA day school, grades 1 to 7; high school, Grand Forks, N. Dak.; college, University of North Dakota; medical school, first 2 years University of North Dakota; second 2 years, graduate (M.D. degree), University of Wisconsin; residence training, preventive medicine and public health, University of Oklahoma.

It is a privilege to have you with us. You may proceed in your own way, Doctor.

STATEMENT OF DR. LIONEL H. DE MONTIGNY, DEPUTY INDIAN HEALTH AREA DIRECTOR, DIVISION OF INDIAN HEALTH, PORTLAND AREA OFFICE

Dr. DE MONTIGNY. Thank you very much, Senator.

I was asked to come here to relate to the committee my knowledge and experience gained as an Indian and as a professional person.

I was born and raised on the Turtle Mountain Indian Reservation in North Dakota, and I worked for the Indian Division of Health for 6 years; two of these at the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota.

I speak two Indian languages, French and English; two foreign languages and two native.

Senator YARBOROUGH. What are your two natives? Which two are they?

Dr. DE MONTIGNY. Chippewa and Sioux.

I have gained experience and knowledge about Indians by associating with the Indian people throughout the Plains and the Southwest and out here in the Northwest.

I am an import into this Northwest area by way of the Federal Government, and I would like to make it quite clear that I do not represent any of the tribal groups here in the Northwest.

We have had some very articulate and very eloquent speakers from the tribal governments, who have done a considerably better job in presenting their problems and their viewpoints than I ever could possibly do this.

I would just like to make one point in regard to what has already been said. You complimented Mr. Wilkie on his background regarding the Makahs. With Mr. Wilkie's permission, I would like to also say that he is a descendant of one of the members of our tribe, not only a member, but one of our greatest chiefs, our greatest war chiefs, and greatest orators. I think when I come up with people like this, I can only sit back and listen, and this has essentially been my role in the Northwest area, and that is, I have been sitting back and listening to what the tribes had to say. This is the first meeting in which I have gotten up and spoken.

Let me make one other comment on the history that was mentioned. Disease for our Indian populations has been devastating. We cited some examples of American heroes, like Andrew Jackson, Abraham Lincoln, Harrison, Custer, who became quite famous and became natural leaders through genocide on American Indians, but these people were relatively insignificant if we look back in our history in contributing to the defeat of the Indian tribes.

Thousands upon thousands of Indians died of disease; many, many, many more thousands than had died at the hands of the cavalry or Armed Forces of the United States.

So many people carry a great deal of bitterness in their hearts for the wrongs that have been committed by non-Indians, I think that we should take a look at what disease has really done to our American Indian people, and the same thing is still applicable today as has been brought out in the earlier testimony.

First, let me state that there have been many changes in the reservation system since I grew up. These changes are occurring at a very rapid pace, as we have seen today.

The situation that I will describe existed 25 years ago on my reservation.

I lived in a one-room log home, and it was a very comfortable home. Perhaps to outsiders it maybe wasn't much, but to us it was everything.

We made our living by doing transient farm labor. My father was on the tribal council. My father's job on the tribal council at that period in time was to do what he could to get something out of the superintendent for our relatives, and whatever techniques he could use, these were acceptable.

When he came to Oakland to please the superintendent, the superintendent came out to our district and informed people they had a bad councilman and that they had better elect another one, so this was done. Fortunately today this no longer occurs.

What I am describing to you is a typical colonial system, common throughout where non-Indians or Europeans, rather, settled throughout the world. Schools, hospitals, welfare agencies, and native government functions for the colonizers and not for the native people.

Money and wealth are controlled by outsiders. The power rests with those who control the money, and as our able leaders have informed you this morning, fortunately this is undergoing a rapid change.

In describing what an Indian employee does in this colonial system, let me give you some examples as to how this works:

An Indian employee in this colonial setup, he's in a pretty bad spot.

The non-Indians who are stationed in the compound in the center of the reservation—usually at the center of the reservation—are responsible to the non-Indian population totally.

The Indian employees who join with this system have to be responsible to their employers: That is, the non-Indian people.

This is a very tight social group. The Indian employees who work in this compound have very little or no communication with the Indian people.

They do not associate with them. They do not speak the language of the people. They belong to the bowling teams, the bridge clubs, the drinking teams, or whatever it might be, the people who live outside the reservations in the neighboring towns.

When an Indian employee, then, is employed in this system, he can break the social barrier only by disclaiming his Indian heritage, by saying that he doesn't have anything to do with these Indians out there on the reservation.

He can badmouth them and get a certain degree of social acceptance in their little colonial setup in the reservation.

He can say, "I'm not like those people out there. Look at me. I don't drink too much liquor. I don't live on welfare. I don't have any illegitimate children. I am a pretty good guy. Please accept me."

What happens to this Indian employee, then, is that he becomes completely alienated and ineffective in working with the Indian people.

When I was a child—our reservation is right next to the Canadian border—we had numerous relatives on the Canadian reservation. My father and the rest of the children decided this school was bad for us. These non-Indians taught strange concepts and had the audacity to even regard themselves as human beings by our standards.

The Indian people there on the reservation regarded these outsiders as very cruel, powerful, and manipulative savages.

By border hopping, our family was able to keep us out of school, and by moving at the right time, we were able to stay out of the school system.

Eventually we got caught, and it was made quite evident to our family that if these children, myself included, did not attend school, that my father would be put in jail.

Jail was something else. We could recall the stories of the concentration camps, massive slaughters of our people in earlier days, so frightened by the thought that we would never see our father again, we decided we had better go to school, but we could beat the system by skipping school almost at will, and it was really fun to play tag with the teachers, play hide and seek.

Two teachers came to our little home. This surprised us a great deal. First time we had ever had a non-Indian in our home, and so much sincere interest, they actually convinced us, the children, who were in a position to make the decision whether we went to school or not, that this school was a good deal, so we went, and three of the nine of us completed high school.

Unfortunately, there were two others who died of tuberculosis before they completed school.

The point I was trying to make, in that particular day and in that particular time, the school, like the hospital, like the other institutions, was completely foreign to us.

They were forced upon us by the outsiders.

Now, as I understand, there are some educational experts who are going to speak on this topic, and expound on some of the ways the school system can be integrated into the community life and be totally responsible for the Indian community. I think I will leave that to the experts.

Now, when I work on the reservation as an employee of the Federal Government, I view the things quite differently than when I lived out on the reservation itself. I didn't work on the same reservation I was born on.

Disasters that occurred out on the reservation, problems that the people had to face—well, I was concerned about these things. I'd say, "Yes, we really had a drought." I'd say, "Gee, that's awful."

But obviously it did not affect me the same way as it did before.

On our reservation if we experienced a disaster, our family starved. Working in the colonial system, I collected my pay and went about my work and said, "Boy, that's terrible, what's happening out there."

I didn't feel exactly the same way about it, didn't really affect me in exactly that fashion.

Now, we hope that some changes will be made in this.

I was asked to comment on discrimination.

I think certainly every Indian has experienced discrimination in some form or another.

I would like to bring out something that has not been mentioned thus far, and that is one of the most severe forms of discrimination, and that is a low expectation of Indian capabilities.

In reviewing how this concept came about with a number of people throughout this three State area and other localities, I find that this concept has partly risen out of a general lack of knowledge about Indians. The Indian history that is taught in the schools goes something like this:

> This land used to be populated by some naked savages that carried on some kind of senseless wars for no real good reason.
>
> The Europeans brought in civilization and order to this country, and through the efforts of missionaries and school teachers and whatnot, this civilization was offered to these Indian people.
>
> The more intelligent Indians obviously became civilized, and those who are not intelligent enough, they did not become civilized.
>
> As a result of this, today we have only the degenerates, people who are completely incapable of doing anything else, on our reservations.
>
> The government—

it is felt—

> gives these people a living and contributes further to their degeneration.

I'd like to quote a school teacher at Fort Totten. He said to me:

> Year after year those students who have had any intelligence or ambition go away. After this goes on for so long, what can you expect from those people who are left?

Obviously, he's completely ignorant of what is happening in the community, completely ignorant of Indian culture, heritage, Indian background, lives in his colonial home, has no real contact with Indian people. This is the only logical conclusion that he can come to on the basis of his limited experience.

In early years, the students are certainly encouraged to go to school.

But nearing his teens, he is exposed to a real impossible situation, as he sees it. From his viewpoint, he can succeed only if he is white, yet he is not.

Thus resentment and self-hate are natural results. This resentment and hate can be turned outward and, as the committee has already heard, it can be turned inward to self-destruction.

Let me give you an example, and perhaps you may have heard this example already, Senator.

Mrs. Karen Riley was formerly a health committee member on the Quinault Reservation.

She said, "When I was a sophomore"—this was in high school—"I planned to go to college. I went to my counselor for help.

"She visited my parents and said to them that I could go, but 'Don't expect too much from Karen. After all, remember her background.' "

Mrs. Riley has given me numerous other examples of this kind of thing.

We had a couple of psychiatrists come from the Menninger Foundation who brought this point across to us quite bluntly.

The non-Indians, it appears, are willing to help American Indians, provided, of course, that they remain in a position where they need help. The Indian setting is then conducive to a general lack of achievement by Indian people.

Indian people can play this game successfully by becoming school dropouts or becoming alcoholics and be in need of saviors.

Originally our Indian programs were not designed to do this. It has become this way because people who work with Indians, as it was pointed out by our consultant from the Menninger Foundation, feel it is necessary for the preservation of jobs. The situation is easily overcome by putting Indian people in the position of power.

In many locations in this three-State area, this has already occurred. Certainly, as the government employees, as the tribal people have pointed out, the Indian employees are happier and they are more effective and more efficient.

Now, when I went to school in Public Health Administration, I learned that one of the basic principles of administration is to delegate authority and responsibility to the lowest possible level, and by lowest possible level, this meant the place where the action takes place.

This is now new. It's nothing radical. The people have been saying these things year after year; in fact, for almost a century.

Big industry has employed this technique successfully in General Motors, Bell Telephone, and many others.

Our Indian leaders today requested more support. I would like to also make one addition to this: That it is simple logic to permit these Indians to have the right to use their resources as they see fit to overcome their greatest needs.

In listening to some of the comments that have been made thus far today by the committee, and in my interest also, and I don't know whether they are aware or not, we have the highest infant mortality rate in this three-State area of any area in the Division of Indian Health, and at the same time, it is said that in this part of the country the Indians are most sophisticated and are closer to the mainstream of American life, whatever that is.

Our accident rate, if you might be interested, is five times that of the national average, and again, it is higher than any area in the Division of Indian Health.

As it was mentioned, we do not have adequate statistical information on nutrition. We hope to get it, but whatever I can quote to you at this time would lack meaning because the information we have is not that complete.

The suicides have already been talked about, Quinault suicides and the statistical information from Chemawa.

Senator **Morse**. Doctor, it is a very able statement that you have made. You have summarized the written statement. I am going to have the written statement also inserted at this point, because some of it you left out. I think it is a very important written statement and let the record show that the doctor's written statement will be inserted now. He has already summarized it, and I have another suggestion:

I don't wish to impose on you, but I want counsel's attention. The doctor says that there has been submitted some statistical material for the record, and I hope we can have an understanding with you, Doctor, that the committee, that the counsel, the staff of the committee, in preparing the memorandums for the committee, which is one of the procedures we follow, and in preparation of the final report of the committee, they may feel free to write to you submitting questions to you and that you will volunteer to submit answer to us, because I think you are too valuable a witness for us to let you slip through our fingers without getting a commitment out of you for some further help, but we will not impose on you. It will be done according to your convenience, but I know when they come to write this report, you are a source of information that I'd like to have available to them.

With your permission, I'd like to have this record show that they will be free to write to you for help.

Dr. **de Montigny**. Certainly be happy to help out in any way possible, Senator.

(The supplementary statement of Dr. de Montigny follows:)

Supplementary Statement of Dr. Lionel H. de Montigny, Deputy Indian Health Area Director, Division of Indian Health, Portland Area Office

I have been asked to make a contribution to the Subcommittee based on my knowledge and experience with Indian populations. I was born and raised on the Turtle Mountain Indian Reservation in North Dakota. I received my M.D. degree from the University of Wisconsin in 1961. I have worked with the Division of Indian Health for six years in South Dakota, Oklahoma, and now Portland, Oregon. I am trained in Public Health and Preventive Medicine, and speak two Indian languages. Presently, I am the Deputy Indian Health Area Director, PHS Division of Indian Health, Portland Area, which includes the states of Washington, Oregon and Idaho.

I have been asked to relate to the Committee knowledge gained as an Indian and as a professional person. I first lived on a reservation. Let me describe that life to you first. Secondly, I worked for the Federal Government on a reservation. Each life was considerably different and had different implications. Lastly, I hope to relate how each of these affects the educational process. In this last section I will avoid as much "professional jargon" as possible. We professionals have our own technical language so that we can speak to each other without anyone else understanding us. We hate to admit that frequently we do not understand each other.

Let me state that there have been many changes in the reservation system as I have grown up. Changes are occurring today at a very rapid pace. Thus the situation that I describe twenty-five years ago has changed. There has been considerable improvement. I lived in a one-room log and mud home. To outsiders it wasn't much, but to us it was home. We made our living by doing transient farm labor. My father was on the Tribal Council. His job was to see what he could obtain from the Superintendent for our relatives. When he became too vocal and displeased the Superintendent he came to our district and told the people to elect a new Councilman. This was done.

What was just described is a typical colonial system. Schools, hospitals, welfare agencies, and native government function for the colonizers, not the native population. Money and wealth is controlled by outsiders. The power rests with those who control the money. Fortunately, this situation is changing, as tribal leaders have pointed out.

When I was a child we "border-hopped." Our reservation was adjacent to the Canadian border. We had numerous relatives on Canadian reservations. My father and the children agreed that school was bad for us. Non-Indians taught strange concepts and even regarded themselves as humans (the Indian people regarded them as cruel, powerful, manipulative savages). By "border-hopping" we could avoid going to school. We were always able to move across the border to avoid school authorities. Finally, we were caught. It was made evident that if we did not attend school my father would be put in jail. Frightened by visions of early concentration camps, massive slaughter of our people, and fear of never seeing our father again, we attended school. We would, however, skip school almost at will. It was fun to fool the teachers. Two teachers visited our home to speak to our family. We were amazed that a non-Indian would have that much interest. We all attended school. Three out of the nine of us completed high school (two others died of tuberculosis).

The point I hoped to make was that the school was a foreign institution, forced upon our people by outsiders. There are many things that a school can do to become integrated into the community. The experts on education can explain this and give you examples of how this can function successfully and be totally responsible to the Indian community.

Life in the colonial system of the Federal Government was quite different. Disasters that occurred on the reservation did not seriously affect my life. I was certainly deeply concerned about drought that occurred and caused severe economic deprivation for the Indian people. But yet I did not starve. I suffered no loss of income. My view from the point of the colonialist was not the same as it would have been if I were living on that reservation as a native Indian.

It is not my purpose to indite any federal, state, or county agency. Nor do I intend to be critical of Congressmen, Senators, or the American system. I only hope to show how the colonial system affects the educational process. In the colonial system Indian youngsters are prepared for life as non-Indians. One must, in effect, become a "white man" in order to succeed. This was distasteful to my parents. It is distasteful to me, and it is distasteful to my children. It is not that we do not like or respect our white brothers. We are Indians. We only ask respect for what we are.

In regard to discrimination, all of us certainly can cite examples of overt discrimination. I would just like to mention a form of discrimination which is most severe and difficult to deal with. That is low expectation. This concept stems from lack of knowledge about Indians. The average school teacher has a vague concept of "naked savages" who inhabited the land. Europeans brought in "civilization." The more intelligent Indians became civilized and moved from the reservation or that particular location. Thus, today we have only the "degenerates," who are mentally and morally inferior and lack ambition. The "government" it is felt "gives them a living." As one school teacher at Fort Totten put it: "Year after year those students who have any intelligence or ambition move away. After this goes on for so long, what can you expect from those people who are left?" Ignorant of Indian History and Indian Culture, and living in a colonial home on the reservation, he can hardly come to any other conclusion. The effect on the Indian student is severe. In early years students are encouraged to attend school. Nearing his teens he is then exposed to an impossible situation as he sees it. From his viewpoint he can succeed only if he were white. Yet, he is not. Resentment, lethargy, and self-hate are natural results. As an example, Mrs. Karen Riley, formerly a Health Committee member from the Quinault, cited this example: "When I was a sophomore I planned to go to college. I went to my counselor for help. She visited my parents and said to them, 'don't expect too much from Karen, after all, remember her background'." If we chose to continue, numerous examples could be cited. This has happened to me also. Thus, only Indian students with special motivation can complete their education. Depressive reactions and suicides are common.

Non-Indians, it seems, are willing to help American Indians, provided, of course, that they remain in a position where they need help. The Indian setting, therefore, is conducive to a general lack of achievement by Indian people. Some Indians are willing to play the game by becoming school dropouts or alcoholics.

Originally, programs for Indians were not designed to do this. It has become this way because people who work with Indians feel this is necessary for the preservation of their jobs. This can be overcome easily by Indians being in a position of power. In many Indian locations in this three-state area this has already occurred. Results are satisfying. Employees are happier. Programs are designed to fit the needs of the Indian people. It is basic administration to delegate authority and responsibility to the lowest possible level (by lower level is meant the closer to the place where the action is). This is nothing new and nothing radical. These concepts have been proven true for more than a century. Indian leaders have requested more support. It is simple logic that they should have the right to use such resources as they see fit to overcome their greatest needs.

Senator MORSE. Senator Yarborough?

Senator YARBOROUGH. Doctor, as I understand your testimony, with your description of this colonial system, you are really advocating something that Senator Robert Kennedy has been advocating, that some of this power be taken out of the Federal bureaucracy and transferred back to the tribes. Is that the substance of the suggestion you make? You state the problem here. Is that what you recommend here, that this be taken from those who, as you say, live there but go live at the bridge club or other social organizations of that kind?

Now, are you recommending that that power be decentralized back to the tribe?

Dr. DE MONTIGNY. This is true. I have, you know, made statements such as this. The Director of the Division of Indian Health, Dr. Rabeau, has made statements to this effect, and these have been often regarded as rebellious or new. They are not. It's just a very basic principle of administration.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Doctor, you have given us a very fine statement here of how you in one lifetime have lived through three cultures. You have really gone through three cultural stages, where most people live out one in their lifetime.

But nothing in this statement quite prepared me for your footgear. Looking at it alone I would think you were a Texan here. [Laughter.]

Dr. DE MONTIGNY. No; I am from the Dakotas.

(Whereupon a discussion was had off the record.)

Senator YARBOROUGH. Doctor, have you experienced, in your practice, any actual discrimination against Indians? Can you cite any actual examples? Just go ahead and tell us if you have.

Dr. DE MONTIGNY. In my practice of medicine?

Senator YARBOROUGH. Yes; or in your experience in Nebraska or any place you have been?

Dr. DE MONTIGNY. Well, I don't know just exactly what you're referring to. I guess a moccasin telegraph travels pretty fast. It——

Senator YARBOROUGH. Well, I think some of the staff has——

Dr. DE MONTIGNY. I did—I have experienced this. I think most Indians in the room have.

This was in 1963. I went shopping down in Rushville, Nebr., and was arrested for standing on the street corner on a Saturday morning.

I was incarcerated in the county jail, no charge placed.

My wife was looking for me frantically, and it was late in the afternoon or early evening by the time the authorities from Pine Ridge were able to locate me, came down and asked, you know, what had happened, and I explained what had happened, and I was quite upset over it, to say the least, and I was willing to take it to the highest court of the land in order to really put this to these authorities.

The authorities from the reservation advised against it.

I had, in the process of being arrested, hit a policeman, and, well, decided it was not—we came to a decision that it would be unwise to bring this before the newspapers and the courts, as the newspapers in the local area would perhaps slant the thing the wrong way. It might place me in a very embarrassing spot, so as a result of this, I let the authorities go.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Do you feel that you were arrested because you were an Indian?

Dr. DE MONTIGNY. This is a very common practice. I don't think that it is anything—I don't think that it is any secret at all in this part of the country, in the Great Plains. This is the way the people get their streets cleaned. If there are Indians out on the street and they don't appear like they are doing anything, they are just picked up and charged with something, and told to work off their sentence, and so far as the towns are concerned, this is the way to get their streets swept.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Well, you say throughout the plains. What area would you say this practice exists in?

Dr. DE MONTIGNY. In South Dakota in particular, and also in North Dakota.

Senator YARBOROUGH. And the one that you gave was in Nebraska?

Dr. DE MONTIGNY. Yes. This is just about 20 miles south.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Well, in your experience as a medical doctor, you conferred with people from different Indian reservations, traveled with groups, whether they lived on the reservation or not; have you not?

Dr. DE MONTIGNY. That's right.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Do you find that practice widespread in the other areas other than those you have mentioned?

Dr. DE MONTIGNY. Yes. The Indian people have related some of these things to me that occurred in Oklahoma and eastern Oklahoma, around Keota, Sallisaw, and Poteau, the Indian people have related to me that they have experienced this.

I think the committee has already reviewed the situation in Idaho, on the Fort Hall Reservation.

I don't think these things are any secret. I believe they have certainly been well documented.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Thank you for the contribution you have made, Doctor. I hadn't been out in this area before, and frankly, I had not heard before of this. It might be well known in the area, but I hadn't been up in that area much, and I think it's valuable for the committee to have a record of it.

Dr. DE MONTIGNY. If you wish, I can certainly set upon getting some of this information to you.

Senator YARBOROUGH. All right.

We are dealing with education in this hearing, but as a U.S. Senator I am interested in anything, and Senator Morse and Senator Kennedy are interested in anything, that affects the interest of all Americans, and I think we especially feel that all Americans are equal and none is entitled to special privileges, but I think we owe a special view of the status of the first Americans.

Just one point. When you are speaking of discrimination, I think the overt kind of discrimination is the easiest kind for the Indian people to deal with.

Dr. DE MONTIGNY. You say the overt kind is the easiest kind?

Senator YARBOROUGH. That's right. I think the hidden kind where, "I really can't expect very much from you because you are an Indian" is the most devastating kind of discrimination that can exist.

Thank you, Doctor.

Senator MORSE. Doctor, at the time of that Nebraska arrest incident, you were the resident physician, were you not, at Pine Ridge?

Dr. DE MONTIGNY. That's right.

Senator MORSE. Well, I'm glad that Senator Yarborough asked the question that elicited from you this testimony, because, you see, it's all linked together. This whole problem of providing equality of educational opportunities for Indians is the basic purpose of these hearings, but we cannot ignore the cause to effect relationships that are created by these discriminatory practices.

While you are still on the stand, counsel for the committee just handed me this telegram and suggested that I read it into the record.

May 22 telegram, sent to Hugh McDonald, press secretary for Senator Robert Kennedy, Benson Hotel, Portland, Oreg., and signed by the representative of the Senator in San Francisco, dealing with a specific case, reads as follows:

> Advise Mrs. Stella Reynolds Leach appeared on panel of Indians with Senator Kennedy early this year, and she was told to ask you many times when she needed help. She is an Indian woman who moved with her three children into a white neighborhood, Oakland, California; also two sons now in Army in Vietnam.
>
> She says neighbors harassed her continually, and tonight climax came when she returned home to find doors removed from house and all possessions dumped on floor.
>
> Kennedy Headquarters, Oakland, has requested aid of social agencies in way of local Indian center.
>
> Woman is Mrs. Stella Reynolds Leach, 3112 Kingsdale Avenue, Oakland, California. Phone is 415-535-0520. Press is aware of her predicament and she has called on Senator Kennedy for help.

This is an example that falls right in line with the testimony that you have given us today in connection with your own experience.

I want to thank you very, very much, Doctor, for your testimony.

Dr. DE MONTIGNY. I hope this has been helpful.

Senator MORSE. It's been very helpful.

We are going to get some more help for you on the basis of the assignment I have given to counsel and staff.

Thank you very much.

Next witness will be Mr. Harold Patterson, principal, elementary school, Quinault Tribe of Washington, accompanied by Alice Chenois, clerk, Tahalah School District.

Will you come forward?

Mr. Patterson, principal, Taholah Elementary School. He has a very fine educational background and broad experience in the field of education.

Alice Chenois, clerk of the school district. She is a graduate of Moclips High School, attended junior college, and also completed a course in business college; at the present time is employed with the Quinault Tribal Community Action program.

Delighted to have you, Mr. Patterson and Miss Chenois. Will you proceed in your own way?

STATEMENT OF HAROLD PATTERSON, PRINCIPAL, TAHOLAH ELEMENTARY SCHOOL, QUINAULT TRIBE OF WASHINGTON; ACCOMPANIED BY ALICE CHENOIS, CLERK, TAHOLAH SCHOOL DISTRICT

Mr. PATTERSON. Thank you, Senator Morse, for this opportunity to express ourselves on the problems of Indian education.

I personally have had a very wonderful and fulfilling experience as an educator upon an Indian reservation where all of the people to whom I am directly responsible are Indian people. I feel personally that this is a very healthy situation.

The Indian people have responded to this responsibility by cooperating to the utmost with me in developing programs of education that would meet the specific needs of the community, and so I say that this has been a very rewarding experience for me, and one, I think, which meets the highest aims of education, and I would like at this time to defer to Miss Chenois to make the initial statement in our testimony.

Senator MORSE. Delighted to hear you.

Miss CHENOIS. Thank you very much.

I'd like to give a little background, first, on the Quinault Reservation.

We have approximately 200 square miles and it contains about 180,000 acres. There are at the present time approximately 1,100 Quinault Indians enrolled and 900 of these are in the service area, according to the figures of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

On our reservation, we have one school located on the reservation. We have a total enrollment of 117 students. This includes from 3 years through the sixth grade, 3 years old to the sixth grade.

We have approximately 73 who go to the neighboring district. Forty-five of these are in high school; the others are in the seventh and eighth grades.

Our program at the Taholah School is completely community oriented. This is a concept that has started to come out. I think this is one of the best ways to handle Indian education.

As far as the things go, the Indian people have a voice in what is best for their children. It is not being done in very many areas. The Rough Rock School in Arizona. There is also a school in—I believe it's South Dakota, going along the same lines we are.

We have worked along this area for a good many years now. Mr. Patterson has been in Tahalah for 13 years, and this is one of the reasons why our program is succeeding, because he has taken an interest in the people, and I think this is one of the main problems that Indian people run up against when they go to public schools that are administered by people who do not know how to communicate with Indian people. This is the main problem we run into.

Our school has been cited by Dr. George Brain, dean of education at Washington State University, as one of the 10 best elementary schools in the Nation, and I think that this stands to show that we are actually doing something that is significant to Indian education.

Our district is small. We are a third-class district, and this puts us in a position of having problems with finances and everything else. The dropout rate in our high school is quite high, but the dropout rate doesn't tell the full story as far as the statistics go.

It shows that our children are dropping out, but the children who are in high school are not succeeding in education. They can go through 12 years of high school, but what do they have after they get out of school? They are not able to compete in the society of today. They cannot enter a college and be successful.

The only Indian students who are able of doing this are people who have accepted the way of life as the white society dictates, and this is one of the main reasons why my own sister graduated from Washington State University.

She didn't come back to the reservation because of lack of economic development, and all these other things tend to make Indian education problems as far as it goes. We have problems in health; we have problems in almost anything you could name, and this is part of the thing of why our people do not feel that education is important, because of the strong cultural background that our people have.

We attended meetings all over the State. I have gone to—I don't know how many—meetings on education, and not too long ago there was a statement on Indian education, and one of the men asked this one lady who was on the panel, "Well, what about the assimilation of Indian people? Why do you think it's been such a problem?"

And she said, "Well, the Indian people have been here for 400 years and you have not succeeded in putting them into this society they are living in today. We don't feel we should have to change our goals. Our set of values are different. We do not feel that education is not important. It has to be linked to the importance of what we feel is right for us, not for what we should try to do in the society of today."

The Indian people today are in a transitional period. They live in two different worlds and this is brought out with the bicultural languages. On the Quinault Reservation, very few of our people speak Quinault any more, and the school has worked for the last two and a half years in cooperation with other organizations to write the Quinault language.

We are at the present time teaching it in our school, and this, along with the historical background on our own reservation, we are working on this.

We have one Quinault Indian on our staff at the school, and at the Moclips High School, we do not have any Indian teachers, and I think this is one of the problems of Indian education.

Senator MORSE. Problems of the dropout, too. Are we confronted here with the situation in which the dropouts take place after they leave the elementary school on the reservation and then go to the high school off the reservation which doesn't emphasize the Indian historical background and culture? Is that part of the problem, do you think?

Miss CHENOIS. This is very definitely a part of the problem. The students who leave Taholah to go to Moclips, go into the seventh grade there, and it's a very trying time for Indian students at that time even to leave the reservation, let alone walk into a completely different situation.

Our program at Taholah School is set up differently than it is at Moclips. We provide $40,000 more a year in programs that we think are necessary for the education of Indian people.

This is about the minimum standard, as far as the State is concerned, and we have been having a lot of financial problems at the school.

This brings in this 874. We have a great deal of problem with this, because two-thirds of our money comes from the Federal Government for the education of our young people, and then this last year, out of a $98,000 budget at the school, we got $5,600 from the State to operate our school, and next year—we just set up our budget for next year—it's going to run about $108,000 and we will get $2,700 from the State to operate their schools, so to speak, and this is just a small portion of the problem that involves Indian education, and I think that if people are willing to listen and try to do something for the Indian people, this would be one of the most important things as far as the Indian people are concerned.

I don't think that the public schools or the Bureau of Indian Affairs schools are doing the job, period.

I think that the only way you are going to succeed in educating Indian people is making the education more meaningful to them by changing the curriculum in the schools.

The majority of the public schools teach college prep courses, and this is not meaningful to Indian people. They are not taught the historical background.

This has been brought out quite a bit this morning, and I think——

Senator Morse. Talking about the curriculum, would you suggest not only the Indian background and the Indian cultural courses, but when you say that they are being prepared, really for college entrance, are you suggesting that maybe we ought to pay more attention to the development of vocational education courses and development of technical skills and preparing them for a life in the vocational field if they do not have the desire or the interest in going on to the so-called liberal arts college approach?

Miss Chenois. I think that this is one of the most important things that could be done.

As far as our students on the Quinault Reservation under our community action program, we have an educational counselor, and he also has under him two associate counselors who are Indian women who have been hired by our program to check into the attendance problems of the students.

We serve four school districts under our CAP program.

Senator Morse. It's very interesting that you give us this testimony because my Subcommittee on Education about 2, 2½ weeks ago, completed its hearings on the proposals for a new vocational education program, and this point of view has been expressed, not only in relationship to Indian students, but to students across the board. We have many, many dropouts a fact that can be traced in part to their lack of interest and concern in preparing themselves in a curriculum that will lead to college admission. That's not what they want. What they want to do is to get an educational program that will emphasize the training of their skills, preparing them for skillful employment, where they can get jobs that will pay them a decent income, where they can support their family and health and decency, and some of the testimony shows that we are making a mistake in assuming that there is a monolithic educational interest in this country.

It's a very diverse interest, and if we are going to reach these young men and women who are dropping out, we've got to develop a much broader curriculum, and I assume from your testimony that's what you're pleading for here in the field of Indian education. Is that true?

Miss CHENOIS. Yes. I feel this is quite necessary. I think that the educational system as it stands today in the public schools or the Bureau of Indian Affairs schools is not sufficient, and it is not serving its purpose.

It is not educating our young people and this, I feel, is a waste of human resources, because our students are not getting the right kind of education which will make them, as you say, able to support their family after they get out of school, and this type of thing.

The vocational programs under the Bureau are fine, but I don't feel that they are completely doing the job, because our students go away to vocational school and do get the training, but what happens if they don't want to live in the big cities? They don't feel comfortable there, and so what happens? They come back to the reservation, even after they have had the training, and they don't put it into operation, and this is where we are losing them.

Senator MORSE. I don't want to take any of our precious time. I just want to help you supplement your statement by this flash reference to our vocational educational area, and some of the witnesses testified, for example, about the great scarcity of skilled craftsmen in this country.

I remember one day some of the testimony was how long it takes to get an automobile repaired in some of the congested areas of our country. We just don't have the automobile mechanics to repair them.

Why the housing program in some areas is being slowed down, because you just don't have the craftsmen to do the work, the electricians, the plumbers, the carpenters, the skilled craftsmen.

We are making a great mistake, so these witnesses argue, as I assume you are arguing here this morning, in not paying more attention, broadening the base of the curriculum at the high school level in regard to the development of these technical skills, and if I understand you correctly, you're pointing out that there is a void here, too, as far as training these young Indians. Is that the burden of your testimony?

Miss CHENOIS. Yes. I think that the Indian people as a whole, even the parents now who are 50 years old, the majority of them have attended boarding schools, and they have gotten their education this way, but our young people are being lost now today, and it isn't because the parents are not interested, I don't feel. It's because of the system, the way it operates and the way the students are being pushed through school with no meaning to it, and I have had conferences with the local administrators at the school and asked them.

I told them, "well, our students are not doing well."

If you could look at the grades of our students, many of them are flunking subjects in high school, the majority of the subjects that they take every year, and yet they still graduate them, and this to me is a crime.

They are not educating them, and Mr. Patterson has many points he'd like to make as far as what we are doing on the reservation, and I'd like to turn it over to him.

Senator MORSE. Thank you very much, Miss Chenois.

Mr. Patterson, do you want to summarize it?

Mr. PATTERSON. Yes, sir. We have a prepared statement, Senator Morse, which contains much of the information.

Senator MORSE. The statement will be inserted in the record at this point.

(Prepared statement of Mr. Patterson follows:)

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HAROLD PATTERSON, PRINCIPAL, TAHOLAH SCHOOL DISTRICT QUINAULT INDIAN RESERVATION, WASH.

PROBLEMS OF INDIAN EDUCATION IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

INTRODUCTION

The Indian population of The Pacific Northwest in terms of numbers might seem rather insignificant.[1] However the problems with American Indians in our society are far from insignificant, for they are a microcosm of the problems faced by the United States in its relationships with other cultures throughout the world. If we cannot create an harmonious, dignified relationship with the Indian minority in our own nation, how can we satisfactorily relate to nations and cultures outside our borders?

The problem, in essence, is that a cultural gap exists which we have been unable to bridge. We have been unable to bridge it because we have not accorded to Indians a status in our society which is worthy of their dignity as human beings.

Our educational methods for Indians have been designed more to deculturate than to educate them. The result is that we have a generation of Indians who cannot wholly identify with any element of society. They have dark skin, but they cannot think and speak as their fore fathers did. Neither can they act and think as whites, because the roots of their Indian heritage still remain deeply inplanted in their hearts and minds.

What ever we do with Indians should be done with the goal of opening the door to their participation in society as equals while maintaining their Indian identity and heritage to what ever extent they wish. Indians have successfully resisted assimilation for hundreds of years. Yet I believe that they would welcome the type of integration which I have briefly described. It is with this goal in mind that I will summarize what I believe to be major problems in Indian Education, and suggest possible solutions.

THE CULTURAL PROBLEM

The American Indians have a cultural background which is equally as diverse from western European culture and its American off-shoot as those of the Orient. One reason Indians have made a less satisfactory adjustment in our society than oriental immigrants have is that we have asked them to deny and forsake their cultural heritage while learning ours. Understandably, they have refused to do this.

Indian students who enter our schools are sensitized to values derived from their own culture which tend to handicap them in ours. I will only illustrate the problem here, because there are many sources of detailed information on this. A typical factor is the Indian characteristic of verbal non-aggression. In an Indian setting everyone is given the opportunity to have his say without having to force himself upon the scene. For this reason they keep still until the time comes for them to speak. This does not usually work in our schools and our society. We reward those who are verbally aggressive and articulate.

There are other such problems related to concepts, thought patterns, language and learning style. The net result is that our typical educational system operates in an environment which is hostile to the Indian temperament and value system. The Indian student does not rationalize this conflict, and he ought not to be expected to do so. To him the whole thing resolves into a question of basic loyalties. When the school system cuts across his loyalties, he does what any normal human would do: he remains an Indian, even if this might cost him his education.

A possible solution to this which is gaining recognition is the introduction of a bi-cultural approach to education for Indians. This involves extensive modification of the curriculum, but I believe it can be done without sacrificing essentials.

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[1] According to the March Labor Force Report of the Portland Area Office, BIA, the estimated populations are: Washington, 15,592; Oregon, 2,770; Idaho, 4,870.

It is possible for humans to live in two cultural worlds, and many do so. We could make it possible for Indians to be comfortable in their two worlds by making the schools they attend more hospitable. At Rough Rock, Arizona, at Pine Ridge, South Dakota, and at Taholah, this is being done by community involvement with the schools and by the inclusion of Indian cultural studies in the curriculum.

THE TEACHING PROBLEM

The temperament and background of Indian students makes it necessary to state that teaching them is a professional specialty. The dropout rate of Indians from our schools is high, but the dropout rate of teachers of Indians is much higher. When teachers find that the methods they have been taught in college do not work with Indians, they find themselves threatened professionally. It is really unfair to both teacher and student to bring teachers into contact with such a cultural conflict unprepared.

While many aspects of Indian culture cannot be learned without living among Indians for a protracted period, much more could be done in teacher orientation than is being done.

According to an ethnic count conducted by Louis Bruna, the Washington State Superintendent of Public Instruction, there are 9,172 Indians enrolled in the public schools of Washington in 1968. Because of the 50% plus dropout rate of Indians, the potential student population could be one-third more than that indicated.

A number of students that large, who have identifiable educational problems in common deserves more attention than is presently being given to it.

We strongly recommend that programs of Indian studies be established in several of the colleges of education in the Pacific Northwest. Prospective teachers who show an interest and an aptitude for working with Indian students should be given liberal backgrounds in Indian cultural and anthropology with field experience at the under graduate level. To accompany this, courses in cross-cultural psychology should be offered to enable teachers to better understand the problems of Indian students.

Graduate programs should be offered which would enable teachers to continue in the specialty of educating Indians.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL PROBLEM

We are living at a time when "integration" is being presented as a panacea for all tyes of ills, including those of education. The Coleman report entitled *Equality of Educational Opportunity* gives some basis for stating that a multiracial educational setting provides some advantages for minority groups. However it must be emhasized that Coleman also found that "The factor that showed the clearest relation to a child's achievement was his home background—The educational and economic resources provided within the home." (Coleman, U.S. News, December 25, 1967, p-49). Coleman also said "Intergration is not the only means, nor even the most efficient means, for increasing lower-class achievement. There may be other and better ways of creating such an environment."

Experience compels us to agree with Mr. Coleman. Of the 9,172 Indian students in Washington's public schools, 7,936 are attending "integrated' schools with less than 25% Indians in the student population. These integrated schools are not solving the problems we have with Indian students. In fact the Yakima area, in which all the schools are fully integrated, sends more Indian students to boarding schools in Oklahoma than any other in the state.

It is clear that those responsible for this do not feel that the integrated public schools are meeting the needs.

We at Taholah do not believe that anything but harm can come from forcing integration by means of the manipulation of school populations. We list several alternatives, which we believe will work.

THE COMMUNITY SCHOOL

Indians are community-minded people. They tend to settle in their own homogeneous colonies. Whenever they have the opportunity to do so. To them this is entirely natural and it has no racial over-tones. They love their culture, their traditional home lands, and their intimate social structures. These Indian communities can be integrated into American society intact, if their local institutions are developed. The basic institution which has the greatest potential for community development is the school. Good education for Indians should be in their own communities.

CONCENTRATIONS OF INDIAN STUDENTS

The concentration of Indian students in a given school should be looked upon positively, not negatively. We have used the "divide an conquer" tactic on Indians long enough. General Custer might have been willing to testify that Indians can give a good account of themselves when they are not out numbered. This could be true in school as well as on the battle field.

1. It can reduce alienation

The tendency of Indians has been to regard schools as an alien institution. This is because that is what they are. Through allowing Indians to concentrate in the schools, a more accepting relationship between the school and the students can be developed. It has been done at Taholah.

2. It can justify good curricular adaptations for Indians

The process of acculturation for Indian students is very complex with a significant number of Indian students to serve. The school could develop materials, subject-matter and methods along lines which would satisfy the needs of those students.

3. It would provide an economical use of staff

I have already suggested that the number of Indian students in Washington and the nature of their needs justify teacher specialization in the field of Indian Education.

Such specialists would need concentrated groups with which to apply their skills, and this would also alleviate the teacher dropout problem.

4. It can provide an environment for needed adjustments

Alienation as described above has had a very negative effect upon Indian children. Where Indian children are greatly outnumbered they tend to be overwhelmed by feelings of inadequacy. They are not inadequate in familiar environments, however. A school can become much more comfortable for Indians if it is not Caucasian-dominated. With suitable concentrations of Indian students, adequate curriculum adaptation and an accepting school environment, the dropout rate for Indians can be alleviated.

INTEGRATION OF SCHOOL BOARDS, ADMINISTRATION, AND FACULTIES

It would be far more fruitful to integrate the decisionmaking roles than the student populations. Until Indians are allowed to have a real voice in decisions which determine educational policy, they will always regard schools as alien institutions. In Taholah the School Board is Indian. This solves many problems, and provides living evidence that Indians are fully competent to develop successful programs for their people.

THE ECONOMIC PROBLEM

Education is involved with economics to the extent that it relates to life vocations. Because the type of education we have offered to Indians often does not relate to his vocational aspirations it has been meaningless to him.

If an Indian can be persuaded to stay in school through college, the training he gets there would be unlikely to prepare him to live in the Indian community from which he comes. Because most of them prefer to remain a part of their community, we scarcely blame them for not wishing to spend about 22 years of their lives preparing for something which is not relevant to this goal.

Even the high school program available to Quinalt is mainly college-preparatory, and this accounts for part of the drop-out rate.

If education is to become meaningful to Indians it must be modified in the following ways:

IT MUST BE RELATED TO HIS PRESENT LIFE

This can be done through introduction of familiar subject-matter into the curricular. By utilizing Indian languages, customs, crafts, literature, and lore in the teaching process, we may enable the Indian child to identify with the school as a meaningful part of his environment. The economy and government of the Indian community are legitimate areas of study which can enable the student to relate his education to the way of life which he knows.

IT MUST BE RELATED TO HIS FUTURE LIFE

This can be implemented in three ways: (1) By intensive vocational counseling throughout the school years, (2) by introducing vocational subjects in the classroom beginning with the elementary grades, and (3) by including pre-vocational training programs in the high school.

If the local high school cannot support vocational programs, a possibility would be to provide arrangements for Indians to attend technical schools on the high school level before they drop out, instead of afterwards!

IT MUST BE RELATED TO THE ECONOMIC POTENTIAL OF HIS COMMUNITY

In this context we envision the school as a catalyst for the economic development of the Indian communities. Most Indian communities are poorly developed. The federal government at one time mistakenly thought they could relocate Indians. Now there are plans and resources being made available for the economic development of Indian communities.

These new opportunities find many Indian communities without enough sophistication to take advantage of them adequately. The community school and its staff have an obligation to provide professional assistance for community development.

By participating in the economic development of the community the school has the opportunity to promote its own ends—education and training.

The more people which are educated, the more skillfully they can develop their community. The more developed the community becomes. The more job opportunities that will become available to the trained Indians. Thus a circular self-sustaining process can be initiated which will include education as a meaningful local activity. Why should Indians take education seriously where this is not done?

THE FINANCIAL PROBLEM

Educational leaders have finally accepted the concept that compensatory education for the culturally different is necessary and meritorious. However there is now a great deal of confusion as to how it will be financed.

In the case of the Taholah School District the financial burden for compensatory programs is being shifted radically upon the local taxpayers.

The State of Washington gives token support to special programs by means of culturally Disadvantaged Factor in its apportionment formula. In 1967–68 this amounted to less than 1% of the total budget at Taholah. At the same time, the state is siphoning off federal impact funds by reducing the normal state guarantees.

The following detailed analysis documents what is happening to the Taholah School District.

ANALYSIS OF THE EFFECT OF CHANGES IN THE STATE SUPPORT OF THE TAHOLAH SCHOOL DISTRICT NO. 77

1. The Taholah School has an enrollment which is 97% Indian. Because the contemporary Indian Culture does not coincide with the culture of the public school, Indian children need special programs to assist them in the process of acculturation. Table I shows the special programs operating at Taholah for this purpose, and their cost. These costs are above the cost of a minimum traditional elementary school program.

TABLE I.—*Special programs operated by the Taholah School*

Programs:	*Cost*
1. Nursery school	$1,956.00
2. Kindergarten	8,465.59
3. Extra teacher to lower teacher load	5,863.60
4. Free lunch program	8,237.60
5. Teacher aides	1,200.00
6. Educational secretary	3,500.00
7. Remedial reading	7,000.00
8. Evening study hall	520.00
9. Transportation of 7th through 12th grade student to Moclips	4,000.00
Total cost	40,742.79

2. The State and Federal governments recognize the needs mentioned in paragraph number 1 above. They do provide funds for school districts to operate special programs of the nature described in Table I. Table II shows the amounts available to the Taholah School District for this purpose during the current school year.

TABLE II.—*Funds available to the Taholah School District for operating special programs*

Johnson O'Malley Indian Education Fund	$5, 000. 00
Title I—Public Law 89–10	5, 671. 00
State culturally disadvantaged factor	822. 50
State transportation allotment	3, 323. 26
Total	14, 816. 76

3. The difference in the funds available and the funds expended for special programs is shown in Table III. The Taholah School District has had to vote excess levies to carry the balance.

TABLE III.—*Difference between costs of special programs and funds available*

Cost of special programs	$40, 752. 79
Funds available for this purpose	14, 816. 76
Deficit	25, 936. 03

4. This year the Taholah School District will receive $23,415.00 from P.L. 874 funds, due to the impact of tax free federal land in the district. The State of Washington indirectly takes part of this money by reducing the state allocation of guaranteed funds.

Tables IV and V show the effect of this action by the state upon the Taholah School District. If this were not done, the deficit shown in Table III would be partially alleviated.

TABLE IV.—*Impact of equalization of Public Law 874 funds by the State on the Taholah School District*

State guarantee with normal deductions	$19, 352. 40
Deductions from State guarantee due to Public Law 874 fund	−13, 653. 80
Net Guaranteed State Allocation to Taholah School district for 1967–68	5, 698. 00

TABLE V.—*Net realization of Public Law 874 funds to the Taholah School District*

Total Public Law 874 funds allocated by Federal Government	$23, 415. 00
Loss of State funds due to Public Law 874 income	13, 653. 80
School district's share of Public Law 874 allotment	9, 761. 20

5. The State formerly equalized only 30% of the P.L. 874 Funds. Since the 1965 Legislature, the state is progressively increasing this "take" to the point of 70% for 1967–68 and 85% for 1968–69. The 1965 legislature also devised a new formula which reduced revenue to the Taholah School District. Although these factors had reduced the revenue of the Taholah School District for several years on the formula, the district was protected by the "Grandfather Clause", which guaranteed 95% of the previous level of support. The 1967 legislature removed the protection of the Grandfather Clause. Table VI, Column A, lines 4 and 5 shows the dramatic drop in the guaranteed state allocation for the Taholah School District. The difference of $25,819.98 between 1966–67 and 1967–68, represents an 82% drop in state guaranteed support for the 1967–68 school year.

TABLE VI.—CHANGES IN MAJOR SOURCES OF SUPPORT AND BUDGET EXPENDITURES OVER THE PAST 5 YEARS

Year (a)	State support (b)	Public Law 874 (c)	Local taxes (d)	Budget expense (e)
1. 1963-64	$24,376.01	$18,880.00	$8,305.64	$62,348.78
2. 1964-65	23,966.82	25,511.00	7,914.38	69,568.38
3. 1965-66	26,826.20	20,603.00	27,473.24	92,063.87
4. 1966-67	31,518.59	12,198.00	22,816.07	86,162.45
5. 1967-68	5,698.60	23,415.00	[1] 50,035.89	[1] 98,474.45

[1] Estimated.

Table VI also shows how that the electors have had to rally to the support of the Taholah School program by voting special levies. The normal income from an 8.4 mill levy for the district this year would be $14,625.00. The $50,035.89 in Table VI, Column D, line 5 represents an excess levy of 22 mills, passed in the fall of 1967.

The situation in Taholah is this. We have been developing a quality program to meet the needs of Indian students. This program has been costly but not wasteful. The things which we are doing are recognized by authorities as valuable and necessary. Simultaneously with our increased cost state support has diminished. This year the state is providing less support to our program than it was ten years ago! We are receiving less than 25% of the financial support from the state that we received in 1963-64! We respectfully point out that it is both unwise and shameful to follow a formula of support which penalizes a school in this manner. The people of the Taholah School District are supporting their school. They have a right to expect the state to support it also.

The only suggestions we can make to end the fiscal confusion that is described above are to (1) require states to refrain from interfering with federal impact funds granted to local school districts, and (2) revise the Johnson O'Malley Indian Education fund policies.

At present the Johnson O'Malley fund is administered by the state, and is apportioned out as the state sees fit. If this fund could be increased to the point where it would cover more of the deficits created by approved programs for Indian students, the local school districts, such as Taholah, will have a chance to survive while meeting the needs of their students. Under present policies we may not survive, because there is a limit to what can be done through excess tax levies.

DROPOUT STATISTICS

Year	Number of students leaving Taholah after 6th grade	Transferred, deceased, or still in school	Graduated	Dropped out	
				Number	Percent
1954	9	1	6	2	22
1955	15	0	2	13	87
1956	10	1	4	4	50
1957	4	0	2	2	50
1958	10	0	5	5	50
1959	7	1	2	4	57
1960	12	1	8	3	25
1961	4	1	3	0	0
1962	24	5	6	13	54

Mr. PATTERSON. There are two major headings in our prepared statement which had not been emphasized in this, which I'd like to comment on briefly, if I may.

Senator MORSE. Go ahead.

Mr. PATTERSON. One is the teacher problem. We have talked extensively about student dropout problems, but when it comes to finding teachers who are capable of relating to Indian students, who have been adequately prepared through their studies to do that, we find that their dropout rate is greater than that of the students, and this has been one of the most serious problems that I have had to deal with in Taholah.

When professional people come into a situation where there is cultural conflict without adequate preparation to meet this and to make their own adjustments to it, they are threatened professionally, and they feel that it is their fault that these students are not coming up to arbitrary standards in educational achievement, so they last about 2 years and then they will leave to fairer fields, and so we have had a continual turnover of professional staff.

So I would recommend, as I have before, that one of the colleges or more in the Northwest enter into a program of professional studies of Indian education.

There are 10,000 Indian students in public schools, at least, in the State of Washington, and if it were not for the dropout rate, there would be more, and a number of students this large who have a common identifiable problem deserve some attention in terms of teacher preparation.

In other parts of the country, for instance in the Southwest, you may specialize in Indian education as a teacher, and this, I believe, is not possible in this area, and I believe it's a very great need.

Perhaps some of the Federal programs which are designed to assist in education could work in a college to set up this type of a program.

The other problem which I wanted to just touch upon is the economic problem. I feel that the education—we talked about technical education, and so forth, for Indian people, but I think the heart of the matter is this:

That unless education is relevant to the life and the development, the economic development of the reservation area itself, it will still not be meaningful to Indian people.

They are homogenous people who like to concentrate in the areas that are traditional to them. They want to remain there.

And now there are beginning to be funds and programs available to Indian tribes to develop their area economically, and I believe that education has a responsibility to provide consultation to the tribes to develop their area and concurrent with this, to pattern their educational program in such ways that these young people in school will be training for something that they will be doing right in their own area.

I am thinking now of the Quinault Fish Hatchery which has been funded, and if we could get a hatchery program and a fisheries study program into the schools where these young people would be trained to develop this resource, I am thinking that they would love nothing more than this, and this is just an example of other things that could be done.

We believe in compensatory education for Indians, providing that it is directed to the needs of the Indian people.

At Taholah on a small scale, we have a school which is 99 percent Indian and in assessing our needs through the years, we have developed a nursery school program, using district funds, and we bring our children in at the age of 3 into the school program, and this is succeeding, and then this feeds into the kindergarten.

We have succeeded in lowering our teacher load so that the average is 22 students per teacher, and this is needed because Indian students must relate to a person. The relationship must be individualized. They don't involve themselves in mass learning techniques readily, and so this is a necessity.

We provide free lunch to all the students there, because we regard the lunch program as an educational activity, and on this basis, why, we have been able to influence the diet habits of our students.

We have teacher aides, some of whom are employed by the school district, and under the community action program and the Neighborhood Youth Corps.

We have a reading program under title I, ESDA, and this is rendering excellent service to us, that provides study hall for students who may not have an adequate facility to study at night, so we open the building with a teacher in charge to assist the children in preparing their lessons, and then we ourselves transport the children who go from our district to the other districts for their education. We provide this transportation because we find if we have an Indian person driving the bus, the student is more likely to get on the bus at the proper time. It's just a simple thing, but it's something we found effective and it has helped.

There is one other thing I would like to submit for the record, Senator Morse, and that is concerning the fact of segregation, de facto segregation. We have experienced it in the State of Washington, where actually the Indian community has been threatened by remedial action taken by the State to take care of the fact of segregation in urban areas, and if these laws had been applied, these regulations had been applied to the Indians, it would destroy the Indian community.

I am speaking of busing children out of a given area in order to get a proper racial mix in a school.

We find that for the purpose of education, a concentration of Indian students is a healthy thing, because I think many of the problems Indians have had may be because they have been outnumbered, and this is true in the school as well as on the battlefield.

Senator MORSE. We will receive into the record exhibit 2 offered by Mr. Patterson, exhibit entitled "De Facto Segregation and the American Indian."

Thank you, very, very much. It's been very helpful to us, and adds to our record materially.

Senator Yarborough, any questions?

Senator YARBOROUGH. Well, Mr. Chairman, some members of the staff are saying that in their studies, that they think that this Taholah School has the best treatment of Indians in the whole Northwest. It's deeply involved in the Indian community, doing everything possible; has even an all-Indian school board, not only representative, but an all-Indian school board, and they were highly complimentary of your school, how you were running it. Mr. Patterson, I want to compliment you on that, and what you're talking about, the segregation factor, we have run into with the Alabama Cochiti Reservation in Texas.

All of a sudden the school just suddenly began to improve, and they are a small high school, play basketball in the smallest category, have gone to the State basketball meet, won the State championship, making great progress.

All of a sudden they were told they couldn't get Federal moneys under this secondary act, bus some of the pupils 30 miles away and bring some others in, get a racial mix.

Why, it was a piece of folly, and just as they are beginning to make great strides, built a museum there, making great progress. Their income has gone up, average annual income, in 5 years, per family, from a thousand dollars a family to $3,000 a family, and many of the members, 30 miles from the nearest county seat, worked there 5 days, but they come back and work in this tourist exhibit center for 2 days a week and make more money there than they make in that county seat the other 5 days.

Just as they get started making this program, you've got to bus your pupils out to some other school, bus others in here to get a 50 percent equilibrium. That sounds like a bureaucracy going mad.

Thank you very much.

How many Quinaults are there?

Miss Chenois. Approximately 700, and 900 in the service area of the reservation.

Senator Yarborough. The total population, how many are there?

Miss Chenois. On the reservation, there are approximately 700 people.

Senator Yarborough. On the reservation?

Miss Chenois. Yes.

Senator Yarborough. How many scattered out? Do you know how many overall?

Miss Chenois. On the Quinault, we have principally two villages, one located at Taholah and one at Queets, and that's where all the people live in those two little villages.

Senator Yarborough. Thank you very much.

Senator Morse. Thank you very, very much, indeed.

Mr. Patterson. It was a privilege to testify.

(The following paper was submitted for the record:)

De Facto Segregation and the American Indian

(By Harold L. Patterson, principal, Taholah Elementary School)

THE ARENA

Because of the attention which is currently focused on racial minorities, it was inevitable that the American Indians would at some point become involved in the civil rights controversy. Unfortunately, they do not want to be involved. Historically, the Indians fought for their homeland, but now that the battles are over they are more interested in getting recognition for their treaty rights than for their civil rights. Under the terms of their treaties, unique privileges for Indians were recognized as a basis of amicable settlement of the legitimate claims which Indians had with respect to the land. Included in these were the right to live in their traditional habitat, the right to govern themselves, within the framework of their relationship with the federal government, and the right to use and develop their own resources. The right to develop human resources would certainly involve them in the education of their children.

Since the shooting has stopped, Indians have not been militant in their demands for recognition. They have not involved themselves generally in civil disturbances such as demonstrations and riots. They have recently begun to make their presence felt through political action, and, where this has failed, through the courts of the land. Up to now they have shown much more confidence in the traditional American system of legislation and arbitration than have those who have sought to gain attention through civil disturbances. They certainly do not identify with the extreme view that it is necessary to force integration in order to gain equality for themselves and their children.

The whole idea of integration has rather ambiguous and sinister implications where most Indians are concerned. For instance, the Quinault treaty clearly states that the Quinaults would be allowed to hold a certain tract of land for their *exclusive* use and enjoyment. To the extent that integration with non-Indians occurs on a reservation, some kind of compromise of the original intent of the treaty is involved. On some reservations in Washington, the influx of whites has involved direct and indirect exploitation of Indians and their resources. This is due at least to three factors: (a) The Indian people are not commercially aggressive, (b) Indians traditionally believe in conserving resources instead of exhausting them, and (c) Indians have not established the types of municipal governments which can effectively regulate land use and resource development.

The Quinaults recognize that inter-action with non-Indians in the development and use of their reservation is inevitable. This will certainly involve integration, in some sense of the term. However, the Quinaults are seeking with all means at their disposal to establish municipal control of their area, so that integration will not be synonymous with exploitation and assimilation. An important aspect of this municipal control is their operation of a public school at Taholah within the framework of the State system. It is a community school, and, as such, would be destroyed by the application of existing regulations which are aimed at eliminating de facto segregation in urban areas. Enough has been said already for one with an open mind to understand that rural problems, especially those of Indian reservations, are not amenable to blanket solutions which are designed to deal with urban situations.

Nevertheless, the national conscience is guilt-ridden because of past mistreatments of Indians, so we are preparing to prescribe and administer remedies to Indians regardless of whether they meet the needs, and regardless of whether the Indians like it or not. This is typical of the "father knows best" attitude that characterizes our nation. It has earned us the title: "the ugly American" abroad. This title becomes us well; we practiced it on the Indians for 400 years before exporting it.

Because some Negroes are clamoring over grievances, and perhaps rightly so, some influential people evidently have panicked. They want to mix Whites, Negroes, Orientals, and Indians in some ideal proportion in order to forestall racial violence in the State of Washington. Who is to say what is the proper racial mix, and on what basis? The normal population on an Indian reservation is Indian, and any other admixture represents a "racial minority". A reasonable application of present de facto segregation regulations to the Quinault community would be to limit the white minority.

Let us take heed lest we stir the fires of racial strife ourselves by destroying communities through the abolition of their institutions! I refer to the recommendations of some to abandon "racially imbalanced" schools. What is racial imbalance? The State Board has defined it in a school as one which has 40% or more of its enrollment comprised of a single minority group. Would the State Board of Education be surprised if this were interpreted by some members of minority groups as merely another way of labeling them as inferior? To exert such pressures upon a community without their consent is a complete waiver of the democratic process. Is this to be done because it has already been decided by superior intellects that an all-Indian community or an all-Negro community is incapable of doing a competent job of educating its children? I am sure that the State Board recognized some of these implications when it exempted schools which are serving American Indian communities from the provisions of the de facto segregation regulations. We ardently defend this action of the Board. We wonder if Negroes would also like to have something to say about how their student populations will be manipulated. It would seem to us that voluntary integration, which would grant to any student the privilege of having a voice in the selection of his school would be a more typically American approach. Totalitarian states have taken education out of the hands of the people and used it to accomplish predetermined sociological and political ends. This has not been the policy of America before now.

RACE AND EDUCATION

The problems of Indian education go much deeper than the racially-oriented solutions will ever reach. The Indian people are determined to retain their identity and they refuse to be assimilated. As long as education is used as a tool of assimilation they will continue to resist it, as they have in the past. This does not mean that they are unwilling to integrate. They have a cultural heritage which is dear to them, and they believe that there is room in America for them to preserve whatever they choose of that heritage. They are fully capable of adapting to modern ways and adjusting to life in the twentieth century. A leading reason why they have not fully done so is that the non-Indian majority has tried to make them conform to a needless degree, and too rapidly. The type of conformity required of Indians in a typical middle-class, white-dominated school is unthinkable to many of them. They are expected to be verbally agressive when they have been taught to be politely restrained in speech. They are expected to manifest curiosity when they have been taught to conceal it. They are expected to compete boldly when they have been taught to defer and yield in a social situation such as the school.

The typical Indian student will do best in an individualized, continuous-growth learning situation, within a social environment which is compatable to his values as an Indian. How many schools can offer this to him? In most schools which Indians attend in Washington, the Indian is already a less than 40% minority. We cannot point with pride to the experiences of Indians in these integrated schools. They may be physically integrated, but they are not culturally or socially integrated. The Yakima Indian Reservation, which is the largest in the State, and relatively highly "integrated", send around 200 of its Indian youth to Indian boarding schools in the mid-west. If they felt that the public schools were meeting their needs I doubt that this would take place.

In 1966, The U.S. Office of Education issued a report entitled *Equality of Educational Opportunity*. On the basis of this report, the U.S. Office took the position that only through racial integration of schools could Negroes be brought up to the educational equality with whites. The U.S. Commission of Civil Rights cited this report as a basis for recommending a federal law that would ban predominantly Negro schools. However, James S. Coleman, the author of the report, has interpreted the findings differently. As reported in the December, 1967 issue of *U.S. News and World Report*, Coleman said, "Integration is not the only means, nor even necessarily the most efficient means, for increasing lower-class achievement. There may be other and better ways of creating such an environment. For, whatever the benefits of integration, it is also true that even in socially or racially integrated schools a child's family background shows a very high relation to his performance . . . thus a more intense reconstruction of the child's social environment than that provided by school integration is necessary to remove the handicap of a poor family background".

The Coleman report, as interpreted by Coleman, indicates that the family and social background are more important factors in school achievement than anything that takes place within the school. This being the case, our target for educational improvement should be the family and the community. How can the school reach the family if the children are schooled in another community?

In the light of Coleman's analysis, the process of busing children out of the community further aggravates the separation between the school and the social milieu of the child. Thus unnatural and forced mixing does more harm than good in relation to a child's school achievement. If the family setting is a stronger factor in student achievement than compensatory programs within the school, then the school ought to be involved with the family, not divorced from it completely! This can be done only through a community school which is involving the members of the community in the educative process. This we are doing at Taholah.

On a national TV program, Senator Robert Kennedy said that the old time Indian leaders requested education for their children. He is right yet Indians are now classed as culturally deprived and difficult to educate. Obviously this is not because their leaders did not want education. Why is it so, then? Is it not because the Indian culture and family were never brought into the process of education? In bygone days Indian culture was seen as a hindrance to education, so children were taken out of their homes and communities and herded into Indian boarding schools. They were *deculturated* but not thoroughly educated!

What those educators failed to realize is that the Indians have a rich cultural heritage which is not incompatable with education in the highest sense. Commissioner Robert Bennett of the Bureau of Indian Affairs said recently that "Education programs should draw out the best in each child, to lead each one by his own special light into the joyous experience of self-awareness, self-expression, and self-confidence." Most of our public schools have not yet considered the needs of Indians in this light.

If it is not too late to remedy our mistakes we have only the Indians to thank. They have had sense enough to resist the process of cultural genocide which we have imposed on them, even though they have lost generations of their youth in the process. We have sacrificed Indian youth on the altar of assimilation and called it integration and education. Most of them have been unwilling to pay that price for education, so they have turned down the package. Now, if we can cast aside our pride and prejudices, acknowledge our errors, and invite the Indians to participate in the education of their children, perhaps the great Indian nation in our midst can experience a rebirth!

Furthermore, the result could be a strong infusion of fresh blood into our own cultural stream. If the Indians have contributed richly to our American culture while being treated as a conquered race (and they have) how much more could they contribute if accorded the opportunity to build with us as equals? The Indians have cultural characteristics, spiritual insights, and a world view which is compatible with those of peoples in many other parts of the world. If we would take the time to make peace with them and really understand them, if we would be willing to integrate our culture with theirs instead of trying to make them over into our image, perhaps we would, in the process, learn how to dwell more peaceably with peoples of other cultures in other lands. It is time we learned to export more good will and less hardware and moral irresponsibility. I believe that the Indians would teach us a great deal about this if we would let them. In fact, we could learn it just by taking the time to understand them.

We ought not to panic because Negroes have started to make demands. We will not satisfy Negroes or anyone else by combating segregation through a process of segregating school children from their own communities. We cannot overcome discrimination by discriminating against communities which should be involved in their own education. We are in danger of making the same mistakes with the Negroes as were made with the Indians, by transporting them out of their communities to be educated in a strange environment. I feel it is a vain hope that the deprived will forget his social background during school hours, and that some of the "superior" culture of his white friends will rub off on him while he is in this temporary paradise. I say that we are evading the issue by doing this. Education takes place where people live. Education is a process of life. It cannot be separated into compartments. Attitudes, emotions and aspirations are all wrapped up in the motivations of the individual. Motivation for learning will not take place unless education is related to life as it is, where it is. It will not take place unless the family, the society, the local institutions, and all that make up the community is involved. It is vain to think we can improve society by external applications of "education" or of anything else. Constructive changes must come from within—within the society and within the individual. They come as the individual and the society assimilate the nourishment offered—not as the individual or society is assimilated by a "superior" one.

Let us stop child-stealing and start communicating with the parents. Let us make education a sociological process instead of a clinical one. The use of paraprofessionals and community workers and resources should be expanded until the people who are really responsible for education shoulder their share of the task. Those people are the parents. The medium is the community school. The proposed experiment at the Leschi school in Seattle is of this nature.

Some might interpret these statements as being in opposition to integration. I do not so intend them to be, but I feel that integration must be redefined. By practice, we are beginning to force people to be assimilated. This is not integration. True integration is to bring and fit together the parts into a whole. In this process the integral parts should be able to retain their discrete character. The parts should not be damaged nor destroyed. The unity of mankind is such that his cultures are not incompatible. What is it that makes some Americans think that they must destroy another culture in order to integrate with it? If we were truly secure in our own culture we would be willing to allow peoples within our society to retain their cultural identities while contributing to the whole. Each cultural minority should be able to contribute its gifts to the functioning of the sociological and political body. Diversity is not inimical to our unity, but [illegible] is! Unilateral and ivory tower decisions are a very subtle form of intolerance. I have faith that there are enough common denominators in our various cultures to make a pluralistic society possible. A pluralistic society can function only if people have choices. They must be able to choose where they will live, where they will go to school, and who their friends and neighbors will be Forced integration removes the choice, and for this reason it will not accomplish what its advocates hope for.

Senator MORSE. The staff will be in touch with you if they need additional information.

The next witness will be Mr. Wilford C. Wasson, Coos Indian born December 10, 1924.

Mr. Wasson is a graduate of the University of Oregon, 1962; graduate student in anthropology, University of Oregon, from 1962 to 1965.

Counselor for Oregon State Department of Employment at Klamath Falls, Oreg.

April 1966 to March 1968, head of human resources development program at Klamath County.

Presently on staff of counseling center at University of Oregon as an instructor.

I have many feelings of affinity, as you know, for you this morning, coming from the University of Oregon.

You may proceed in your own way.

STATEMENT OF WILFORD C. WASSON, STAFF OF UNIVERSITY OF OREGON COUNSELING CENTER

Mr. WASSON. Well, first of all, Senator Morse, as our Oregon senator, I would like to express my appreciation and I believe the appreciation of the Indians of Oregon for the strong stand you are taking on Indian education and for the public statement this morning that you made in your opening statement in favor of helping Indian education.

We appreciate it.

Senator MORSE. Thank you very much.

I associate the whole committee with your statement because the entire committee deserves the accolade that you paid.

Mr. WASSON. Actually, I am not here this morning to deal with Indians. I am representing the terminated Indians of Oregon.

According to the Federal Government they are no longer Indians, but they still look like Indians; they still act like Indians; and they still feel like Indians; and they are still getting less education than Indians usually do.

Senator YARBOROUGH. You say getting less education than Indians usually do?

Mr. WASSON. Yes.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Now, this is the former Klamath Reservation?

Mr. WASSON. Klamath, and also the tribes of the Oregon coast.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Now, this is one where the reservation has been terminated?

Mr. WASSON. Yes.

Senator YARBOROUGH. I am very much interested in hearing this, because this is an unusual situation that's being debated on many reservations. Shall they terminate the reservation? I look forward to your testimony with great interest.

Mr. WASSON. I will read my statement.

Senator MORSE. I was going to suggest, I have scanned enough of it that I know it is so well written, I think we ought to have it in continuity and I suggest you read it.

Mr. WASSON. And I will make a few additions:

The Klamath Indian Reservation was set aside by the treaty of 1864 for the aboriginal Klamath-Modoc Indians. This reservation had extensive holdings in forests, range, farmland, and marshes. Under the paternalistic policies of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Klamath Indians were relieved of any responsibility and denied the experience of assuming responsibility in the market economy. Under the management of BIA the rich resources of the Klamath Reservation were contracted or leased out and the proceeds doled out to the individual Indians in per capita payments upon which they soon came to depend. These per capita payments provided enough income for a bare existence and, for many, removed the incentive to learn job skills or to work and incurred the enmity of neighboring whites, who through ignorance, thought the per capita payments were a dole coming directly from the Federal Government.

Now, this same attitude prevailed at time of termination. A lot of people—I think it was through jealousy, and they still believe to this day—they want to know, "Why were those Indians given all this money? They didn't deserve it. I deserved it more. I would have made better use of it. So why did they give it to those Indians?"

This is the attitude.

The policy of the U.S. Government, when they found it was impractical to exterminate the Indians, was total absorption into American society. To these ends the Government set up schools on the reservations, prohibited the speaking of Indian language and proceeded to extinguish all elements of Indian culture.

Now, this is also part of the rationale behind sending children from far distances, sending the Navahos up to Chemawa; sending the Eskimos down to Chemawa; getting them out of their own home, getting them away from the elements of their culture, and you try to extinguish all parts of Indian culture.

The Indians cooperated by becoming farmers, cattle ranchers, and learning minor trades but they didn't suddenly become white men. The Government wanted to control their lives and they had to get permission to go into business or to buy and sell anything.

One statement I remembered was that "I had to get permission even to sell a chicken."

Furthermore, they found they were not socially acceptable by any but the lowest elements of white society in the cheaper taverns. The Indians found this position unacceptable, blamed all their problems on BIA and began to agitate for their freedom. In 1954 the Assistant Secretary of Interior, Orme Lewis, said "Through intermarriage with non-Indians and cooperative work and association with their non-Indian neighbors, such as adult education and technical assistance programs, education in the public schools over an extended period of years and employment in gainful employment within and without the reservation, these people have been largely integrated into all phases of the economic and social life of the area."

Statements like this from other people, along with the agitation of white businessmen in the area, who undoubtedly foresaw future profits, and the agitation of the Indians themselves led to the abolishment of the reservation in August of 1961. The withdrawing Indian received $43,000 each for the sale of the reservation and in retrospect it is obvious that they were even less ready for this than any other group which had been living on poverty levels.

There were attempts made at orientation but there were not enough to offset 97 years of Government supervision. Klamath Indians dress like everyone else, live in houses like everyone else, drive cars like everyone else, speak English like everyone else, and to all outward appearances they are no different from any other average American. This is merely a superficial outward appearance. Underneath they still feel like Indians, think like Indians and have retained Indian value systems. After being rejected by white society they no longer attempt to participate.

This is characteristic of Indians. Indian's don't like to lose. They don't like to be defeated, so rather than face defeat, they don't participate. They do this in schoolwork, in education. Rather than come out second best or last, they don't compete.

I made a survey, rather informally on the telephone, and I called the various lodges in Klamath Falls, Klamath County, to find out how much Indians participated in white society.

One lodge thought one of their members was half Indian, another didn't accept applications from Indians, and a third had one Indian whom all the rest of the Indians consider an "Uncle Tom" who was being used for window dressing. Ministers must be very optimistic people because upon being questioned they said that quite a number of Indians attended their church but closer investigation revealed that there was seldom an Indian who was a regular visitor much less a church member.

In fact, I found out, I believe it was five churches who had an Indian family on their rolls, and it turned out to be the same family in each one. They were hedging their bets. They wanted to make sure they go the right one.

An inspection of the welfare rolls will find very few Indians on welfare.

Now, this is something that's contrary to what most people believe. Most people believe that Indians are on welfare, because they don't work. They don't have any income, so they must be on welfare, but there are very few who are on welfare, and those few are mostly women who have been married to white men, then deserted, and they are collecting aid to dependent children.

Indians very seldom go to the State employment office. It's very difficult to get them in there, as this is something that belongs to the white man. They feel that when they walk in the door, it's like every head was on a spring and somebody pulled the string, and the heads came up and everybody was staring at them.

They go talk to the counselor. They feel that everybody in the room is listening to their personal problems. They don't like it.

They are generally also unaware of the public services that are available to them.

They do not consider themselves a part of the white community and do not participate in white community affairs. At termination they did not become white middle-class Americans and they do not want to become white middle-class Americans. They wouldn't want to lower their standards enough to accept white middle-class morals and values. Before termination about 60 percent of the Indians on the reservation graduate from high school (this is comparable to present day figures for Warm Springs Indians attending Madras High School).

Now, I found it impossible to get anything to substantiate my figures on present day education in Klamath County, but at Chiloquin, which is the center of the Indian population, center of the reservation, this is part of the public school system.

Now, I did eventually get an admission from the principal of the high school that the dropout rate among Indians was approximately 90 percent, which means about 10 percent of the Indians are graduating.

In 1967, which is last year, at Chiloquin, there were seven Indians graduated.

Now, this is a big number, and this is a result of the pressure that's been being put on the schools in the last 2 years.

Now, this doesn't mean that Indians were educated, because until 1967, nobody failed in the entire Chiloquin school system.

This was the school's answer to the pressure that was being put on them. They passed everyone regardless of who they were. Nobody failed any grade.

In 1966 one Indian graduated, in 1967 two Indians graduated, in 1964 one Indian graduated, in 1962 one Indian graduated.

Now, this is in a predominantly Indian community.

Because of the way dropout rates are figured by the Department of Education, these figures are not reflected in the official data. The only students classified as dropouts are those that drop out during the course of the school year while school is in session. Any student who doesn't return after vacation is not counted as a dropout. This helps to make the school record look better, but is hardly any consolation to the student who didn't get an education.

This is one reason why it is difficult to get actual figures on school accomplishment, because of the way the dropout cases are handled. The only way you could actually get accurate figures would be to go back, find out how many children started in the first grade, and follow them through and find out how many of them graduated 12 years later.

Now, this high Indian dropout rate is blamed on the parents and homelife by the school and on prejudice of teachers and school administrators by the parents. So they have two factions here, both of them blaming each other.

The parents, for the most part, have not received an adequate education, are not educationally oriented and do not always give encouragement to their children to get an education. However, this is not the problem with which we are concerned although it does contribute to the difficulties facing the schools. To a great extent the parents are right and the schools are prejudiced.

The school administrators and the teachers—most of the teachers have been there for years. They know which families are good, which are bad. They know which are Indian, and they know that Indians are troublemakers, and if you get rid of the trouble the school will run smoothly and you have no problems. The Indians do have different values and morals and there has been no attempt on the part of the schools to understand differences but rather an insistence that Indians must conform.

The usual punishment for nonconformity is to send the child home for a week. For most students this is equivalent to sending him home for a year because he isn't allowed to make up any of the work or exams he has missed. If he protests at this lack of cooperation on the part of the school he is making trouble and is sent home for another week.

This puts him far enough behind that he doesn't have a chance to catch up. It would be hard to come out and say that this is definitely prejudice, prejudicial, but that's the way it ends up.

There is prejudice in Klamath County schools.

Now, this lack of education affects their employment, affects many other things.

My wife, Barbara, is a psychologist for Klamath County, and I asked her a while ago if she could give me any figures on suicide rates, and she has worked with quite a few Klamath Indians. She's done quite a bit of testing. She handed me a note a minute ago, that in the 12th grade, self-concept of Indians is lower than any other minority group.

The average income is 75 percent lower than the national average.

The unemployment rate is 10 times the national average.

Among my clients at the Employment Service, which isn't representative, over 75 percent of them have not graduated from high school.

Now, I wasn't really getting down to real hard core. I was beginning to when I left. I was running into a lot of problems from authorities. A lot of people don't want change, and they are going to fight any change. A lot of people who have been in positions of authority have been in positions of power for years, and they think that any change may jeopardize their position, whereas, as far as I am concerned, they could profit from change, but they don't want any change.

Now, my wife tells me that actual suicides of Indians is less than for the average white male in Klamath County, but then Klamath County is higher in suicide rates than average for the State and the State of Oregon has a higher suicide rate than the average of the country.

Senator MORSE. I don't know what I could add. This is very impressive testimony.

I want to say that your testimony and the testimony of others here this morning is so pointed that I intend to see that excerpts of it are sent directly to the Secretary of the Interior and to the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

I think they will be as interested in it as this committee will be.

Senator Yarborough?

Senator YARBOROUGH. Mr. Wasson, since termination, I want to ask one question that has three or four parts, and we are running so late now. It's nearly 1 o'clock.

Take time to furnish this. Write us a letter.

First, the basic question is what has happened to the Indians on this reservation since termination, one, economically? What has happened to the per capita settlement they got?

Mr. WASSON. It was spent very quickly.

Senator YARBOROUGH. And what is their status now? Have the spending of that and the loss of money and identity on the reservation, has it caused any of them to be arrested and have criminal records?

Mr. WASSON. I think you can find very few Klamath Indians who do not have a police record.

Senator YARBOROUGH. What about mental institutions or confinement or some other situation for alcoholism? These are problems that were frustrations often. Would you give us what data you can find, send it, due to the absence of time?

Mr. WASSON. Due to the shortage of time in preparing this, we were unable to get everything together we wanted. Dr. Stern, who is here today from the University of Oregon, Department of Anthropology, has a lot of material we would like to enter. I would also like to get some of my material from the Department of Employment and get permission to release it.

Senator YARBOROUGH. We are not trying to take over the Bureau of Indian Affairs. This is education, but I think in knowing what to do about education, you've got to know what is happening to people, and I do know from statements made to me this morning, on some other reservations, Indians are debating termination, whether they should accept it or not, and I think the experience of this reservation will be of value to others.

Let me ask you: You say the Klamath-Modoc Indians, Klamath-Modocs were not related tribes; were they?

Mr. WASSON. They were neighbors.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Weren't they linguistically different?

Mr. WASSON. You'd have to ask Dr. Stern. He says no.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Well, the Modocs lived further south in the desert areas; didn't they?

Dr. STERN. They could understand each other when they talk.

Senator YARBOROUGH. What great branch of languages did they use?

Dr. STERN. Oh, it's Sahaptin, they call it.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Well, weren't the Klamath in an area of timber originally, rainfall?

Dr. STERN. That's right.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Weren't the Modocs down in the desert area originally?

Dr. STERN. A little farther south of them.

Senator YARBOROUGH. But they were a related tribe?

Dr. STERN. They bordered on each other. The Paiutes were also in that reservation.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Which one?

Dr. STERN. Paiutes.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Thank you.

Senator MORSE. I am going to ask Dr. Stern to come up to the witness chair. I have talked to Dr. Stern and he has talked to the staff.

He is going to supply us with some material, but I doubt if I can call to the witness stand a more competent authority in regard to the problems of the Klamath, and counsel of the subcommittee, Dr. Stern, has asked me to ask you to make a brief statement bearing upon a question that Senator Yarborough already has referred to.

Would you give us your view as to the effect of the termination of the Klamath Reservation?

STATEMENT OF DR. THEODORE STERN, PROFESSOR OF ANTHROPOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF OREGON, EUGENE, OREG.

Dr. STERN. I can only speak with any authority where I have actually made a study.

My own study concluded, my direct study concluded with the time of termination. I did not carry on a study beyond that time.

There was a report requested in the Colville termination hearings before the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, and a questionnaire was administered to tribal members across the country as to their present status then after termination. That is a published testimony and I would refer to that as probably the best testimony; the evidence there, the best evidence we now have.

I don't agree with all the interpretations of the data, but I think those are the solidest data we have.

Senator MORSE. I want counsel to get a copy of that study and make it an appendix to this record so that Senator Yarborough and I and Senator Kennedy can refer to it.

(The report can be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Senator MORSE. I would appreciate it very much, if you find it possible to do so, having heard these hearings this morning, if you would submit to us any memorandums that you think would be helpful to us on any problems that have been raised from the standpoint of your expertise.

Thank you, gentlemen, very, very much.

(The following material was subsequently supplied for the record.)

UNIVERSITY OF OREGON,
Eugene, Oreg., May 28, 1968.

SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON INDIAN EDUCATION,
New Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIRS: With this letter I am transmitting a document for inclusion in the hearings conducted in Portland, Oregon on the 24th of May, Senator Morse presiding. Excerpted from an unpublished manuscript entitled "Chiloquin, Reservation Town," by Bert R. Swanson and myself, it formed one section of the report by Vincent Ostrom and myself, under the title "A Case Study of the Termination of Federal Responsibilities over the Klamath Reservation" (October, 1959), the latter being a report to the Commission on the Rights, Liberties, and Responsibilities of the American Indian. This section, like the remainder of the manuscript, rests upon observations made from 1949, when I began research on the reservation, through the time of its final writing in 1959. Though we are some nine years beyond that date today, the reports which I have from the Klamath area suggest that the problems analyzed there are still current today. The only publication this material has had is in an overly summary form in the volume under my name, *The Klamath Tribe: A People and Their Reservation* (University of Washington Press, 1965), pp. 209–213.

Although the place of Chiloquin within the reservation is sufficiently detailed in the volume I have just mentioned, I note here that it was at the time of study a mill and market town within the reservation, incorporated as a municipality of the state of Oregon from 1926, with a population of some 800 persons, roughly half of them tribal members. In order to understand the tables some special definitions employed in the manuscript should be noted: the category "Tribal Member" includes all those persons on the Klamath tribal rolls. Among them two sub-categories are distinguished: a) Klamath—a tribal member from a household the head of which is a tribal member married to another tribal member (or the survivor of such a union); b) Interethnic—a person from a household the head of which is a tribal member married to a non-tribal person (including ethnic categories of White, Indian, Mexican, etc.). Finally, the category "Indian" comprises a person of Indian heritage not a member of the Klamath tribe. Other categories are used in a more conventional sense.

I mentioned last Friday a couple of documents on which I would provide titles. One, a report of the Legislative Interim Committee on Indian Affairs of the 50th Legislative Assembly of the state of Oregon, was entitled *A Reintroduction to the Indians of Oregon*. Its date is October, 1958. As observed then, Governor Tom McCall was executive secretary of that commitee. A section is devoted to the education of Oregon's Indians. On the follow-up study made by the B.I.A. on the Klamath termination, I refer you to the item, *Colville Termination, Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs,* House of Representatives 89th Congress, First Session (on H.R. 5925 and S. 1413 and H.R. 6331). Pages 327–339 carry the report. As I remarked at the time we have no substantial report other than this, however incomplete it may be. At the same time I do not feel that the data lead inevitably to some of the conclusions drawn. Since your subcommittee is concerned with Indian education and not at present with the larger problem of termination I shall not make further comment here.

It was a pleasure to meet with you. If I can be of further assistance, please do not fail to call on me.

Sincerely yours,

THEODORE STERN,
Professor of Anthropology.

EXCERPT FROM "CHILOQUIN, RESERVATION TOWN" (MS.) BY THEODORE STERN AND BERT R. SWANSON (1959)

* * * * * * *

SCHOOLS

In Chiloquin the school touches more lives, and has a greater significance, than perhaps any other institution. Many in the community have children who have been or will be passed through its curriculum. Some are themselves graduates of the local school and the remainder have known its like elsewhere. In the image they form of the American Dream,[1] nothing is more central than the free access to education and the opportunity it gives to make one's way through merit.

To Chiloquin its school has long been a source of pride. Here, as elsewhere in the United States, there has been a struggle between small towns for the siting of the local high school, and within the southern part of the county in 1949–1950 there were towns that as vigorously resisted giving up their separate high schools for Union consolidation. For Chiloquin, the high school has symbolized its leadership in a fellowship of communities. Sprague River and Fort Klamath maintained grade schools but sent their children to junior high and high school at Chiloquin; while for Modoc Point and Klamath Agency, as for much of the ranchlands of the Lower End, Chiloquin served all school needs. Loyalties to high school teams knit these communities into a sentimental unit.

From an economic standpoint, the schools were an important factor in the life of the town. The grade school employed eight teachers and the high school nine, in addition to two janitors. School construction and repair, the school bus system, and the hot lunch program all employed additional persons. Some farm families moved into town in the winter to be close to the schools. High school games and social activities drew large crowds into town to swell the patronage of Chiloquin's stores.

From the organizational standpoint, the schools were not a local responsibility, but were operated by the County School Board and its superintendent. It was the County Board which approved curricula, hired teachers, and brought in such persons as the county nurse to examine the children at the beginning of the year and gave them shots. State funds allocated to the schools came through this agency. The functions of the local school board were largely advisory: they visited the schools, met with teachers, and made recommendations to the County Office in Klamath Falls. The three men elected to the local board included a prominent White rancher from beyond Fort Klamath, a former county commissioner from Fort Klamath itself, and a well-educated *Bannock* Indian, resident in Chiloquin, who served as irrigation engineer for the Agency. It was customary for northern Klamath County to have a seat on the County Board, and a leading citizen of Chiloquin then held this position. Another served on the County Library Board.

To the variety of perspectives in the community, the school teachers furnished an important addition. The exodus of doctors, dentists, and lawyers and the closing of the *Review* had reduced the professionals in town to the teachers and ministers. Local horizons were otherwise in danger of contracting to those of businessmen, ranchers and housewives. The presence of the teachers did much to maintain a better breadth.

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[1] Warner, 1953.

In point of origin, the teachers stemmed from much the same geographic sources as did the remainder of the townspeople: they came in the majority from the West Coast, with a smaller number from the Midwest. Seven women and the male assistant principal made up the grade school. As is usual, the assistant principal taught the sixth grade and had been selected with an eye to handling discipline in the school. While he had been in Chiloquin but a year, the other teachers were married women with a residence in Chiloquin ranging from over four years to twenty-four years. Two lived at Modoc Point and another at Klamath Agency. The high school staff showed a much greater turnover. The principal, who had moved up from the corresponding position in the grade school, had been in Chiloquin only two years. He listed only two of his staff of nine as old teachers, and one of them had been in Chiloquin only three years. The others were either in their second year (two persons, including himself) or their first year (four persons). A ninth position was filled later in the Fall by a new appointment.

The greater turnover of the high school staff merits examination. Five of the nine incumbents were men and a sixth was the wife of the assistant principal. Two of the remaining women teachers, one unmarried, had been in Chiloquin for some years. For high school teachers, and particularly for men with families seeking a congenial environment with opportunity for advancement, Chiloquin in 1949 presented disadvantages. As the principal expressed it, salaries were "rough on beginners," and the County Board had found it necessary to raise the starting salary to attract teachers. When the high school had filled the places of beginners with more experienced teachers, the greater cost and the dissatisfaction of the appointees, who were in demand elsewhere, contributed to the higher turnover. With the return of the mills in subsequent years, there has been evident a somewhat greater stability in staff.

In 1949–1950, then, the contrast was essentially one of a grade school staff made up primarily of wives who had continued to teach after their marriage and whose availability might be viewed as a byproduct of the local business interests of their husbands. Although their school interests continued to hold importance for them, they were tempered with other community and personal concerns. The men, who dominated the administration and were clustered in the high school, reflected more clearly professional values. The main breadwinner in the family, the male teacher was alert to opportunities for advancement, even though it meant shifting jobs. When they were newcomers, they usually had far less grasp of the complexities of the local situation.

In background, expressed values, and associations the teachers were, like their counterparts elsewhere, prevailingly middle-class. All were White. To most of them, men and women alike, teaching was a dedicated concern. Several of them, under the regulations governing teachers in Oregon, took additional academic work toward a Master's degree during the summer months. Others, particularly the men, for whom the income from teaching had to be eked out, found it necessary to take supplementary jobs during that season. One sold insurance, another drove a bus, while several hired out as carpenters or took other jobs.

In the parents, teachers found many individuals deeply concerned with education. The PTA, under the presidency of the Indian school board member, boasted a strength of 121 members, 94 White, 8 Indian, and 19 tribal members. Outside the school, there was one woman, a college graduate, who gave music lessons. There were local members of the Klamath Falls University Women's Club, and there were several men with college degrees. Some persons who were themselves not distinguished for learning were determined that their children should know better things.

Something of the intellectual interests of Chiloquin is revealed in the records of the local branch of the County Library, one of the largest units outside of Klamath Falls, with some 850 books in 1950. The library was in heaviest use during the winter, when other sources of amusement were few, and was stocked with a circulating selection of books ranging from junior books and romances through historical novels and other fiction (totalling some 70 per cent) to non-fiction (about 30 per cent).[2] Inspection of cards showed westerns and magazines to be in heavy demand, with a correspondingly restricted circulation of the "heavier" reading (classical fiction, histories, travel, science, religion, and political studies). Applications for library cards showed the following distribution for Chiloquin:

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[2] Thomas E. Dutelle, a member of the 1950 team and a practicing librarian, made the analysis. He adds parenthetically, "Library standards . . . suggest that a collection should be about 60 per cent non-fiction to 40 per cent fiction."

TABLE I

	White		Indian		Klamath		Interethnic	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Children (under 19)	60	52	8	38	11	9	12	12
Adult	53	25	2	10	2	1	11	11

Note: Percentages are based upon all children below the age of 19, the demographic data not permitting elimination of those under the age of 5. Note that figures expressed as percentages relate to the total number of persons of that category (that is, "White," etc.) resident in Chiloquin.

An additional 30 children, half of them White, and 14 adults, over half of them White, represent the patrons from outside Chiloquin. The majority of adults were housewives, and it may be significant to record that in the Interethnic component they were primarily tribal members rather than the non-Klamath spouses.

Library patronage did not, to be sure, express all the intellectual interests in town. Indeed, there were some persons like the daughter of a tribal leader who preferred to buy the books and magazines that served her more sophisticated needs. Many houses, however, showed nothing more than a few magazines of general distribution, newspapers, and a random collection of books of varying use. Questionnaire responses in 1950 by 97 White families showed that the following numbers of magazines were taken:

Table H[4]

Number of Magazines:	*Number of families*
0	10
1–2	24
3–4	26
5–8	24
Above 8	13

[4] Ribbans, 1951, p. 75.

The average family subscribed for local news to the Klamath Falls *Herald and News*, and to the Portland *Oregonian* or *Journal* for national coverage. A few took out-of-state papers, frequently home-town publications or the San Francisco *Examiner* on Sundays. A sports periodical or two (*Field and Stream*) and a business or professional magazine reflected masculine interests, while two or three of a variety of women's (*Woman's Home Companion, Ladies' Home Journal, Redbook, Cosmopolitan, McCall's*) and household (*Better Homes, House and Garden, Sunset*) magazines reflected a more feminine sphere. News (*Time, Life, Newsweek*), digests (*Reader's Digest*), and general magazines (*Saturday Evening Post, Collier's, Look*) were in general distribution. A family generally subscribed to, or bought from the newsstands, one news magazine, one or more women's magazines, a digest or two, and a couple of general magazines. A number listed farm periodicals, a few confessions and detective magazines, and one comic book. Few subscribed to the *National Geographic, Fortune, Harper's, Atlantic Monthly,* or *Vogue*. Observations in Klamath homes revealed few with either books or magazines. Those who on other terms were deemed culturally acceptable by their White neighbors, approximated the average periodical consumption already noted.

The Community Concert Series in Klamath Falls tended to draw from business people, teachers, and high school students among the people of Chiloquin. Few if any tribal members attended.

There are significant differences in the educational background of adult members of White and tribal components of Chiloquin. In the following tabulation, certain differences render the data only tentative, yet the conclusion to which it points of a higher White educational level, is borne out by all other sources consulted.[5]

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[5] Among the provisos, these must be borne in mind. 1) The White and tribal components are differently defined, the Whites including adult househeads, while tribal members are included from the age of sixteen. 2) The Whites were all resident in Chiloquin, while the tribal members are a post office sample. 3) Five years separated the interviewing of Whites and the gathering of data on tribal members.

The further separation of Klamath and Interethnic components among tribal members renders the *N*'s for the two populations extremely small, 48 for the Klamath and 13 for Interethnic. As a result, percentages for the latter must be taken with a high degree of reserve.

TABLE III

[Percent]

Educational level	Whites [1]	Klamath [2]	Interethnic [2]
Grande school only [3]	22	52	39
Primary grades		6	8
Junior high school		46	31
High school:			
Did not graduate	23	29	23
Graduated [4]	55	19	38
Vocational school [5]	(6)		
Less than 6 months		25	23
1 year or more		4	8
College: [5]			
Did not graduate	13	6	0
Graduated	12	2	0

[1] From Ribbans, 1951, p. 65.

[2] From the Chiloquin component (N = 101) of the random sample by postal address, drawn from the proposed roll of May 13, 1955. Data were available on only 61 individuals.

[3] Note that for tribal members the junior high school is included in grade school.

[4] For tribal members the category is: "12th grade graduated."

[5] Vocational and college percentages are included within those for the lower grades. This is made necessary by the considerable overlap for tribal members. For the Klamath, 8 percent went to vocational school from junior high school, 15 percent from lower grades in high school, and 6 percent attended only after graduating. All 30 percent (4 individuals) among the interethnic component who went to vocational school were high school graduates. Half (2 individuals) of the 8 percent of Klamath who went to college also tried vocational school and thus overlap with that entry.

[6] No data.

Both among tribal members and Whites there was a tendency, especially among the better educated, for husband and wife to have approximately the same educational background. Some Klamath couples had first met at a Government school, either at the Agency, discontinued some twenty years before, at Chemawa Indian School, near Salem, Oregon, or at some more distant location. A few, not necessarily Catholic, were products of the parochial Sacred Heart Academy, in Klamath Falls.

At the same time, the foregoing table contains a bias for the Interethnic college component. In the White and Klamath components men going to college outnumber women, and the same thing might be predicated as well for the Interethnic. Tribal members among the latter in the sample are, by virtue of the conditions of intermarriage, prevailingly feminine,[4] and are thus putatively also less liable to attend college.

If schooling was deemed important by many parents, including some who through circumstance had been denied an extensive education, there were differences in the objectives they sought for their children. Some, and particularly those with a more advanced education themselves, wanted a curriculum which prepared the student for college, while others stressed "practical" courses of vocational character. These concerns bore chiefly upon the high school, where the size of staff provided little latitude for the accomplishment of both.

In Chiloquin, the schools were organized into the elementary school, comprising the first six grades and some 250 pupils, two intermediate grades, the sixth and seventh, with about 70 children, and four high school grades with about 75 students. The elementary courses were undifferentiated, a single teacher handling all subjects for her class. The transitional seventh and eighth grades were lodged in the high school building.

The contending demands for college preparatory and vocational training in a combined student body of less than 150, only half of them in the high school grades, imposed the need for great teaching flexibility upon the staff of nine persons. The courses taught by each are listed below:

1—(Principal)—English.

2—Seventh and eighth grade subjects.

3—Seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth grade English.

4—Biology, manual arts, arts and crafts.

5—General science, chemistry, general mathematics, eighth grade mathematics, geometry.

6—U.S. history, world history, world geography, physical education (boys).

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[4] The Interethnic segment of the Chiloquin sample of tribal members numbers 23, of whom 7 are men and 16 women. The 13 individuals among them for whom educational data are available also reflect that bias.

7—Seventh grade mathematics, eighth grade language, typing, bookkeeping, physical education (girls).

8—Home economics, physical education (girls).

9—Music, library.

With so small a staff spread over so many subjects, it was difficult, despite the presence of devoted and competent teachers, to meet both college preparatory and vocational objectives equally well. Given the dominance in the places of influence of those seeking the former aim, there was some substance to the view of critics that commercial courses were not adequately represented. And yet, as others pointed out, the absence of instruction in such courses as algebra and foreign languages prepared students only imperfectly for college.

Some attempts had recently been made to redress the balance by adding vocational courses. The County Superintendent had earmarked a special sum of $1000 for a new school shop, and a gifted instructor had made maximum use of the new facilities. In the grade school there were 4–H units, of which three had been organized in 1949 by the reservation extension agent.

Tribal members, particularly the ranchers, favored vocational training, but their outlook was further colored by their own status under the Agency and in town. Schooling for the greater part of the Klamath posed very different incentives. For Whites, Mexicans, Negroes, Indians, as well as for a few tribal members, education stood as an objective preparation for a life in which the demands for training were ever mounting. Tribal children soon grew aware, however, that they had more spending money than their schoolmates could match, and that the self-same source of wealth, the per capitas, would permit them to maintain themselves without working. For such as inclined to this way of thought schooling might well appear pointless.

Some tribal parents were restive under the awareness that the school was dominated by middle-class American interests and that they had little voice in its direction. On the other hand, most of them declined to participate in the PTA, where they might have made their voice heard. Though Whites may have been right in believing that the Indian president of that body drew in tribal members, they reckoned without consideration of the estrangement that many Klamath felt to a non-Klamath, holding an Agency office and married to a White.

On the part of some Whites, there was a feeling, not without some basis, that tribal members tended to take the school for granted as just another good vouchsafed them by the treaty of 1864 and their status as Indians. Schools, after all, were maintained through taxation and few Whites acknowledged that Klamath paid taxes, a few directly, many indirectly. In 1950, a sum was contributed from tribal accounts to build a school gymnasium, while money in lieu of taxes also came from the government through Johnson-O'Malley funds.

It was, then, from a congeries of causes that the objective presence of the school had a different meaning for Klamath and White. Culturally founded expectations and daily routine, the wardlike status of tribal members under the Agency and their position in town, and their life-goals were only the most evident among them. The frictions they gave rise to between school officials and tribal parents are reflected in the related issues of discipline and truancy.

The following table provides a comparison between figures for absences for Whites and tribal members attending the Chiloquin schools in 1956–1957 and for the number of tribal members in each grade in the Klamath Public Schools during the preceding year.

TABLE IV

Grade	Average days of absence (1956-57)[1]		Tribal members in attendance (1955-56)[2]	
	White	Tribal member	Number entered	Percent passing
1	25	25	51	8[illegible]
2	13	18	48	75
3	1	14	48	90
4	6	11	37	84
5	12	15	31	94
6	2	13	31	94
7	10	45	32	87
8	13	34	28	75
9	12	44	17	41
10	18	24	17	53
11	12	24	22	[illegible]1
12			11	82
Total			373	79

[1] Swanson, "Chiloquin" (Ms), fig 1. Compare county figures for the same year in Legislative Interim Committee, 1958, p. 40.

[2] Based on Oregon State Department of Education, 1956, p. 7f.

At least for the first year, absences are of equal gravity for White and tribal member, but thereafter the latter show a prevailingly higher rate, which mounts sharply upon entrance to the intermediate grades and again upon entrance to high school. The tribal figures are usually taken to contain a high truancy rate, although it is a component as well of the figures for White children.

The differences cannot be attributed to differences in intellectual ability. The California mental maturity tests administered in the Chiloquin schools and elsewhere within the county over the past few years have yielded normal scores (averaging 96.9) at the fourth grade level for Klamath children as a whole. By the time the same children had reached the eighth grade, however, their average score had dropped to 80.4.[5] Taken together with the figures on absences, the scores would appear to reflect a declining interest on the part of the subjects.

Truancy has different dimensions for Whites and many Klamath. Whites, the more acculturated Klamath, and the heads of many Interethnic households hold schooling in high esteem or at least feel it a necessary experience. Many a mother is grateful to be relieved of the children for the day. Moreover, for the Whites, the coercive hand of the truant officer can bring to reckoning a family whose child is absent without due reason. By contrast, the permissiveness that characterizes many Klamath households, the fact that a number of children live with persons who stand in no legal relationship to them, and the immunity of reservation homes, until 1953, from the truant officer conspired to render control ineffective. The Agency took some steps: the special officers divided their time between truancy and other aspects of law enforcement, while disbursing officers released to parents up to $50 monthly from the per capita of each pupil during the school year, conditional upon the number of days he attended school. After 1953, when the State of Oregon secured jurisdiction in law enforcement upon the reservation under P. L. 280, matters were somewhat improved, though only in the grade school, where average tribal attendance increased from 145 school days in 1954 to 154 days in 1956, with a corresponding decrease in absences from an average of 30 days to 21 days.

In the upper grades, however, conditions continued to deteriorate. Although in 1955–1956 increasing numbers entered the secondary program, the figures for absenteeism, drop-outs, and delinquency also rose. The relationship of absenteeism to a falling-off of interest is clear enough. Several typical excuses relating to drinking are cited by Pierce: "My folks had a party and I couldn't sleep because of the noise;" "My dad got drunk last night and chased me out of the house and I didn't have any clothes to wear to school;" and "My folks were out late at a party and nobody got up at our house this morning."[6] Whatever the precipitating cause, absence in turn brings a break in the continuity of lessons and the child, if the exeperience is often repeated may end by falling hopelessly behind and losing all interest in school.

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[5] "Survey of Klamath Indian Students Enrolled in the Klamath County School System, 1956–1957 School Year," prepared by the Klamath Special Education and Information Program, 1958. Cited in Pierce, "Modern Klamath" (Ms). Cf. Legislative Interim Committee, 1958, p. 40.

[6] Pierce, "Modern Klamath" (Ms).

Coupled with truancy was the exercise and discipline. It is in the school, and more immediately in the person of the teachers with their middle-class American values, that many Klamath children first encounter a rigourous and consistent discipline, one which has no counterpart in the undermanding atmosphere of a large number of tribal homes. The White teacher is apt to be taken as the very image of White dominance, and Klamath student and parent have been prone to interpret clashes with discipline as an expression of White discrimination. In 1950, under a fusillade of criticism from tribal members, one teacher had resigned her position. Some Klamath strictures seem on the evidence to have had merit, while there have been several teachers who have enjoyed good relations throughout their tenure. There is no denying, however, that much of the criticism has sprung from a discrepancy between two sets of culturally rooted expectations, and that its net result has been to exacerbate the problems facing the school. Teachers facing a blame that is unremitting may all too readily shrug it off as biased and thus forego self-examination; while the reputation for a stormy instructional climate is apt to drive off the better of the prospective teachers.

Matters become most acute in the intermediate grades and high school, and this is a matter of some significance. It is not merely that in the reservation culture persistent native viewpoints of individual autonomy are at odds with American values, for we should then expect the stress to be greatest in the earliest grades when the child first encountered school discipline. Nor is it simply that youth, in the interstitial zone of puberty, is confronted with conflicting role expectations. The high school with its specialization and its programming of individual student schedules, places student-teacher relationships upon a more impersonal footing. The majority of high school teachers, primarily men, were in 1949–1950 newcomers to the area, professional in outlook and possessed of a strong middle-class outlook. By virtue of their sex and the character of the situation they were prevented from entering into the same confidential relationships that characterized some of the lower-grade teachers.

The result, however fair-minded and serious were the teachers, was to render their task especially redoubtable. As a number of them saw it, they were surrogates for the American culture they represented, and their object was to reduce the last stubborn traces of cultural pluralism in their charges. In their efforts to avoid discriminating between White and Klamath they saw all behavior as mediating a single culture—theirs. It was interesting to observe in one instance how a teacher, largely uncommitted upon his arrival, gravitated within a three-year period toward an increasingly authoritarian surrogacy. Theirs was no easily soluble dilemma, for corporal punishment, no matter how clearly indicated, was somewhat hazardous to apply to some of the larger Klamath, and was apt to be construed as a measure of personal hostility rather than a well-merited punishment.

The dilemma of the teachers had no easy solution, but was compounded by a certain disposition to explain the situation in terms of proximate causes only. A study by Chiloquin school authorities conducted in 1952 reported that ". . . 23 percent of our tardies and 36 percent of our unexcused absence [among tribal children] are due either directly or indirectly to drinking parents."[7] That this condition is widespread among tribal members is seen by the finding of a sudvey conducted by the Klamath Information and Educational Office, that 63 percent of the tribal children attending the Chiloquin schools came from homes where drinking ranged from excessive to chronic in intensity.[8] It is clear that drinking in the home, though an important factor in the Klamath school record, was but one part of a larger picture, in which the teachers themselves figured, and that to stop with that factor was to foreclose a broader and more searching inquiry.[9]

As an inspection of Tables III and IV will indicate, a large number of tribal students never go beyond the intermediate grades. Some are still there when they attain the age of eighteen which marks the limit for compulsory attendance. Others seek a release from public school in order to attend a vocational school instead. A few marry, though it is far more common to do so at high school ages. The picture given by Table IV of the per cent of tribal members passing is more favorable than is actually the case: of a total of 294 tribal children in all grades passing their school work in the year, 1955–1956, no less than 58 (20 per cent) were given social promotion. Said the high school principal in 1958, "Our biggest dropout is in the ninth grade, because then school becomes competitive. Up to that point we have a lot of social promotions. I would say that in the first eight grades there are about 30 per cent or better that get by on social promotion. A comparable figure for the Whites would be about 10 per cent. So when the Indian students [get] into the ninth grade and the competitive situation of high school, there is a tremendous dropout. They just can't compete with the other students." In 1956, the three high schools of the Klamath Reservation graduated only nine tribal members, yet this was the largest number in recent years.[10]

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[7] Report on "Parent Drinking and Its Relation to Child Delinquency and Truancy in the Chiloquin Elementary School," May 1952, pp. 3. Quoted by Pierce, "Modern Klamath" (Ms).

[8] "Survey of Klamath Indian Students, etc.," quoted by Pierce, "Modern Klamath" (Ms).

[9] See Leighton, 1946, pp. 343–345.

Some gauge of the calibre of Klamath preparation for advanced training is provided by the record of those tribal members (from the entire enrollment) who entered vocational school or college under the special education program. The measure is not unambiguous. Some were recent high school graduates, while among the vocational school applicants were individuals who had completed their earlier education short of that point. In many instances several years had intervened since their prior schooling. Not a few were already married and had sizeable families. In each instance, tuition and subsistence for self and dependents were provided.

The official results were not encouraging, though they do not reflect all the good done by the program. As of July, 1958, no fewer than 141 (64 per cent) were dropped or had quit before finishing their work, while 34 (15 per cent) had seen their courses to a successful conclusion. The remainder were still in school. An analysis by the Klamath Special Education and Information Program of the reasons for failure lists six general causes: inadequate public school background, inability to meet the demands of school routine, marital difficulties, drinking habits, child care problems, (for those who were mothers), and lack of interest and initiative.[11]

Although in the Chiloquin schools the stresses were greater for the intermediate grades and high school, they fell unequally upon Klamath boys and girls. Several boys exhibited native ability in drawing, and since the view was entertained by many Whites that an innate artistic skill was a Klamath characteristic —masculine only, to be sure!—teachers were on the lookout to discover and encourage those potentialities. Athletic capabilities drew Klamath boys into interdependence with White teammates in football, basketball—in which Chiloquin usually excels—baseball, and track. Their performance in interschool competition made them the cynosure of their schoolmates and gave them too the ungrudging admiration of adults, both Whites and Klamath. For the boys in particular, but also for some Klamath girls, physical attractiveness, enhanced by the allure of the strange and forbidden, and ready pocket-money gave them additional advantages in their relations with their White school-fellows. In 1948, a Klamath boy had been student body president and the following year another Klamath had succeeded him. In 1950, the office was held by an Indian.

There were many, however, for whom high school held no charm. Among them were a number of Klamath girls, to whom a college preparatory course was pointless and who were beginning to suffer in the competition for the attentions of Klamath boys. This may have been particularly so, since at puberty some girls begin to develop the physical massiveness that is so frequent a part of their racial constitution, but which at the same time is so foreign to American ideals of beauty. Torn by discontent, some took out their resentment in direct assault upon their rivals or upon substitute figures. Others courted a fleeting favor by promiscuity with boys, both white and Klamath. In 1949, two girls so involved had, with parental permission, been sent off to boarding schools. Some girls simply dropped out, went off to vocational school—it is significant that the majority of students who did so without first graduating from high school were girls—or entered into marriage. The number of students, Klamath and White, who fell into serious trouble seems always to have been small: school officials estimated them to comprise no more than five per cent of the student body.

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[10] Figures for 1955–1956: Oregon State Department of Education, 1956, p. 8. Quotation for 1958: Swanson, "Chiloquin" (Ms).

[11] Report of Klamath Special Education and Information Program, August 1958. Note that these data apply to the general membership of the Klamath Tribe and not alone to members in Chiloquin.

The declining participation of tribal girls in high school is suggested by analysis of the 1950 edition of the high school annual, "Panther Tracks."

TABLE V

Classes	White		Minorities		Indian	Klamath
	Chiloquin	Outside	Chiloquin	Outside		
7th, 8th, freshman:						
Girls	13	12	[1]4	[2]1	3	12
Boys	9	11		[2]1	2	9
Sophomore, junior, senior:						
Girls	12	5			2	
Boys	9	4			2	

[1] Mexican.

[2] Japanese-American

While for the earlier grades the Klamath figures are in agreement with those for other categories, all of which show a slight excess of boys over girls, in the higher grades the Klamath figures run counter to them. If this static profile may be analyzed as a dynamic projection—and there are of course hazards to such a practice—it would serve to confirm the dropout of Klamath girls in the upper grades.

Some idea of Klamath participation in high school activities is also provided by the same edition of "Panther Tracks."

TABLE VI

Activities	White		Indian	Klamath
	Chiloquin	Outside		
Girls' activities:				
Pep Club	12	3	2	1
Glee Club	13	3	3	1
Boys' activities: "C" Club (sports lettermen)	8	5	3	8
Mixed activities:				
Student council:				
Girls	3	1	1	1
Boys	3	0	2	0
"Panther Tracks" staff:				
Girls	3	3	0	0
Boys	5	1	2	2
N:				
Girls	15	6	3	4
Boys	11	9	3	10

Despite the small number of individuals involved, the broad lines of contrast are evident. Local Whites enter most fully into extracurricular activities, matched only by Indians. Those Whites who come from outside the town are doubtless deterred by the school bus schedule from participating as fully. Among the Klamath, the boys took part in sports on a par with their White schoolmates but evinced far less interest in other activities. Klamath girls lagged far behind.

In number of activities pursued by the individual student, the Klamath, with a few exceptions, again fell behind. Among them, it was common to enter only a single field, although, to be sure, the athletes often participate in several sports. The two Klamath boys who became student body president were exceptional in this regard. White students, particularly those from local families, averaged two or more activities.

Despite these differences, Chiloquin's schools mark as close an approximation to the American Dream as the community provides. It is at once the setting and the occasion for an enduring and intimate association between members of the various ethnic and status components within town, and one which many will not thereafter regain. If the student body elections are an indication, the standards of its students are more egalitarian than those of their elders. It is no wonder, then, that so much community pride and concern focusses upon this institution.

For the graduate facing the world, the transition is not always easy. For many Klamath the break in continuity was particularly severe, as he experienced afresh the status of young adult tribal member with no place to go. There was the reservation, with its limited opportunities for employment and its easy, aimless life, and there was the world outside, where being an Indian might matter less, and where jobs were to be had, but far from familiar scenes and family. Of the two tribal student body presidents, both elected to remain. One struggled briefly, then sank back. The other tried college, turned to ranching, married a White girl, organized a rodeo in Chiloquin which quickly failed, and finally died one night on Chocktoot Street in an argument with a drunken acquaintance.

Senator MORSE. Our next witness is Dr. Deward Walker, chairman, Department of Anthropology and Sociology, University of Idaho, Moscow, Idaho.

He has conducted important field research studies of various Indian tribes in the Northwest. He is perhaps the leading authority on the Nez Perce Indian in Idaho.

Dr. Walker?

STATEMENT OF DR. DEWARD E. WALKER, JR., CHAIRMAN, DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY/ANTHROPOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF IDAHO

Dr. WALKER. Senator Morse, I'd like to defer in favor of Mr. Hall of the Umatilla Tribe.

Time is limited and I have here two statements. One actually is a reprint of an article. Another one is a statement I have prepared for this particular hearing.

I'd like to submit both of these and suggest also that the pages in this study to be considered for the educational recommendations made by all of the tribes of the United States—they were covered in this study that I did for the American Indians—that the pages were seven through nine and 79 through 90.

Senator MORSE. Doctor, I'm somewhat embarrassed to have you follow this course of action, because we are so desirous of also being extremely fair to every witness, and you're ——

Dr. WALKER. Well, I think it's a question merely of my having said, in essence, about all I have to say already, and I think that there are other people here who have more valuable statements to make.

Senator MORSE. Well, I will take reservation on that comment, but I appreciate your cooperation. I will insert in the record the statements that Dr. Walker is submitting to us, with deep appreciation of the committee. I want to also put his biographical material in at the very beginning of his testimony, and I would also like to ask you if we can count on you to help us with supplemental statements when the members of the staff write to you for additional information, if you can be of help to us in preparing those memorandums, because we have in you—and I engage in no flattery—a very, very valuable witness to this committee, and we have a common purpose, you and this committee, seeking to do what we can to come to the assistance of the needs of the Indians, and I know that you want to give us any information that you can give us, when we come to mark up the legislation, if we find we have a big hole on some question, why, we need data, I would like to have this record show that the staff is instructed by me on behalf of the committee to write to you and see if you can be of help, as well as to Dr. Stern and the other experts we have had before us this morning.

Dr. **Walker**. Thank you.

Senator **Morse**. Thank you very much.

Senator **Yarborough**. You are the author, also, of this book we have here, are you not?

Senator **Morse**. Yes. This is already an appendix. It's a wonderful job.

(The prepared statement, with attachment, of Dr. Walker follows:)

PREPARED STATEMENT OF DEWARD E. WALKER, JR., DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY/ANTHROPOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF IDAHO

EDUCATION AND ACCULTURATION AMONG INDIANS OF THE NORTHWEST

Rapid disintegration of aboriginal cultural patterns is a fundamental fact of life for Indian peoples of the Northwest. Formal education is playing a large part in this change. Anthropologists have concentrated intensive research on this process of cultural replacement called acculturation. Where the cultures in question differ markedly, acculturation is often quite destructive for the subordinate culture. This is true for many reasons, but the most obvious is that such changes disturb the functional integration of the subordinate culture. Numerous unresolvable contradictions arise and individual apathy usually results. In our past, destruction of native cultures has been a deliberate policy of agencies in whose charge native peoples have been placed. For example, missionary groups and the Bureau of Indian Affairs traditionally have supported extensive programs designed to secure this end among Indian peoples of the Northwest. Even casual observers are aware of the assimilationist pressures they have exerted and the disastrous effects that have often resulted.

Programs of forced acculturation have been designed to transform aboriginal patterns of family organization, child rearing, language, dress, economy and technology, political organization, and religion. All of them have been successful to some degree in the Northwest in that the aboriginal patterns are disintegrating rapidly. Not unexpectedly, however, their replacement with adequate substitutes from Euroamerican culture is usually inadequate. In brief, Indian peoples have lost well-designed and internally consistent ways of life without acquiring workable alternatives. Culturally, they have become almost totally impoverished in many instances.

During the past six years my associates and I have been engaged in continuing long-range studies of acculturation on several Indian reservations of the Northwest. Particular attention has been given to the Colville, Nes Peros, and Fort Hall groups. On these reservations we have found that educational institutions have fallen well short of their goal of turning out well-adjusted, self-reliant Indian graduates. Nevertheless, formal education has brought about extensive acculturation. Some of our findings on this matter may be of interest to you.

First, I would like to present a number of characteristics we have discovered that are typical of Indian people with relatively high and low educational achievement. Marked differences of Indian ancestry and parental characteristics separate the higher from the lower educational achievers. Individuals with primarily Indian ancestry generally have a less formal education than those with only half or less Indian ancestry. Likewise those with less formal education tend strongly to have fathers who are not fully employed, who have relatively little formal education, and who are proficient in the native language. Further, such low achievers also have mothers who have little formal education, who adhere to traditional, non-Christian religions and who are proficient in the native language. The families of lower achievers also use native languages more in their homes, which quite commonly are devoid of books, magazines, and other reading materials. Such families also tend to rely heavily on traditional foods, favor traditional rather than Euroamerican medicine, and commonly have traditional rather than Christian or civil marriages.

Typically, those with relatively less formal education place higher value on retaining aboriginal cultural patterns, place less value on formal educational achievement for their own children, and have lower incomes. They rarely advocate assimilation, commonly oppose termination of federal supervision of reservations, and frequently support the policies of the Bureau of Indian

Affairs. Not surprisingly, these low achievers also have primarily unskilled jobs, less adequate houses and house furnishings, use banks infrequently, and have very little life, automobile, or medical insurance. However, among reservation Indian people the less educated tend to be more fully employed than the more highly educated. This undoubtedly reflects the very limited employment opportunities for skilled workers available on reservations in the Northwest. Because of this, those who secure higher education are virtually forced off their reservations. Perhaps this fact is behind our finding that those with less education desire to remain on their reservations, whereas those with more wish to move away.

Low educational achievers also regularly make fewer off-reservation visits and very strongly oppose programs designed to relocate them off their reservations. Commonly, they also favor tribal rather than state law enforcement on the reservation. On the other hand, those with less education generally take less interest in tribal politics and are indifferent to national politics. It is those with relatively higher education who dominate tribal politics among reservation people. They also are largely democrats and take a relatively keen interest in national political affairs. We have found that those with more education vote much more frequently than their less educated neighbors.

What may we conclude from these findings? Clearly, the more highly educated individuals become, the less likely they are to remain on reservations or retain aboriginal cultural patterns. Superficially this might seem a desirable thing. However, the fact that individuals wish to move off reservations or reject the aboriginal culture does not mean that they are capable of doing so successfully. Nor does it mean that past federal or public school educational programs have been successes. In fact, our research has shown that formal education quite commonly succeeds only in divorcing the individual from his tribal background and does not enable him to deal successfully with the demands of greater Euro-american society. Paradoxically, where past formal education has succeeded it has also failed. Marginal men often have been created. These marginal men have no firm identification with any social groups. They are strangers both at home and abroad. An Indian can succeed in the present educational systems of the Northwest only at great personal sacrifice. The price of success is loss of identity.

Biographical research among such individuals shows them also to be inclined to extreme alternation between stability and instability of adjustment. Often this shows up in stable periods spent off the reservation interspersed with unstable periods typified by alcoholism, broken marriages, and other problems and spent back on the reservation. For these people the reservation truly becomes a haven in times of trouble. However, such variation of adjustment also occurs on reservations. Although more conservative people are found on reservations generally, virtually all reservations are dominated by the marginal transitional type. Life for them also consists of frequent alternation between relative adjustment and maladjustment.

What can be done to remedy these grave problems produced in large part by inadequacies in past Indian education? Obviously, solutions will be difficult at best. However, among the immediate steps that must be taken should be at least the following:

1. Return control of Indian education to tribal governments. Only they understand adequately the needs of their people. Public school boards have been remarkably insensitive and even hostile to Indian educational needs in the past.
2. Recognize that the duty to educate Indian youngsters does not carry a license to destroy cultural patterns. Indian education must become a process of teaching the Indian to live in a foreign culture. This is the very best we can hope for. Attempts to blank out the native culture are doomed to costly failure.
3. Make much better provisions for reservation economic development so that educational success does not force the individual to leave his home area. Often their leaving the reservation is the principal reason they fail to adjust to jobs for which they have perfectly adequate training. We all recognize that the threat of terminating reservations is a severe obstacle to economic development. There must be more security for the future of reservations if any progress is to be made. Dispersing Indian reservation population creates more individual problems than it solves. The increasing Indian element on skid row in major western cities is dramatic evidence of this fact. Solution of Indian educational and related problems can take place only through strengthening rather than weakening reservation tribal governments, economies, and particularly tribal control over Indian education. Model schools and research programs associated with them should be expanded substantially and placed under tribal control.

4. In view of our findings, develop integrated education programs that stress Indian culture and history, education of the whole family, and special programs in English speaking and reading skills. Because Indian children know little of their aboriginal language does not mean their command of English is adequate. Often acculturation has placed Indian youngsters in positions of knowing no language well.

5. Continue to emphasize preschool training programs that extend into the Indian home. The preschool period obviously is of critical importance. With this expand special training programs for all teachers who deal with Indian students or who wish to specialize in the area.

6. Sponsor more research that investigates the place of education in acculturation. Traditional pedagogical research by professional educators ignorant of Indian culture and acculturation is not enough. The skills of anthropologists and other social scientists are absolutely essential. In particular, we must develop means of early detection of Indian students who are prone to academic failure. Our research has provided some tantalizing clues that need further verification. We must also increase our knowledge of the way educational failure and success relate to other aspects of the individual's life. Only by researching Indian education in the broadest sense can we hope to discover all the critical factors separating success from the failure.

We must guard against those who offer panaceas. Undoubtedly, the problem in overcoming the shortcomings of past Indian education will prove to be as resistant to solution as any social problems we have faced. Those who say they have all the answers are either dangerously naive or proceeding from ulterior motives. Truly, something must be done as soon as possible, but initiation of large remedial projects beyond the present programs should be discouraged until researchers have a chance to discover and verify many more facts than we now have available to us.

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PROBLEMS OF AMERICAN INDIAN EDUCATION

(By Deward E. Walker, Jr., Department of Sociology/Anthropology, University of Idaho).

It may come as a surprise to many that a frequent result of cross-cultural applications of Euroamerican education is the creation of rootless, apathetic, and unproductive people. In the past, many teachers and formulators of educational policy have been unaware of and/or unwilling to adjust their programs to the cultural distinctiveness of the American Indian, believing that such adjustments were inimical to the American way of life. Too few understood that people can be attached to radically different cultural patterns and, in fact, prefer them to those of the Euroamerican. This ethnocentrism has led educators to adopt numerous damaging educational policies, which I believe have had a destructive effect at least in Nez Perce, Yakima, Colville, and Paiute acculturation. I say "at least" because these are societies I know from research experience, but I am convinced that the following observations have general validity.

Early educators of the American Indian commonly insisted on an almost complete abandonment of aboriginal cultures. In the name of "education" they often demanded that the Indian student abandon his language, basic patterns of family organization, various subsistence techniques such as fishing, hunting, or root gathering, and particularly religious beliefs and practices divergent from Euroamerican patterns. In fact, in the name of education it has been suggested that the Indian student's past is a handicap, that it is something that can only hurt him.

Under such conditions the student frequently concludes that he is little more than an imperfect White man. All too often education has created in him the notion that he is not really a person possessing a distinctive and valid culture, language, and history different from those of the Euroamerican. Frequently educators have stated explicitly to the Indian student that their task is to "civilize" him, or to "bring him up from savagery." This, of course, is an expression of that ethnocentrism which effectively puts the Indian student beyond the reach of the Euroamerican educator. In view of the biological and social obstacles to forgetting that one is an Indian, this is a very damaging emphasis. It asks the Indian to do the virtually impossible, and while thus frustrating him, leaves him no alternative course for his life. He can never be fully a White man but comes to despise and distrust that which is most natural for him to be—an Indian with a distinct cultural background.

Out of such educationally induced dilemmas as these come the apathetic, unproductive people who are of no use to themselves, their own culture, or the culture of the Euroamerican.The real tragedy is that this educational point of view is false. Many educators have scrupulously avoided racial prejudice, only to exercise an even more damaging cultural prejudice. It is not necessary or even possible that we all be culturally alike in order to participate profitably in the same society. Apparently some educators are coming to realize that cultural differences may be of great value to a society and should be encouraged. The ethnocentric, "one culture" tyranny of the past exercised at such great cost to the Indian hopefully will soon disappear from educational philosophies.

Commonly educators have assumed that there can be only one curriculum for all ethnic groups in the educational system. This attitude has been justified in the name of democracy, i.e., no special treatment for any group. Generally, this has been a self-defeating approach when applied to the education of American Indians. The refusal to meet the special needs of the Indian student has placed him at a permanent disadvantage. I wish to emphasize particularly the great need that still exists in many American Indian reservation communities for special curricula development, curricula that do get to the needs, particularly the value needs that obviously are more important for the Indian student than the highly touted technical skills.

Closely related to this problem has been the educator's common assumption that the value of his own way of life is self-evident. Commonly, the ethnocentric educator is a product of a middle-class Euroamerican home and educational system, possesses a set of successful life experience, and often thinks of himself as the result of a special act of creation. Such attitudes are common in all cultures, of course, and seem so obvious to people that they often assert that their cultural patterns are based in natural law.

By and large, the teacher who works from such assumptions hurts no one so long as his students share his cultural background. These assumptions become highly maladaptive, however, when the same teacher is working with members of a different culture. Many of the values he takes for granted are highly objectionable in American Indian cultures. For example, a willingness to engage openly in competitive verbal exchanges is vary bad form among many American Indian cultures. To amass great amounts of money likewise is objectionable. In many of these cultures a quiet dignity and personal reserve are the most proper interpersonal behaviors. Similarly, what by our standards would be regarded as a waste of individual economic resources is often prescribed behavior. For example, it is often culturally prescribed that the individual immediately distribute any economic surpluses he may suddenly gain, thus accumulating in good will great security against future shortages and emergencies. In many Indian cultures, the most esteemed man is the most generous man, and not the man who owns the biggest house or car. Education that champions worldly success through intensive individual competition, and economic "thrift," therefore, often runs counter to basic American Indian cultural patterns.

In the past some educators have condemned habits and attitudes of Indian students that in fact are expressions of basic cultural differences. The Indian student thus tends to be thrown into the hapless situation of believing that he is somehow personally responsible for creating problems for the educator through behaving in ways perfectly natural and proper to him. The over-all effect of this dilemma is the destruction of the Indian's self-respect and motivation.

It cannot be emphasized too strongly that such conditions produce adults who in their apathy are incapable of adjusting to the demands of either Euroamerican or Indian society. Such individuals are products of an educational system based in large part on the Euroamerican educator's idea that the American Indian either has no past or possesses a past that must be forgotten and eradicated. Traditionally, many educators have not seen the cultural background of the Indian student as something of value through which to reach him. An awareness and use of his cultural background is a vital prerequisite for successful inculcation of skills essential to the Indian student's adjustment to the world of the ubiquitous Euroamerican.

A first remedial step in overcoming past failures of American Indian education must be education of educators to the nature and continual existence of American Indian cultures. Clearly, it is unwise educational policy to assume that the Indian student shares the same skills, values, and goals as Euroamerican students.

Indian culture continues, and Indian children learn Indian values in their preschool years. By the time they enroll in the first grade, their basic personalities are well formed. The educator cannot simply blank out training at that phase, but can only adjust to it and hope to direct its development in productive directions.

An important part of this education of educators to the nature of the Indian past and the continuing existence of Indian cultures would be to exploit systematically the vast anthropological literature dealing with the American Indian. This is not the romantic literature of the noble red man but the literature of the trained student of American Indian cultures. It is the result of laborious accumulations of factual materials regarding Indian culture, personality, and over-all world views and orientations.

Indian cultures are more than a few feathers that appear on celebration days; they are extremely complex and highly variable adjustments to worlds that have been drastically transformed. The Indian was well adapted to the world that he faced before the appearance of the Euroamerican, and the techniques and attitudes appropriate to that world often have continued as the world around him has changed. If he is to be effective, the educator must understand what these persisting values and attitudes are and the nature of the world for which they were appropriate. Only through such an awareness will the educator be able to accomplish the essential task of using things in the American Indian's background as bases of rapport, bases upon which he can inculcate productive skills and adaptive values appropriate to the new world in which the Indian presently finds himself.

Second, there must be adopted a policy which recognizes a twofold educational duty to the Indian. We must educate him in values as well as technical skills. Technical education is a self-defeating undertaking unless at the same time the Indian acquires values which make these skills seem worthwhile.

Great emphasis must be placed on the inculcation of the individual values on which our society depends. We cannot assume that these values are self-evident to the Indian student or to his parents. The values they regard as self-evident are different and appropriate to a different culture. In order to avoid permanent damage to the Indian student that can result from attempting to destroy basic values, the educator must pursue this goal, at least initially, within the Indian student's value system. He must isolate within it and develop those values that can effectively assist the Indian to adjust to Euro-American culture.

It is essential that he work within the Indian culture, for anthropological research has clearly shown that he can rarely expect to supplant this value system entirely. In a very real sense, therefore, the Indian must be prepared by the educator to live in two cultures. Unless the value systems characteristic of the respective cultures can be harmonized in the student, little educational success can be expected, only frustration and apathy.

A third means of overcoming past educational failures is to place special emphasis on the development of verbal skills. Educators often assume that the American Indian student has no special needs in this area. Yet Indian students have failed consistently as they have moved into higher educational levels which required reading comprehension of more and more complex materials. Tests have shown that this is a major weakness in many American Indian students and that it is due primarily to (1) possession of a different language and (2) very bad training in English at home. Often six-year-old students come to school with little or no knowledge of English, but are still expected, without any special training, to keep up with the other students. Usually this results in permanent educational damage. Indian students either are not passed or are passed without adequate preparation. Very soon the student is in an impossible situation, and salvaging him is beyond the capacity of even the most advanced educational techniques.

The development of trade schools is not a satisfactory answer to Indian educational problems. Some educators have felt that the development of trade schools in certain areas close to American Indian reservations would be a way of solving the Indian educational dilemma. They argue that the Indian student in whom the educational process has failed will be well adapted to various types of trades and that he will take to these very easily.

Thus Indian students are condemned to a second-rate existence since such training tends to obscure the student's basic educational needs in the areas of verbal skills and the values and attitudes that give some meaning to the educational experience. Whether they be enrolled in trade school or high school, it is no exaggeration to say that many Indian students have no clear idea why they are in school. We must, therefore, concentrate on these primary needs before we attempt to satisfy more mundane needs for technical skills. It is obvious from all I.Q. testing that there is a spectrum of ability within the American Indian population quite as great as that within our own. There are many Indians capable of the highest educational achievements who should not be forced to learn only the types of skills that trade schools can provide. Clearly, the trade school can be regarded only as a temporary stop-gap measure and not as a panacea for American Indian educational problems.

A fourth means of avoiding certain past Indian educational failures would be to integrate into a single coordinated program the efforts and skills of psychologists, social workers, counsellors, and teachers. We must have integrated programs to help overcome the severe educational handicaps that are based in inadequate food, shelter, family backgraund, and the severe emotional problems known to be common among Indian students. Two many past educational programs have been confined to the classroom. It is a rare teacher who really knows much about the life of his Indian students outside the classroom. Further, we cannot ignore the general economic proverty of the American Indian population. Contrary to popular misconception, Indians rarely are the beneficiaries of economic handouts from the government. In fact, they mainly are economically destitute and often cannot even qualify for welfare. We must overcome the problems born of economic deprivation if we are ever to cope successfully with the host of other problems based in cultural differences mentioned above.

The efforts of psychologists, social workers, counsellors, and teachers must be organized so as to educate the whole family as well. The educator must recognize that his educational efforts are in competition with an informal and highly effective Indian educational system that often champions different values and encourages behavior the teacher discourages. Home influences frequently blot out classroom influences, thus making it necessary for the educator to enlist the active support rather than passive opposition of the child's parents and relatives. Only by integrating the efforts of a variety of specialists operating under a single program will it be possible to realize this goal.

Finally, I think that educators need to be reminded of the great pride of American Indians in general, and American Indian students in particular. This pride, often culturally emphasized, is responsibile for the frequent preference for withdrawal and refusal to participate further. You hear many teachers who have delt with American Indian students saying, "Well, I just can't reach them." Rarely is this the student's fault. It is the educator's fault in the vast majority of cases, because he has failed to develop rapport.

No student can be bludgeoned or forced to learn things that the educator thinks are "good for him." Punishment or ridicule for unavoidable mistakes is bad educational policy anywhere but one frequently found in the educational experiences of American Indians. Withdrawl of the student is the most common reaction after a few of these shaming incidents. In the past, educators, particularly the less-instructed older females, have been fond of commenting critically on the Indian student's inadequate clothes, his food, his language, or his personal cleanliness. Such efforts have produced a withdrawal of the student, often so complete that no one can ever reach him educationally again.

It is obvious that where successful, American Indian education is an excellent investment for the country, the state, the federal government, and, most important, the Indian himself. It is our primary means of avoiding problems of individual and social adjustment. For the American Indian, education, as we know it, is primarily a process of adjusting an individual to a foreign culture. Successful education in the terms that I have outlined above is the best way of solving the social and psychological problems that have become so characteristic of many American Indians who cannot cope with the alien world in which they find themselves.

The major Indian social problems at the present time are unemployment, welfareism, alcoholism, abandoned children, and juvenile delinquency, most of which could be severely curtailed if educational programs were developed which more adequately met the peculiar needs of the Indian student. The development of such programs is one of the most worthwhile efforts our society can make. It is not merely more and more social workers that we need, nor is it more and more psychologists or welfare programs. It is a combination of all these in an integrated program that takes particular cognizance of the Indian student's cultural background, his distinctive values and needs as a member of a different culture, and that recognizes that he comes to our culture with a built-in chip on his shoulder, one put there primarily by the Euroamerican. We must be willing and equipped to educate not only the student but also his family, the group so important in either negating or reinforcing the lessons he gets in school. Only by so doing will we be able to avoid the continual creation of the apathetic, rootless, unproductive persons so obvious in many American Indian societies at the present time.

Senator **Morse**. Our last witness will be Mr. David Hall, tribal executive secretary, Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation, Pendleton, Oreg.

I want to insert in the record Mr. Hall's biographical data:

Business college, 2 years, Oakland, Calif.; Chemawa High School; former member of tribal scholarship committee.

I want to say that as a very proud Oregonian, I am very proud of Mr. Hall.

I know a great deal about his work. I have worked with him. He's been a great help to the Oregon delegation in the Congress many, many times.

It's a great privilege for me to present you to Senator Yarborough and also to this audience.

You may proceed in your own way.

STATEMENT OF DAVID S. HALL, TRIBAL EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, CONFEDERATED TRIBES, UMATILLA INDIAN RESERVATION, OREG.

Mr. **Hall**. Thank you, Senator. I have been selected as an alternate witness replacing one of my tribal members, and I just found out last night that I would be the substitute, and therefore my statement will be brief.

First, I'd like to acquaint the Senators with the Umatilla Reservation, just what our reservation is.

The enrollment on our Umatilla Reservation is approximately 1,250 members with approximately half of the members living on or in the vicinity of the reservation.

In this area in which the reservation is located during this past school year we have had 262 students in all the grades.

Forty-eight of these were in high school last year, 15 graduating and this year, we will have 14. Compared to some of the other reservations which have testified in advance of me, our reservation is comparatively small.

In the past we have had a serious problem of dropouts and more particularly in the early part of their high school life, but this situation has improved, and from the information I have obtained, the dropout rate over the years for our children had been or is said to be 16.7, which is less than the State average, I understand.

As other witnesses before me who have expressed a need for a school such as Chemawa, I wish to endorse that, having gone there, and I believe that there is a need for such a school.

We have broken homes, children without parents, and others who would use such a school. Possibly it wouldn't be for every high school student.

In our particular case, we have more or less integrated with the public schools, or at the present time we do not have a public school on the reservation. All our students are bused into the surrounding towns, and this has been the case since about 1946.

We only have a parochial day school on the reservation at this time.

My tribe, the Umatilla Tribe, is very much interested in education. Approximately 10 years ago we set aside in the U.S. Treasury a fund for educational aids.

We set aside $200,000 in the U.S. Treasury of which the interest was to be available each year for educational grants, and at the present time we award $1,000 per school year for college and university; $500 for trade or technological schools.

Our educational committee is considering recommending that these be raised as the costs of schooling have gone up.

In the past, we have attempted to alleviate the dropout problem in high school. Through a special program we have set up a loan program to high school students. Those having a trust fund from which the loan would be repaid, and this has eliminated the excuse that some parents use that the children do not have adequate clothing or lunch money, and this, I think, has a lot to do with correcting our dropout problem.

I'd like to mention in addition that through the generosity, through the interest of formal tribal attorney, Charles F. Luce, who left us to become Bonneville Power Administrator and later became Under Secretary of the Interior, that when he took Federal employment, he relinquished his interest in the fees, attorney fees he was to receive and set up a trust fund for the Umatilla Indian children.

It will contribute for the first time this year, starting this year, approximately $5,000 a year for beyond high school. This is in addition to the $8,000 we have available.

Senator MORSE. I never knew that, but that's typical of Charles Luce. I'm very glad you made that part of the record.

Mr. HALL. In the education of our children, one of the better programs, in my opinion, which has included any children, has been the Headstart, and in my opinion, these Indian children have been able to start even or sometimes ahead of the other kindergarten children. It's been a very good program.

Also it's my opinion that our people are very proud to be Indians, and the fact of being an Indian hasn't retarded him or kept him from participating in activities in the area.

During the past years, we have had a student body vice president, a head cheerleader, and the district winner in the American Legion speech contest. He went to the State contest also, and we have had many participating in sports. Right in our own Umatilla County area in the past 2 years we have had candidates for Miss Umatilla County, which is part of the Miss America contest. We haven't had a winner in that.

Of our 14 graduates this year, all but two of them have made plans—five of them plan to go to college, three to vocational school. Two are going to enter the service, and one will enter Haskell in Kansas.

One is entering the Institute of American Indian Arts in San Mateo, and then, like I say, these other two are undecided at this time.

Our tribe has gone into some development plans, and at this time they are still in the planning stages, which will help solve, I believe, a problem which we have had.

In the past, we have sent students away to college and trade schools. They have gotten special training, but we haven't had the jobs on the reservation they might return to, so therefore, we are losing some of the cream of the crop there. They will have to go elsewhere for employment.

I might say that the majority of the college graduates have been teachers, have become teachers in the education field.

My testimony here has been rather brief, and probably I may have overlooked something, but I am sure that my fellow delegates who were here will tell me what I should have said and what I didn't say, and I'd like to, Senator, reserve a spot in the record to submit to you a written statement.

Senator MORSE. I'd like to have a supplemental statement.

Also I want you to make yourself available to the counsel and to the staff of the committee to answer questions that we may write to you from time to time.

Mr. HALL. Certainly.

Senator MORSE. I'm very proud that Senator Yarborough could stay long enough to hear your testimony. I am proud of your testimony, and if he has any questons, he may ask them now.

Senator YARBOROUGH. I am very much impressed and encouraged by the record that is being made by your students there at Umatilla Reservation.

I am fighting deadlines. We've been looking at the clock every minute, but I want to hear every minute's testimony if I could and still make the plane.

It was worth staying. It is very interesting.

Senator MORSE. Thank you, Mr. Hall. After you leave I will make a comment, but I wanted to make it possible for the Senator to leave now. It will take me about 5 minutes to close the hearing after he leaves.

I want to say, Senator Yarborough, in behalf of the entire committee, I appreciate your coming out here to help me conduct these hearings this morning.

I know I speak for Senator Kennedy when I express his appreciation to you.

I am particularly proud as an Oregonian that you were able to hear these witnesses this morning and learn about some of our Indian educational problems here in the Pacific Northwest.

I thank you very, very much, and I wish you quick and safe trip back to Washington.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Thank you.

Senator MORSE. I will be with you some time the latter part of the next week.

Senator YARBOROUGH. I want to thank you for the privilege of being here. This has been an interesting and stimulating hearing, but more than that, an educational hearing.

I think it would have been worth it. It's a long way to come, and I must catch a plane to get to my home State by night; I have commitments all day long in my home State of Texas, but it would have been worth it had it been a thousand miles farther, and one of the great values of serving in the U.S. Senate is serving with men of dedication and great ability and who are making a great contribution to American civilization, American culture. We have two of them right on this committee, and I think it shows their interest. They don't look for big headlines. They work with groups which are small in number, a few thousand American Indians. Senator Robert Kennedy, Senator Wayne Morse. There are no abler men in the U.S. Senate.

There are no abler men in the U.S. Senate.

It is one of the great privileges I have of serving there, serving with you and Senator Kennedy.

Senator MORSE. I say goodby to you, and wish you Godspeed, and I want my fellow, one of my teachers in the Senate of the United States.

Senator YARBOROUGH. You are the dean. You have been the dean.

Thank all of these wonderful witnesses. I have heard it all except Mr. Walker. I am having a copy of this sent to me, and I have, Mr. Walker, your statement in my pocket. I am going to read it on the plane.

Thank you.

(Whereupon, Senator Yarborough withdrew from the hearing room.)

Senator MORSE. I want the attention of Mr. Hall for just a moment, he and other members of the Umatilla delegation interested in talking with me about some of our pending problems in the delegation, the Oregon delegation is working on, and I'd like to have you in my office in the Federal Courthouse at 3:30. I may not be there right at 3:30. I hope to be, but I hope to go over those problems with you, because you requested an audience. I'd like to go over them with you at 3:30 this afternoon or as soon thereafter as possible, and I hope Mr. Hall will accompany you.

Now, in closing these hearings——

STATEMENT OF LUCY COVINGTON, COLVILLE RESERVATION, NESPELEM, WASH.

Mrs. COVINGTON. Mr. Senator, just before you close, I just wondered, I am from the Colville Reservation, and I'm on the Colville Business Council, but we don't have delegates.

Senator MORSE. Would you like to make a statement for the record? Please come forward.

Mrs. COVINGTON. Yes, I would.

Senator MORSE. Please come to the witness stand. I will take it right now.

Will you identify yourself for the record?

Mrs. COVINGTON. I am Lucy Covington. I am on the Colville Business Council. I reside in Nespelem, Wash.

Thank you, Senator.

I'm not a delegate. I came here on my own, you might say.

Senator MORSE. You are certainly welcome to testify.

Mrs. COVINGTON. Because as you probably are aware, that the Colville Tribe are in two factions: One is requesting termination, liquidation of the reservation, in a similar manner as the Klamath. They want money, and the other faction is against termination. They want no termination, and I happen to be one that's against termination.

So therefore, I am not on any committees of the Colville Business Council. They have appointed one committee, and that's employment, and it is not an active committee.

Therefore, the only thing I attend is the council business meetings, and Mr. Parmeter, and this gentleman happened to be there when we were having a meeting.

They wanted to know if we had educational problems, and I think you well remember what was said there. Some people said they didn't, and I think you know what faction that was, and we said we do.

I am a product of Haskell Institute. I attended the Nespelem school to the 10th grade, and it was a one-room school with one teacher to do all the teaching.

I attended, finished high school at Haskell Institute, and I well understand what the boarding schools can contribute to Indian children, and I think when you come out of a boarding school, you are able to integrate. You cannot send an Indian to a public school and think that you are going to solve integration, because it doesn't, but at the boarding schools they do train you in table manners, conversation, dress, and in some social life, which we don't have on the reservation or in any Indian schools, because I think colonization was mentioned here, that we have that because we have had the Bureau people there, and it's segregated in communities that have their own social life, which doesn't include us.

We have a number of students in all the boarding schools at the present time. At one time it was closed. All the schools were closed to the Colvilles. They wanted all the students to go to public school, so naturally our dropout rate was great.

Several years ago, the Nespelem School, high school, was not an accredited school, so therefore, we lost our high school. It was taken to Coulee Dam. Our dropout rate was great.

My brother had 10 children. Most of them graduated, but when they transferred to Coulee Dam, they started to drop out, and there is some discrimination. They have different classes. If you're working for the Bureau, engineers, well, you belong to that group, and there is the other working class; then the poor people's class. I might say there was segregation already at Coulee Dam, and when our children came, well, it was even harder for them to take.

Since they have been attending boarding schools, those who have dropped out are those from poor environment homes or are orphans or whatnot and haven't been able to go to all these different boarding schools.

Last year the education committee from the Colville Tribe was delegated to go to all the Indian schools, and I feared that they were going to find problems so they could close the boarding schools to Colville children.

I decided, at my own expense, to go along, and we went to all the Indian schools and to Haskell, clear to Albuquerque, and I was really enthused. There have been so many changes since I went to school, to a boarding school, that they do get a great deal out of it. Even the problem children, the first year they were quite a problem, but when it comes right to their last chance, "If you do this certain thing again, you will be sent home," there was a certain change, and the following year sometimes they were on executive councils and whatnot. They have done real well.

I know that probably in the back of your mind you feel that it would be better for all Indians to go to public schools.

No, I think when you have your boarding school, when they come from there and go to higher education, they are trained to integrate, and are able to handle themselves better.

So there was a statement here made by several which said that instead of having a boarding school, as it was run when I was there, it should be made better, so that it would be equal to any other schools.

When I left Nespelem I learned, the 2 years I was at Haskell I learned more there than when they did get the high school, and my brother graduated from the Nespelem High School. He does not have the background that I have.

There was a great deal of building in all the boarding schools, as I noticed. They seemed to know the needs, and I also noticed that most of the Indian schools are in Oklahoma, and we don't have any, but the Chemawa School, and another thing I noticed, that they have a specialized education for those who need it. Now, I think that it should always be open for those that need specialized education.

In Riverside, that school is run similar to a college and they have a good merit system there, and I think that's a great school. If I had any children, I would certainly see that they went to there.
I had any children, I would certainly see that they went to that school.

Well, we have a few in each school, and again, they are not segregating one group because you're a Colville or Yakima. You just go to this school. I think it's a great deal for these students, when they see how other tribes live, I mean how they are, and they talk to one another. They get to know our ways are similar, but still there is a great deal of difference in the south and the north. So I think that is also good.

Just like the Englishmen coming over here and the Frenchmen, finally you get to know one another and you get along real well, and that I think is similar.

Now, Nespelem School, last year they took the junior high to Coulee Dam. Now, we just have our children there from high school, and the kindergarten, which is a great program, and Headstart, I think, has done a great deal for our little community.

Mr. Parmeter saw what Nespelem looks like. I asked him to go. The Nespelem Indian School, is predominantly Indian, very few white, and the Coulee Dam School, is predominantly white, and a very few Indians. Although we have two school buses now, we wanted to enlarge our school, but the school board thought it best not to, and we had some Bureau men there. They felt it was better for our students to go to that school.

Of course, when a community loses something like your high school, you lose your—it's one of your community projects. We have no school board members from Nespelem or Indians on the Coulee Dam School Board, but we do have at Nespelem now.

We at Nespelem do not get the best teachers because we have no housing for them, and there's a great need for housing for teachers, and we also have need for more school space, more room, more building, because now there is a third powerhouse and we have migrant workers coming in there. There are not enough facilities at Coulee Dam now or Grand Coulee, which they wanted to make into one big school.

So we don't really know what is going to be facing us this fall with the influx of new residents, and what we have now.

Now, I started to take some notes here, but I just can't think. I'd like to talk to the man who was talking about the Klamath termination. We all know that termination, a bit of cash does not solve the problem at all.

Senator MORSE. I think what I will do on that subject matter, because it is somewhat unrelated to the educational problem, although probably connected, is to see that you get a copy of the transcript on this termination matter and ask you if you will file with this committee a memorandum on this subject setting forth your point of view. I think this record should have your point of view, but I think you should put it in memorandum form so that you can write it with great care. We all know how controversial it is, and I will see to it that counsel takes note of my ruling. I will see to it that there is sent to you whatever we have in the record that deals with this subject matter.

It would help us a great deal if you would give us a memorandum on it. It would be very helpful.

(The memorandum referred to had not been received when this hearing record went to press.)

Mrs. COVINGTON. I would be happy. I was going to pick that up before I came. There has been a death. Now, it made me late. I belong to the executive board, so I didn't make it here in time.

Senator MORSE. The record will be kept open so that we can get these supplemental statements filed, and I wish you to go to work on it and give us a memorandum.

Counsel says that in order to make it relevant to these hearings, you should include in it your views as to what the impact of termination will have on the schools and education for the children who are involved.

We ask for that because that makes it relevant to our hearings. After all, it doesn't fall under our committee, but under the Interior Committee, as far as the termination issue is concerned, but our committee does have jurisdiction over educational problems. To the extent that it bears a relationship to education problems for Indian children, we have jurisdiction to comment on the educational aspects, to be sure you emphasize that in your memorandum.

Mrs. COVINGTON. I shall. I also had the opportunity to visit the Klamath Reservation, and I surely don't want my tribe to go through that if I can do anything. In fact, if they said it could help us, if my own Senator Jackson would listen to me and take my word instead of the other, I think this thing would be solved.

I stayed on the Hill there for 2 weeks last year, talking and trying to get support from the Senate, but I think he's too much for all of us.

Senator MORSE. You give us the memorandum, and thank you very, very much for your testimony.

Mrs. COVINGTON. All right.

There are several other things, but I'm glad you have given me this time, but now that the book will be open for me to supplement——

Senator MORSE. Memoranda on any other subject matter that you want to.

Mrs. COVINGTON. All right.

Senator MORSE. Thank you very, very much. We appreciate it.

Counsel has suggested, and I agree that it be understood that others may wish to file memorandums. The record will be open. How long do you think, Counsel, you will keep it open? Thirty days?

We will make the ruling, the record will be open for 30 days from today for the receipt of the additional memorandums.

Now, in closing these hearings, counsel and I have had a little conference up here, and we had Dr. Walker come all the way from the University of Idaho, and he has given us his generous cooperation. He has simply inserted in the record the testimony and the exhibits he otherwise would have presented, and the acting chairman thinks that one of the most appropriate ways I could recess these hearings, which I'm about to do, is to read into the record so that others here would have the benefit of them, a summary of Dr. Walker's testimony, in his concluding remarks. I think they constitute a very fitting summary of our hearings this morning, and I am going to read them, as follows:

Dr. Walker at the close of his statement says:

STATEMENT OF DR. DEWARD E. WALKER, JR., CHAIRMAN, DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY/ANTHROPOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF IDAHO—Continued, as read by Senator Morse

Senator MORSE (reading). What can be done to remedy these grave problems produced in large part by inadequacies in past Indian education? Obviously, solutions will be difficult at best. However, among the immediate steps that must be taken should be at least the following:

1. Return control of Indian education to tribal governments. Only they understand adequately the needs of their people. Public school boards have been remarkably insensitive and even hostile to Indian educational needs in the past.

2. Recognize that the duty to educate Indian youngsters does not carry a license to destroy cultural patterns. Indian education must become a process of teaching the Indian to live in a foreign culture. This is the very best we can hope for. Attempts to blank out the native are doomed to costly failure.

3. Make much better provisions for reservation economic development so that educational success does not force the individual to leave his home area. Often their leaving the reservation is the principal reason they fail to adjust to jobs for which they have perfectly adequate training. We all recognize that the threat of terminating reservations is a severe obstacle to economic development. There must be more security for the future of reservations if any progress is to be made. Dispersing Indian reservation populations creates more individual problems than it solves. The increasing Indian element on skid rows in major western cities is dramatic evidence of this fact. Solution of Indian educational and related problems can take place only through strengthening rather than weakening reservation tribal governments, economics, and particularly tribal control over Indian education. Model schools and research programs associated with them should be expanded substantially and placed under tribal control.

4. In view of our findings, develop integrated education programs that stress Indian culture and history, education of the whole family, and special programs in English speaking and reading skills. Because Indian children know little of their aboriginal language does not

mean their command of English is adequate. Often acculturation has placed Indian youngsters in positions of knowing no language well.

5. Continue to emphasize preschool training programs that extend into the Indian home. The preschool period obviously is of critical importance. With this expand special training programs for all teachers who deal with Indian students or who wish to specialize in the area.

6. Sponsor more research that investigates the place of education in acculturation. Traditional pedagogical research by professional educators ignorant of Indian culture and acculturation is not enough. The skills of anthropologists and other social scientists are absolutely essential. In particular, we must develop means of early detection of Indian students who are prone to academic failure. Our research has provided some tantalizing clues that need further verification. We must also increase our knowledge of the way educational failure and success relate to other aspects of the individual's life. Only by researching Indian education in the broadest sense can we hope to discover all the critical factors separating success from the failure.

7. We must guard against those who offer panaceas. Undoubtedly, the problem in overcoming the shortcomings of past Indian education will prove to be as resistant to solution as any social problems we have faced. Those who say they have all the answers are either dangerously naive or proceeding from ulterior motives. Truly, something must be done as soon as possible, but initiation of large remedial projects beyond the present progress should be discouraged until researchers have a chance to discover and verify many more facts than we now have available to us.

These are challenging statements, Dr. Walker. One does not have to share all the implications of them to know that the problem before this committee is a very serious one, and I recess these hearing by giving the assurance of those here and interested in Indian problems, and those across the country, that this subcommittee under Senator Kennedy's leadership is going to pursue this matter until we have done the best we can to make the record that we think gives us a basis for legislative recommendations to the Senate of the United States, and with that, as my closing remarks, I now recess these hearings, subject to the call of the chairman of the subcommittee for reconvening them at some other appropriate location in the country, and I want to thank all the witnesses. I want to thank this wonderful staff we have on this committee for its cooperation, and I want to thank my fellow Oregonians and our visitors from Washington and other States for the splendid cooperation that you have extended to me as I have conducted these hearings today.

Thank you, and good day.

(Whereupon the hearing was recessed subject to the call of the Chair.)

APPENDIX

PREPARED STATEMENT OF THE LUMMI RESERVATION INDIANS, MARIETTA, WASH.

There are approximately 1200 Indians living on or adjacent to the Lummi Reservation. We feel the necessity of qualified boarding schools nearer to the reservations of the Pacific Northeast Coast. Students of any particular area prefer to attend school with other students of their own similar backgrounds to avoid many types of conflicts between the different reservations. The nearest boarding school to this area is Chemawa located near Salem, Oregon. However, this school is only open at the present time to Navajos and Alaskans. The present boarding school acceptance is limited to those of low income and children who are having problems keeping up in their school work at public schools. We feel that the boarding schools should be available to all types of problems, i.e. social, economic, health.

All teachers dealing with Indians should have an orientation program regarding the background of Indians before they begin teaching. This would enable them to understand the problems involved with their students and be able to encourage them to continue their education. Also, there is presently no background in history books regarding Indians except that they were defeated at such and such a battle. Additional classes in schools regarding Indian Culture should be available in addition to teaching Indian History. Teachers and parents are not too receptive of Indians expressing their views and believe everyone (Indians) have a "chip on their shoulder". This alone is a definite reason why teacher orientation regarding Indian backgrounds is necessary. Also, students do not take an active interest in school sports or extra-curricular activities as they feel they are not wanted or are not accepted both by teachers and students. Teacher Orientation would help to correct this as would All-Indian boarding schools.

It is our understanding that the Johnson-O'Mally Fund is to be used for lunches and other things the Indian students might require. At the present time, however, it is used only for a few free lunches to very low income families. The individual schools apply for this Fund on the basis of non-taxable land in their area. The Johnson-O'Mally Fund loses it's identity once it gets into the Ferndale School District. We are attempting to meet with the school district involved to resolve this problem so that it may be used to assist students that are not able to pay book fines, lost keys and locks, and home economics and shop material. Presently, if a student is not able to pay their book fines or for their lost keys and locks, they would not be able to receive their report cards. We feel that these fines should be paid out of the Johnson-O'Mally Fund.

The Lummi Headstart Program is the best in Washington State per Ronald Tupper, Director of Headstart, University of Utah. The reason for this is that we have Indian Teacher's Aids, a nice building with excellent lighting, a good sized playground and nice playground equipment, volunteers, Parents Club, parent participation and the approach to teaching is wonderful. The present playground equipment has all been donated. However, additional funds are needed for the purchase of additional large and small items of play equipment and for general spending money for such things as gas for small trips for the children for visits to restaurants, stores, and for the purchase of small items in the local stores. The present lunches for Headstart are supplied by the Ferndale School District lunch program. The Headstart Program in Lummi also requires the assistance of a janitor which at the present time no funds have been allowed for this service. Janitor work must be done by the Teacher's Aids.

This area also needs more Bureau of Indian Affairs involvement in getting students into boarding schools, colleges, vocational schools, etc. They (BIA) seem to be detached as they do not show up for scheduled meetings or they appear on the reservations without letting anyone know in advance of their arrival to be prepared. The programs are simply handed to the tribes and are not followed through by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. At the present time students are sent away to learn a vocation and return to the same situation they left. Jobs are needed to provide these students the opportunity to utilize their education. Follow-ups should be made by the Bureau of Indian Affairs once an individual's schooling has been completed to see what use is being made of the education they received. Jobs should be available on or near the reservations so that an Indian may have work near their place of heritage instead of being expected to separate themselves from their birthplace.

It is felt that work experience classes should be available throughout the school systems where students could work as part of their schooling to secure experience in working and earning their own living. Also, we feel that schools should not only stress education in high school as a step toward college but also be able to detect those students who are not college material and prepare them for a vocation that does not require a college degree.

The number of Indians graduating from high school has been gradually increasing. Following is a list of Indians graduating out of a mixed class of Indians and non-Indians:

1964: 5 out of 134.
1965: 4 out of 159.
1966: 7 out of 137.
1967: 7 out of 150.
1968: 10 out of 1[illegible].

The above figures include only the Ferndale School District which receives assistance through the Johnson-O'Mally Fund. There were a total of 20 Lummi Indian students graduating in 1968 between the Ferndale School District and the nearby Bellingham School District. The only percentages we have are related to students graduating in 1968 from Ferndale High School. In 1961 20 Indians entered Grade 7—30 per cent of these students between Grades 7 and 12 did not complete their education. The main reasons for these drop-outs are due to not having enough credits to receive their diplomas, social problems, and non-attendance due to non-interest in school, drinking, family and economic problems.

The Ferndale School District does hire and wants to hire more Indians if the funds were available to do so. However, the Home School counselor for the reservation is white and we feel that this person should be an Indian rather than someone of any other race. Indians will listen to one of their own kind rather than to an "outsider".

SUICIDE AMONG YOUTH ON THE QUINAULT INDIAN RESERVATION

(By Harold L. Patterson, July 1964)

I. INTRODUCTION

My interest in this subject is occasioned by the fact that I have been in close contact with three youths who have killed themselves within the past two years, and with about twelve others who have either attempted or threatened to do the same. All who died, and the majority of those who attempted or threatened suicide, had been students in my classes in the public school on the Quinault Indian Reservation in Grays Harbor County, Washington.

There has been a growing, if rather belated, concern on the part of the various social and law-enforcement agencies about the causes underlying this violence. As principal of the local school, I have been interviewed by those who felt that I might be able to supply some clues as to the meaning of the tragedies. On the whole, I have felt quite inadequate in my attempts at interpretation. The purpose of this study is to use a very limited amount of research as a tool in organizing my ideas and observations regarding this phenomenon. I frankly hope, through this exercise, to become a little more alert as to the symptoms, and to become better able to exert a helpful influence upon the lives of those who are affected.

II. THE MEANING OF SUICIDE

Through the trauma of personal grief which I have experienced in the incidents at Taholah, I have been forced to consider deeply the nature of the act of suicide. It is extremely depressing to see such a waste of life; to feel the impact of the finality and the utter hopelessness that is thus expressed.

What is suicide? It is the ultimate act of defiance toward God and man. It is the hopelessness of a trapped, imprisoned soul. It is an unwillingness to suffer. It is the burlesque of life and the mockery of death. It is the unanswerable cry for help and the final word in an argument with life. It is the supreme act of vengeance, wreaked upon loved ones who have hurt, and failed to understand. It is the denial of rationality, justice, faith, and hope. Suicide is all these, and more; therefore, it is confusion. In spite of the individualism expressed in the act of suicide, it is an act with large and grave social implications. The society in which it occurs must face up to its responsibility for failing to meet the needs of its members.

In his preface to Emile Durkheim's definitive work on the subject, editor George Simpson states: "The individual inclination to suicide is explicable scientifically only by relation to the collective inclination, and this collective inclination is itself a determined reflection of the structure of the society in which the individual lives. * * * Where the rate increases rapidly, it is symptomatic of the breakdown of the collective conscience, and of a basic flaw in the social fabric."[1]

Actually, in striking back at society in this way, the suicide is demanding that his society re-examine its own foundations because he has found some things in it which are intolerable to him. This thought is made clear by Norman Farberow: "Suicide shows contempt for society. It is rude. As Kant says, it is an insult to humanity in oneself. This most individualistic of all actions disturbs society profoundly. Seeing a man who appears not to care for the things it prizes, society is compelled to question all it has thought desirable."[2] These insights lead us to the conclusion that suicide is a sickness, not only of the individual within society, but also of the society itself.

III. THE QUINAULT SOCIETY

The foregoing conclusion makes it mandatory to evaluate the society in which the suicides under consideration occurred. One's personal viewpoint will determine the approach he will use in such an evaluation, and it will likewise color his conclusions. This need not prejudice the objective value of the study if it is accepted as merely one contribution to the understanding of an exceedingly complex problem.

The village of Taholah, Washington, is a semi-isolated Indian community of over 400 people. There are approximately twenty whites living in the village. Taholah is, therefore, a self-contained, socio-economic unit. The major regular sources of income are fishing and logging. Some members receive large incomes from personal timber holdings from time to time. This combination of factors puts the average personal income of the Quinaults among the highest of reservation Indians in the country. All the people live in city-style dwellings, and the majority now have the normal sanitary and heating facilities for such homes.

Although the Quinaults are 100% English-speaking, and have made many other adjustments to the larger society, the effect of the Indian culture is still much stronger than one would at first suspect. Speech and thought patterns, family life, social attitudes and customs, spiritual values, and the concepts of the meaning of life itself are still strongly affected by the past. This is true despite a systematic attempt on the part of government policies to obliterate the Indian culture in past years. (Indians now living have testified to me of having received corporal punishment for speaking the Indian language to peers in school.)

The cultural factors are especially important in evaluating social problems, because the transitional state in which the people now find themselves is quite unstable. Having been partially convinced that their ancestral backgrounds are unworthy of perpetuation, having partially rejected the religious beliefs and practices of the past, having been confronted with a vigorous, numerous invader with a superior technology, the Indian society has a rather ambiguous self-image. The Indian has accepted much of the white man's philosophy with his intellect, but his heart is still strongly attached to his primitive antecedents. Those characteristics which are typically "Indian" seem to militate against his competence in our society, yet he is not prepared to completely break with his cultural heritage. In this tension, he must reach either forward, into the future, or backward, into the past, to find his identity. He is not acceptable as a transitional person, nor is he able to accept himself. His tendency is to hide in the shadows of the past, because that is all that is left. This ambivalence is strongly inimical to the collective and individual will to live.

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[1] Emile Durkheim, "Suicide," p. 16.
[2] Norman Farberow, "The Cry for Help," p. 42.

Furthermore, the "shadows" of the past had some dangers. Some authorities believe that "* * * It seems probable that * * * there is a greater propensity to suicide among savage than among civilized peoples."[3] There is a hint of a carry-over of this hypothesis in a study of suicides in Seattle, Washington, conducted by Calvin F. Schmid and Maurice D. Van Arsdol, Jr. "Indians, with a population of 666 in 1950, had no completed suicides, and 15 attempted suicides during the five year period, 1948 to 1952. Although this is the highest attempted suicide rate of any racial group, its reliability is low, because of the small population."[4]

Being in an all-Indian community, the Quinaults have been more able to resist change which they feel is unfavorable than have some groups. Still, when they do resist, they have been called "stubborn," and when they yield, they have often been called "gullible," or "naive." Much experience has taught them that they cannot always accept the white man at face value. This experience has been very costly in treasure and resources. My evaluation of this situation is that it has produced deep feelings of inferiority. The Quinault society is one that has been forced to remain in a condition of adolescence for nearly 100 years, because it has been denied the privilege of self-determination. The frustrations of paternalism, with its failure to develop initiative, have bred a passive defiance. The intense pride of the Indian, and his sense of dignity, prevent him from completely selling out, therefore, he has turned his aggressions inward. Thus, he expresses his defiance in self-destruction in its various forms. Withdrawal, uncooperativeness, cynicism, alcoholism, and many other problems which we have with Indians are all manifestations of the death wish. These symptoms are characterized by Menninger and others as "partial suicide."[5]

Notwithstanding the magnitude of their problems, the Quinault Indians are still fighting for a voice in determining their own destiny. It is a singular tragedy that this will to fight has been the immediate cause of conditions which have precipitated the overt actions of their youth in responding to the suicidal tendency which I have shown to be implicit in the whole society. I feel that the responsibility for this lies at the door of those who have made it necessary for the Quinaults to fight for rights which were guaranteed to them by treaty with the United States government.

Through their governing body, the Quinaults have strongly resisted attempts to open their reservation to the inroads of economic and social exploitation. In the past few years, there have been direct and indirect movements to force state civil and criminal jurisdiction upon the Quinault Tribe. They have seen this as the first step in the termination of federal trusteeship over their resources. They feel that they are not yet ready to protect themselves from the inroads of our highly competitive and commercially voracious society, so they have fought back. The result has been a stalemate. For about five years, there has been no effective law enforcement on the reservation.

Because the Quinaults are basically a peaceful, law-abiding people, there were no immediate effects from the lack of law enforcement. After five years without police, Taholah is still a safer place to live than most of our big cities. However, there has been a subtle deterioration of attitudes and morals, especially among the youth. Any parent knows that if he does not restrain his children, they will lose faith in him. All people, and especially young people, need the security that comes from having standards maintained and enforced. No community could long remain stable without the backing of the law, and most would deteriorate more rapidly than has been the case here.

In Taholah, a minority of lawless adults have made liquor available to the juveniles for years, and no one has been able or willing to stop them. There has been no enforcement of curfews, and young people have been abroad at all hours of the night. Because the social relationships in the village are so close, it has been extremely difficult for parents to keep their young people from close association with habitual delinquents. These factors alone are enough to explode any community, but combined with the additional factors of cultural change, disintegration is almost inevitable.

The Indian youth who does not excel in public school because the white man's education is not designed to meet him where he is; who knows that he is an

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[3] Durkheim, p. 20.

[4] Calvin Schmid and Maurice Van Arsdol, Jr., "Completed Suicides."

[5] Durkheim, p. 20.

Indian, but does not know what that means because his traditions are buried; who knows that he does not have much of a future in society at large because he is not prepared to compete; who knows he can get liquor whenever he wants it because no one is able or willing to stop the traffic; who has ~~no~~ adequate recreational or vocational programs available to him; this kind of youth feels that he has many reasons to believe that no one cares for him. And if no one else cares, why should he? When a young person in this frame of mind is confronted with the normal problems of growing up, it is not hard to understand why he should yield to despair.

These are the general social backgrounds for the problem of suicides in Taholah, but they do not give the complete picture. There are more specific motives involved.

IV. INDIVIDUAL MOTIVATIONS FOR SUICIDE

Durkheim has placed suicide in three main categories:

(1) "Egoistic suicide, which results from lack of integration of the individual into society."[6] This is the situation where the individual feels himself to be at cross purposes with his social environment. This attitude is more prevalent in individualistic societies. It is worthy of note that Indians are highly individualistic with regard to their personal commitments and conduct. To them, individual freedom is a paramount value.

(2) Altruistic suicide: "Where the individual's life is rigorously governed by custom and habit, suicide * * * results from the individual's taking his own life because of higher commandments, either those of religious sacrifice or unthinking political allegiance." Such a person is willing to give his life for a "cause."

(3) Anomic suicide: Anomic suicide results from lack of regulation of the individual by society. Human nature depends largely upon external restraints, and when these are removed, the individual is unable to adjust himself to the change, nor can he establish adequate self controls.

Although the foregoing is a useful system of classification, it could be an oversimplification which views the problem only from the standpoint of the individual's relationship to his total society. It is more to our purpose here to observe, if possible, some of the individual's own reasons for killing himself. Farberow summarizes that "The most serious suicidal potential is associated with feelings of helplessness, hopelessness, exhaustion, and failure, and the feeling 'I just want out'."[7]

Very pertinent to the present treatise are the findings from a study of college students at Cornell University.[8] This study revealed the following personal motives for atempted suicide:

(1) "A desire to destroy himself because he can no longer tolerate the discrepancy between how he appears to himself and how he would like to be." The applicable element in this motive is that Indians have been continually confronted with goals that are not consistent with their backgrounds. If they were entirely immune to these appeals, they would not experience frustration when they are presented. A school boy who has intelligence but is not really encouraged by his parents to achieve in school because of cultural conflict will certainly be discouraged by his failure to meet the standards of the school. His pride and his conscience are both involved.

(2) "A need to punish the other person who has been so frustrating and has brought him so much hurt." This reminds me of a 15-year-old boy who committed suicide after years of trying to keep his mother and father together. He had been in several fights with his mother's paramour shortly prior to his death.

(3) "An urge to repent for some sin." It may surprise some to learn that the religious background of the majority of Indians on the Quinault reservation is characterized by a puritanical strictness which is not reasonable. Some of it is based upon artificial standards, and its influence has been to highly sensitize the consciences of the young people. More than one child has asked me if he would go to Hell if he attends movies. When they find some of the standards impossible, they tend to abandon all standards, but they cannot as readily abandon their guilt feelings. This has produced a devastating effect upon the morals of the community. I do not hesitate to credit it as a strong factor in some suicides. I would hasten to add, however, that there is no religious teaching in Taholah which would imply that guilt could be expiated in this manner.

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[6] Durkheim, pp. 14–15.

[7] Farberow, p. 53.

[8] Time, Sept. 7, 1962, p. 49.

(4) "A cry for help. 'Please rescue me, don't leave me alone!'" To what extent this is true of those in Taholah who succeeded is unknowable, except in terms of their background. But at least two instances of attempted suicide bring this motivation into sharp focus. One lad said repeatedly, after shooting himself in the abdomen, "I didn't want to do it! I don't know why I did it!" Certainly there is a strong bid for attention in this circumstance, although the boy nearly died to get it.

In a study of suicide attempts among children which was reported in Science Digest,[9] there are two motivations which are different from those already given.

(1) "The suicide attempt * * * is in obedience to the command of an imaginary voice."

(2) "The suicide attempt is due to a desire to join a dead relative."

Although these are based on a study of non-Indian children, there are factors in the Indian culture which make them especially significant. I will deal with the two as one, because in this context they are so related.

It is not an unusual occurrence in Indian society for one to receive dreams or visions of spiritual beings or of highly symbolic objects. Prophecies of danger or death are not rare, nor is their fulfillment. Along with this is the presence of a remnant of the past which is almost universally denounced, but which is also universally feared. This is the Tomanowis, or Indian Doctor power, by which one individual is enabled to hurt or destroy another through supernatural means. These are part of the environment of the Indian, and no honest attempt to understand his problems can afford to ignore it.

I was in personal contact with a young woman who, while in a trance state, thought herself to be conversing with her long dead aunt. Her aunt was "calling" her, and, in response to the call, the young woman attempted to wade into the river. It took considerable force to rescue her from drowning.

Another young woman who now has lost three brothers through suicide, told me that she occasionaly grieves for one of her departed brothers. At such times, she has felt the urgent call to join him.

One family openly attributed the death of a son who had committed suicide to Tomanowis power, which they said was being exercised by someone who "had it in for" the family. I have observed enough phenomena of this nature to know that the problem is not an imaginary one, regardless of how one might wish to interpret it. Usually, the Indian will not discuss this aspect of his life with the outsider, because he has a normal aversion to having his sanity or his intelligance questioned. The person who wishes to be helpful must also be humble enough to treat such beliefs with respect, regardless of whether he understands the Indian viewpoint.

There is another influence upon conduct of young people in Taholah, which has not been mentioned in connection with other studies. There is a very strong tendency in the Indian culture to influence persons by ridicule. Because the society is highly individualistic, making it taboo to exert direct influence upon one to lead him against his will, ridicule is developed as an indirect way of achieving this end. It is an exceptionally powerful method of demanding conformity, because of their intense pride. There is evidence that much of the immediate pressure upon those who killed themselves was brought to bear upon them by peers who dared them to do it, and ridiculed them if they seemed reluctant. They called them "chicken" thus goading them to action. It is shocking and incomprehensible to think that young people would do this to one who has been a companion from infancy. Yet we must realize that the point is already made that this is a manifestation of a sick society. The only way that I am able to interpret this form of cruelty is that those who urge others to self-destruction are demonstrating that they too are sick, and are in the very same danger.

In conclusion, I must emphasize the fact that in the majority of cases of successful and attempted suicides in Taholah, the young people had been drinking alcohol. It would be a simple and superficial device to attribute the whole problem to this, and let it go at that. However, the reports I have received and my own observations bear out that they were not so drunk that they did not know what they were doing. Any person would need to be in good control of his faculties to enter his house in the dark, remove a rifle from between a mattress and spring where two people were sleeping without awakening them, go to a drawer and find the only bullet in the house which would fit the gun, load it in the dark, and fire at himself. Though he had been drinking, he could not have been drunk. My considered opinion is that the alcohol did not supply the motivation for the deed, but it did supply the "courage." By this, I simply mean that the natural inhibitions were paralyzed enough by drink to make the thought an overt act.

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[9] Science Digest, August 1961, p. 21.

It would seem that the obvious, immediate remedy is to control the alcohol. Some local law-enforcement agencies have promised to do this, but one wonders why they did not do it long ago, if they can do it now.

There is a more optimistic note in the fact that the Bureau of Indian Affairs is now providing personnel and services which are designed to fill the moral, spiritual, and social vacuum which has long existed in Taholah. Through special educational and recreational programs, through stimulating and guiding community interest in beneficial projects, and through personal counselling, an honest effort is being made to rectify the errors and deficiencies of the past.

If these efforts can result in building up the self-respect of the community and its members, in providing some attainable goals, and in giving hope for the future, they will have achieved their end. None of these things will happen unless the new generation can find reasons to be proud that they are Indian-Americans.

REPORT OF THE BOARD OF INQUIRY INTO HUNGER AND MALNUTRITION IN THE UNITED STATES

[The full text of "Hunger USA" is available from Beacon Press (BP-310), Boston, Mass., $1.95]

A SUMMARY

Introduction

In issuing this report, we find ourselves somewhat startled by our own findings, for we too had been lulled into the comforting belief that at least the extremes of privation had been eliminated in the process of becoming the world's wealthiest nation. Even the most concerned, aware, and informed of us were not prepared to take issue with the presumption stated by Michael Harrington on the opening page of his classic, The Other America: "to be sure, the other America is not impoverished in the same sense as those poor nations where millions cling to hunger as a defense against starvation. This country has escaped such extremes." But starting from this premise, we found ourselves compelled to conclude that America has not escaped such extremes. For it became increasingly difficult, and eventually impossible, to reconcile our preconceptions with statements we heard everywhere we went:

—that substantial numbers of new-born, who survive the hazards of birth and live through the first month, die between the second month and their second birthday from causes which can be traced directly and primarily to malnutrition.

—that protein deprivation between the ages of six months and a year and one-half causes permanent and irreversible brain damage to some young infants.

—that nutritional anemia, stemming primarily from protein deficiency and iron deficiency, was commonly found in percentages ranging from 30 to 70 percent among children from poverty backgrounds.

—that teachers report children who come to school without breakfast, who are too hungry to learn, and in such pain that they must be taken home or sent to the school nurse.

—that mother after mother in region after region reported that the cupboard was bare, sometimes at the beginning and throughout the month, sometimes only the last week of the month.

—that doctors personally testified to seeing case after case of premature death, infant deaths, and vulnerability to secondary infection, all of which were attributable to or indicative of malnutrition.

—that in some communities people band together to share the little food they have, living from hand to mouth.

—that the aged living alone, subsist on liquid foods that provide inadequate sustenance.

We also found ourselves surrounded by myths which were all too easy to believe because they are so comforting. We number among these:

Myth: The really poor and needy have access to adequate surplus commodities and food stamps if they are in danger of starving.

Fact: Only 5.4 million of the more than 29 million poor participate in these two government food programs, and the majority of those participating are not the poorest of the poor.

Myth: Progress is being made as a result of massive federal efforts in which multimillion dollar food programs take care of more people now than ever before.

Fact: Participation in government food programs has dropped 1.4 million in the last six years. Malnutrition among the poor has risen sharply over the past decade.

Myth: Hunger and starvation must be restricted to terrible places of need, such as Mississippi, which will not institute programs to take adequate care of its people.

Fact: Mississippi makes more extensive use of the two federal food programs than any state in the United States.

In addition to the hearings, the site visits, the personal interviews, the anecdotal stories, we learned from government officials, statistics, studies, and reports, that where, by accident or otherwise, someone looked for malnutrition, he found it—to an extent and degree of severity previously unsuspected.

To the best of our knowledge, we have collected the studies and information compiled by all who have gone before us and have supplemented it with the best evidence that our own direct efforts could uncover. At best, we can make an educated guess as to the order of magnitude of the problem. But the chief contribution we can make does not rest with engaging in a numbers game.

It lies elsewhere—with the reversal of presumption. Prior to our efforts, the presumption was against hunger, against malnutrition; now the presumption has shifted. The burden of proof has shifted. It rests with those who would deny the following words of one of our members, "there is sufficient evidence to indict" on the following charges.

1. Hunger and malnutrition exists in this country, affecting millions of our fellow Americans and increasing in severity and extent from year to year.
2. Hunger and malnutrition take their toll in this country in the form of infant deaths, organic brain damage, retarded growth and learning rates, increased vulnerability to disease, withdrawal, apathy, alienation, frustration and violence.
3. There is a shocking absence of knowledge in this country about the extent and severity of malnutrition—a lack of information and action which stands in marked contrast to our recorded knowledge in other countries.
4. Federal efforts aimed at securing adequate nutrition for the needy have failed to reach a significant portion of the poor and to help those it did reach in any substantial and satisfactory degree.
5. The failure of federal efforts to feed the poor cannot be divorced from our nation's agricultural policy, the congressional committees that dictate that policy and the Department of Agriculture that implements it; for hunger and malnutrition in a country of abundance must be seen as consequences of a political and economic system that spends billions to remove food from the market, to limit productions, to retire land from production, to guarantee and sustain profits for the producer.

Perhaps more surprising and shocking is the extent to which it now rests within our power substantially to alleviate hunger and malnutrition. While new programs are needed, and new legislation is desired and urged, there are now reserves of power, of money, of discretionary authority and of technical know-how which could make substantial inroads on the worst of the conditions we have uncovered—and this could be commenced not next year or next month—but today.

Chapter I. The Mississippi Story: A Case History in Bureaucratic Non-Response

This chapter sets forth the events which triggered national awareness of the existence of hunger and malnutrition in Mississippi, the Congressional and administrative concern generated by these disclosures. It documents the ineffectiveness of the so-called massive federal efforts substantially to alleviate the problem to date.

Chapter II. Documenting the Extent of Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States.

Scope of the Problem

The Board found concrete evidence of chronic hunger and malnutrition in every part of the United States, as a result either of field trips or hearings or upon a review of all available studies evaluating the nutritional status of the poor.

These conditions are not confined to Mississippi. In America, the number of victims of chronic hunger and malnutrition appears to reach well into the millions—and the situation is worsening.

Those conditions, directly documented or corroborated by the Board, include:

—a high incidence of anemia among poor infants and children—urban and rural—white and non-white. Among the young, anemia can have serious and lasting medical and emotional effects.

—evidence of retarded growth (abnormally low in heights and weights) attributable to malnutrition in both urban and rural poverty areas

—conditions of severe protein deficiency, which in early childhood, may cause permanent brain damage

—a prevalence of nutritional deficiencies and anemia among pregnant women in poverty

—a high incidence of parasitic diseases associated with malnutrition on field visits to South Carolina, Florida, Mississippi, Alabama and Indian reservations

—significant indications, based on a limited number of studies of severe nutritional problems among the elderly

—the prevalence of some of the most acute conditions of malnutrition among migratory farm workers and Indians

—specific findings of malnutrition from such diverse urban areas as New City, Washington, D.C., Des Moines, Iowa, New Orleans, Chicago, Boston, Cleveland and Seattle.

Effects of Hunger and Malnutrition

The conditions of hunger and malnutrition ascertained by the Board are of such gravity and immediate concern as to constitute a national disgrace.

The Board's concern stems in large part from an awareness, not simply of the existence of hunger, but of the scientifically established toll that it takes.

That price begins even before birth—with injury to the unborn baby. It results in a death rate among the poor, that is often as high as five times the national average for infants between one month and one year. Graphic evidence of the disparity between rich and poor infants is presented on pages 34-37 of the Report.

The damage caused by malnutrition can affect future generations. Those women whose small stature is attributable to malnutrition are prone to give birth to premature babies with a substantially higher incidence of birth defects.

There is increasing evidence that lack of protein in the diet of youngsters can cause severe and irreversible brain damage.

Malnutrition lowers resistance to disease; it is a prime cause of infant mortality; and is a significant contributory cause of parasitic infection, worms, viruses and bacterial diseases.

Other direct effects of malnutrition include listlessness and apathy, shortened life expectancy; disabilities resulting from inadequate growth and diseases such as blindness, rickets, scurvy, and pellagra.

Yet, those consequences which result from classical instances of malnutrition represent only the tip of the iceberg. Each extreme case is indicative of a greater number of borderline cases. Each case identified and documented is indicative of many undocumented and unreported.

The cost of this chronic hunger, of under-nutrition and malnutrition, takes many forms: educational, psychological and social.

Hunger for food overrides hunger for knowledge. Teachers and principals repeatedly told the Board the obstacles which hunger places in their way—in the form of listlessness, fights over food, inattentiveness, acute hunger pangs, withdrawal, a sense of failure.

The ultimate costs are to be found in patterns of social unrest, distrust, alienation, withdrawal and frustration which, in varying degrees, can be traced back to conditions of chronic hunger and malnutrition.

The hunger we have seen contributes directly to the schisms that threaten our society today. In a land of affluence and of agricultural plenty, it cannot help but aggravate a sense of injustice, of grievance and of frustration and revolt.

Order of Magnitude and Probable Pattern of Distribution

The Board recognizes that no definitive estimate can now be made regarding the number of people suffering from hunger and malnutrition in the United States. Nonetheless, the Board presents evidence which supports its tentative estimate:

"It is possible to assert, with a high degree of probability that we face a problem which, conservatively estimated, affects 10 million Americans and in all likelihood a substantially higher number." Conservative estimates are that this may affect as many as 14.5 million of the nation's poor.

Moreover, it is possible to identify those areas where the incidence of hunger and malnutrition is likely to be extremely high. Where income is low, where postneonatal (one month to one year) mortality rates are high, and where participation in welfare and food assistance programs is low or nonexistent, the Board suggests that hunger and malnutrition are prevalent. On this basis, the Board has identified 256 hunger counties requiring immediate and emergency attention.

Chapter III. The difficulty of documenting hunger and malnutrition in the United States

The Board of inquiry was startled by the absence of knowledge, research, experimentation, affirmative action and even concern about the existence of hunger and malnutrition in the United States. In seeking to learn why so little information was available, the board turned to those sectors of society which seemed to possess the responsibility for documenting the nutritional status of the American people: The health professions; public health authorities; private charitable organizations; and the private food sector: The board concludes that each of these sectors have failed to fulfill its responsibility, has allowed hunger to go not merely unchecked, but also unidentified. As a result, the board recognizes that,

"If this report is marred by any single element, it is the anomaly of asserting that a phenomenon exists, and that it is widespread, without being able to ascertain its exact magnitude or severity because no one ever believed it existed".

The Health Professions

The Board presents evidence that:

The extent of recorded medical knowledge about dietary intake and malnutrition among the poor in the United States consists of about 30 studies, which—with a few exceptions—have been limited in scope, and limited in methodology to the most easily determined manifestations of malnutrition.

Medical schools do not train students to recognize malnutrition.

Most hospitals do not keep systematic records or perform tests necessary to ascertain the presence of malnutrition.

The lack of data is used as the basis for inability to move quickly toward solutions, and some professionals have turned lack of data into confirmation that malnutrition does not constitute a serious or pervasive problem.

Public Officials

Among public officials, where the responsibility is clearcut, the board found a shocking lack of information or action:

—The Public Health Service has no knowledge of the extent of malnutrition in the United States, although it concedes that a serious problem exists.

—The Department of Agriculture has conducted extensive studies to learn how much money is spent on food, and which foods are most popular among Americans at large. At the same time, its knowledge of nutrient deficiencies of the poor is scant, superficial, and unsatisfactory.

—Other federal agencies have not added, significantly, to the collective knowledge of the federal government about hunger and malnutrition.

—Dietitians and nutrition experts, public and private, on the state as well as the federal level, have not become familiar with the dietary and nutritional needs of the poor.

Private Charitable Organizations

In a survey of over 100 charitable organizations across the nation, the Board of Inquiry learned that in contrast to the extensive overseas feeding programs of organizations such as CARE, the immediate and severe problems of hunger in the United States have been addressed by the private sector in only a limited fashion.

The Private Food Sector

The Board of Inquiry asked 75 food manufacturing companies: (a) what steps were being taken to determine the number of people now being excluded from the domestic food market because of low income and (b) what remedial efforts they were engaged in. Of 35 companies responding: The board learned that there has been little activity in the private sector in determining the food needs of the poor.

This inactivity on the domestic front contrasts markedly with the situation abroad. A major contribution of the private sector in helping needy populations in poor and developing countries has been the development of new and fortified foods, which by themselves, provide many of the nutrients for a nutritionally adequate diet.

When certain barriers to acceptance of these foods are recognized, when taste, appearance, ease of preparation, adequate delivery systems are considered, and finally when an appeal is made to the nutritional advantages of a food rather than its special utility to the poor, the likelihood of acceptance is significantly increased. With these qualifications, the Board of Inquiry makes recognition of the valuable role that fortified foods can play in alleviating hunger and malnutrition in the United States.

Chapter IV. Analysis of Federal Food and Welfare Programs

The Board has examined in depth the three chief programs designed to alleviate hunger and malnutrition—

The Commodity Distribution Program;
The Food Stamp Program; and
The Welfare Program

And it has taken a brief look at consumer education efforts and the school lunch program and consumer education programs as ancillary programs to combat hunger and malnutrition.

We are forced to conclude that these programs do not do the job.

These programs clearly have failed—but responsibility for this failure cannot be laid merely to lack of money or staff. Much of the responsibility for the failure of these programs rests with the mode of administration adopted, the discretionary decisions made, and the failure to use the full statutory power available to fullfill the purpose of these programs.

Commodity Distribution Program

Under this program, the Department distributes surplus commodities to needy families.

These foods are called basic commodities and are provided in the form of cornmeal, corn grits, flour, non-fat dry milk, peanut butter, rice and rolled wheat. These are the foods that the commodity recipient can count on receiving each month—albeit with some variations in amount and variety.

The government however, has available special additional money to buy and distribute free any other kind of food—orange juice, turkeys, beef, vegetables. It has the power to distribute such foods to the hungry.

This "section 32" money (Section 32, P.L. 320, 74th Congress) designed to keep the farmer's prices high and to provide food for those in need, is not part of the President's budget. The Congress does not have to appropriate it. It comes directly and automatically to the Secretary. Last year, it added up to $700 million. Of that $700 million, some $500 million was either returned to the Treasury or carried forward into the 1968 fiscal year. Less than $150 million was used in connection with commodity or food distribution programs.

The Board of Inquiry found that 300 of the poorest counties in the United States have no food assistance of any kind. Local officials in many of these poor counties have refused to apply for federal food assistance, because of unwillingness to extend help to Negroes, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the poor counties without food assistance.

The Department of Agriculture has the power to start food assistance programs where need is evident. Yet, until April, 1968, the Department consistently declined to exercise its power to institute commodity distribution programs where local officials had refused to apply.

In counties where commodities are distributed, they seldom reach even a majority of the poor population. Some people are declared ineligible because their income is too high, although substantially below the poverty line. Some people are discouraged from participating because the distribution depots where they must go to obtain commodities are too far away, and the commodities received are difficult to transport.

Consider the following:

Assumption: That all families with a given number of members and a given income normally spend the same amount of money on food. This is the assumption underlying the use of surveys to determine what are "normal expenditures."

Fact: The USDA concedes that a primary problem in poor families is that there is no plan for spending money, hence, there is no "normal" amount of money spent each month on food. Bills, fixed expenses, and poor consumer practices devour income the day it dribbles in, so that there can be no amount specifically allocated for food expenditures. No steady dollar-and-cents pattern to the expenditures of poor people has yet been established.

Assumption: A family in poverty normally pays a constant amount of money for food from month to month. This justifies the requirement that participants spend a fixed sum on stamps each month or be ineligible for further assistance.

Fact: Food expenditures may double—or be cut in half—from month to month depending upon emergencies, pressing bills—and on income which may vary from month to month or season to season.

Assumption: That as a family's income increases, the percent of income spent on food increases. Food stamp prices are set so that, at the lowest levels a sharp rise in stamp prices accompanies a modest rise in income. This assumption appears to be coupled with the further assumption that the lowest income families spend for food first and pay their bills last.

Fact: At low levels of family income, food expenditures give way to fixed expenses. Items like rent, utilities, and overdue bills come first. What is left is what is spent for food. And this pattern does not change as income increases (until one is substantially above the poverty line).

The requirement that the poor lay out the cash for stamps all in one lump sum—and that they purchase the minimum amount or none at all—has worked considerable hardship. And once a person chooses to participate, he must continue to do so at the same level every month or he will be disqualified and required to apply all over again for eligibility.

A further inadequacy of the program is its unwillingness to provide even its participants with an adequate diet. By the Department of Agriculture's own standards, the money value of stamps falls consistently and deliberately below the amount necessary to secure a minimally adequate diet. Nutritional studies indicate that those participating in food stamps in fact are only slightly better off nutritionally than non-participants.

The county option system which has thwarted use of the commodity distribution program in many counties has been at least as great an obstacle to instituting the food stamp plan. The Secretary of Agriculture denies that he has the power to distribute food stamps in counties which refuse to apply. Yet section 14(a) of the Food Stamp Act expressly gives him that power.

After presenting this and other evidence, the Board of Inquiry concludes that the Food Stamp Program has failed to fulfill its promise, and proposes a number of steps for administrative reform. See pages 66–67.

The commodity distribution program does not supply enough food for the month. Food runs out, people go days without food. Moreover, the variety of foods distributed is not adequate to meet minimum nutritional requirements, despite the recognized fact that most of the three million participants must look to the commodity distribution program for their total food supply.

As the Board points out, the USDA does not meet its own standards for minimum nutrition:

Each month the USDA distributes to a family of four commodities with a total retail value of slightly over $20. The USDA has determined, however, that a family of four should spend over $90 per month—on a variety of foods—in order to obtain a nutritious diet.

Each month the USDA distributes less than 100 pounds of food to a family of four, a total of 23.38 pounds of food per person. The USDA recommends however, that to obtain an adequate diet, a family of four should have 308 pounds of a variety of nutritious foods. This figure excludes milk and eggs.

The USDA recommends 50 pounds of meat, poultry or fish per month for a family of four. It distributes less than eight pounds to a family of four on commodities. The USDA suggest 176 pounds of fruits and vegetables. The family on commodities received less than five pounds a month.

The Board of Inquiry concludes that the commodity distribution program is a failure. While they do not feel that changes will make the program successful in the long run, they make proposals for administrative reform which, within the framework of existing legislative authority, would benefit the hungry and malnourished substantially. (See page 56).

Food Stamp Program

The Food Stamp Program, in theory, was to correct the deficiencies of the commodity program. It was to let the poor choose their own foods. The bonus coupons they bought with their normal food dollars would multiply their food purchasing power at local stores. Eligible families would buy the food stamps at rates set by the Secretary of Agriculture. The law requires that such prices be set at a rate equivalent to the "normal expenditure" for food. The Secretary decided to set stamp prices by determining average expenditures for families of different size and income.

Averaging the food expenditures of the poverty population proved administratively expedient to the USDA, but became a nightmare for the hungry. Families who had literally no income were averaged in with lowest income families and expected to pay rates based on averages with money that did not exist. In areas where the commodity distribution program was being scrapped in favor of food stamps, the no-income family found itself whipsawed between a program that had distributed food free and a new program that assumed that the family had paid for its food. When the switchover occurred, participation dropped radically. For once, America became aware of its hungry.

This awareness led to piecemeal efforts at improvement. These efforts in turn uncovered other inadequacies in the planning and administration of the food stamp program. The lowering of the minimum food stamp charges pointed up the inequity of the prices at "higher" income levels. Every time the income of a family of four rises by 10 dollars six of those dollars must go toward food stamps. The schedule of charges set up by the USDA suffers from certain internal inconsistencies and operates to discourage participation.

School Lunch Program

Despite its potential for directly alleviating hunger and malnutrition among the children of the poor, the school lunch program has to date, proved unsuccessful. At most, one-third of poverty stricken children attending public schools participate. Although Congress expressly provided in the National School Lunch Act that poor children shall be served without cost or at a reduced cost, a majority of poor children are forced to pay the full price for school lunch or go without. The School Lunch program in fact, operates for the benefit of the middle class.

Consumer Education Programs

Education in the advantages of budget, planning, bargain shopping, and food selection has been held out as a solution of the malnutrition problem.

If education is the answer, the Board finds that little of it exists. In addition, limited evidence would appear to indicate that the poor use their food dollar well and that they need greater purchasing power, more than education on how to use that purchasing power.

Much of the need for education, budgeting knowledge, sophistication and skills stems from policies and procedures which make programs complex and directly decrease their utility to the poor. The call for education sometimes masks a shifting of responsibility for the defects of a program from the administrators, who have made the program complex, to the poor, who cannot cope with that complexity and red tape.

The Role of Public Assistance Programs in Feeding the Poor

The ability to eat adequately in the final analysis depends upon money. The poor do not have enough money to buy the food they need, despite the myth of massive federal handouts. Three out of every four Americans who live below the poverty level receive no help from federal public assistance programs whatsoever.

Some of those who do not receive federal assistance receive "general assistance" from the state and local government. But "general assistance" is miniscule in scale—amounting to less than six percent of federal expenditures under public assistance programs.

Most states administering federal welfare monies do not pay the minimal amount necessary for subsistence as estimated either by their own standards or by the federal government's standards. Actual payments consistently fall below the level to which families are entitled by law.

Consequently, the Board of Inquiry finds those who do participate in federal public assistance programs do not get enough money to secure a nutritionally adequate diet. In fact, welfare recipients who receive the highest level of payment in the nation have been found to suffer from inadequate diet.

Thus to live on welfare is to be virtually certain of inadequate nutrition. But three-fourth of the poor do not even get welfare. There are four distinct causes for this lack of participation:

1. The categories of federal assistance are a limitation on eligibility.

2. The state exercises its power to restrict participation in federal public assistance programs. The states can simply decline to participate in federal programs, or they can restrict the number of participants by imposing additional eligibility requirements.

3. The mode of administration on the state and local level restricts participation.

4. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare consistently declines to re-examine state plans for conformity to federal law, court decisions and affirmative constitutional requirements.

Chapter V. Agricultural Policy

Responsibility for the design, enactment and administration of food assistance programs—both domestic and international—has traditionally been vested in those groups and individuals in government concerned with protection of the producers of food. Such a policy converts programs to feed the poor into disposal systems to relieve market gluts and protect profits.

The central focus of agricultural policy has shifted over the years from the small producer, the family farmer, to the large producer, the commercial and corporate farmer.

In 1967 alone, for example, nine large landowners receive a total of over $14 million from one or a combination of farm programs designed, as the Department of Agriculture puts it, "to encourage, promote and strengthen the family farm".

Judged by the allocation of payments to farmers in 1967, this purpose has not been achieved. Some 42.7 percent of farmers—the classically small family farmers—with gross income of less than $2,500 receive 4.5 percent of total farm payments from the government while the top 10 percent of farmers—the large, diversified, and in many cases corporate landowners—each with more than $20,000 gross income received 54.5 percent of total farm payments.

The large scale producer, as a result, is well protected.

At the same time the interests that dominate agricultural policy have not supported efforts to feed the hungry. The Board of Inquiry concludes—

1. The composition of the Agricultural Committees of Congress—which pass upon major food assistance legislation—dictates that inevitably the needs of the poor and hungry will be subordinated to the interests of large agricultural producers; and
2. The relationship between these agricultural committees and the Department of Agriculture—which administers all major food assistance legislation—dictates that inevitably the Department's priorities will place the interests of agricultural producers first, the needs of the poor and hungry second.

Chapter VI. Recommendations

The Board of Inquiry has made recommendations which call for both immediate action, to alleviate the present emergency conditions and for long range programs to eradicate hunger and malnutrition in the United States.

Immediate Relief

We call upon the President to:

—declare that a national emergency esists:

—institute emergency food programs within these 256 hunger counties, at migrant farm camps, and, after consultation with tribal councils, on selected Indian reservations; all this to be done as the first earnest effort of a national resolve to dispel hunger;

—use all available statutory authority and funds including that under Section 32 P.L. 320 74th Congress customs receipts; under emergency food and medical appropriations (receipts) for the Office of Economic Opportunity, and under the 1967 Social Security Amendments providing for federal participation to needy families with children in order to assure completely adequate food programs in these counties;

—ask Congress for immediate enactment of such other powers and appropriations as he needs;

—use also in these places the authority and funds provided under the federal food programs, to the extent that doing so will not take funds away from other areas;

—report to the people by September 1968 the numbers of needy people reached in these counties, the numbers yet unreached (if there be any) and the nutritional adequacy of the diets provided for all these programs;

—report, at the same time, plans for longer range programs.

Long Range Recommendations

The basic federal food program should be the *free* Food Stamp Program.

Eligibility for food stamps should be keyed to income, dependents, and medical expenses. The formula should bear some negative relationship to the same factors as the federal income tax.

At levels set by law, persons should become eligible for varying quantities of stamps without further investigation.

An eligible person should receive more or fewer stamps depending on need. Since the criterion is need, there would be no reason that the recipient pay anything for the stamps to which he or she is entitled.

We believe that school lunches should be available to every child enrolled in public, private, or parochial schools up to and including the 12th grade, as well as in kindergarten, Headstart or other pre-school centers, nursery schools, and day care centers. The lunches would have to conform to federal nutritional standards.

If it be required that families who can afford to pay for lunches do so, then we suggest consideration of a system of non-transferable lunch stamps which would be the only currency acceptable for federally supplied lunches, which would go to food stamp recipients along with their other stamps and which could be purchased by other parents at the issuing office.

School lunches could appropriately be used for prudent experiments with the palatability and nutritional effectiveness of so-called fortified foods.

Either the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare or the Office of Economic Opportunity should be directed and funded to employ and train a large number of food stamp recipients (perhaps at a ratio of one trainee to every 50 recipients) as nutrition and health care extension workers among the poor.

Until such time as the President is able to report to the country that no households (or only an insignificant number) have diets that fall below the Department of Agriculture's criterion of "good" and that federal assistance is no longer a factor in keeping them at that level, custom receipts under Section 32 should be made available as required to supplement other appropriations for the food needs of the poor.

Medical, graduate, and nursing schools should give much more attention to the diagnosis and treatment of malnutrition, and to an understanding of its causes and effects.

Finally, we do hope and urge that private organizations concerned with human welfare will address themselves to this most elemental of all of humanity's problems and that each will find within its purposes and resources its own distinctive contribution; and that all these organizations will, as part of their contribution, continuously monitor and evaluate governmental programs. To this end, and as a first step, we shall ourselves distribut our principal findings and our recommendations to groups representative of the nation's poor.

CHEMAWA PHS HEALTH CENTER—CONSOLIDATED REPORT OF CLINIC ACTIVITIES, APRIL 1968

	Number	Amount
Contract medical care:		
A. Refractions	18	$342.00
B. Lab procedures	9	76.50
C. Hospitalizations	8	1,744.82
D. X-rays	8	105.00
E. Dr. Thompson:		
Office visits	55	275.00
Surgery	3	421.50
F. Anesthesia	4	320.00
G. Specialty visits	16	368.00
H. Ambulance	2	87.00
I. Dr. Davis (glasses repairs)		110.00
Glasses, repairs, no prescription refills	50	
Immunizations, tetanus toxoid boosters	11	
Visits:		
Seen by physician	419	
Seen by nurse only	663	
New visits	10	
Crippled children, students rechecked at orthopedic clinic, University of Oregon Medical School	2	

Infirmary admissions, April 1968, Chemawa School Health Center

	Days
Charlene Joseph (admitted March) Cellulitis, 12B	2
Carl Fox, Gastroenteritis, 9E	1
Hilda Jacobs, Strep throat, 1E	4
Eva Wilson, Seizure, 6N	2
Fred Tukrook, Nausea, 16G	1
Harold Howard, NPO for tests, 9M	1
Myrtis Shoogukruk, Emotional problem, 5C	3
John Druck, Strep throat, 1E	1
Emma Nicolai, Post-op tonsillectomy, 8M	2
Eunice Ruhl, Overdose medication, 17J	1
Andrew Romandos, Strep throat, 1E	2
Violet Williams, Overdose medication. 17J	1
Alma Kingeak, Suicide attempt (overdose), 5E	2
Agnes Lewis, Post-op myringo, 6K	1
Titus Amos, Possible fracture, 17A	1
William Akootchook, Sprain, 17C	1
Willie Kasayulie, Headache, 16H	1
Myrtis Shoogukwruk, Emotional problem, 5M	1
Margaret Samson, Post-op laparotomy, 9C	4
Richard Hensley, Abdominal pain, 9M	1
Marie Henry, Post-op artery transplant, 7M	3
Elwood Goode, Infected dermatomycosis, 12I	2
Calvin Fred, Post-op tonsillectomy, 8M	1
Lee Titus, Eczema, 3D	2
Kathy Goozmer, Possible pneumonia, 8E	1
Elwood Goode, Strep throat, 1E	4
Timothy Samson, Boils, 12A	5
Sophie George, Headache, 16H	1
Lee Titus, Eczema, 3D	2
Brenda Sam, GI testing, 9M	1
Stella Sheldon, Suicide attempt (overdose), 5E	1
Joseph Zackar, Chest pain, 16E	1
Roland Adams, Boils, 12A	3
Gloria Gregory, Abdominal pain, 9M	1
Admissions: 32 Days	61

CHEMAWA PHS HEALTH CENTER—CLINIC VISITS, APRIL 1968

	Visits	Revisits
I. Infective and parasitic disease	245	27
A. Evaluation of pulmonary TB		3
C. Gonorrhea	1	
D. Strep throat, suspected	202	11
E. Strep throat, culture positive	41	13
M. Miscellaneous	1	
III. Allergic, endocrine, metabolic, nutritional	13	13
A. Hayfever	1	
C. Uticaria	1	2
D. Eczema	2	4
E. Disease of thyroid	1	1
F. Diabetic evaluation	2	2
G. Obesity	2	4
M. Miscellaneous	4	
IV. Diseases of blood	1	11
A. Iron anemia		8
C. Anemia evaluation	1	3
V. Mental, psychoneurotic and personality diseases	10	
C. Personality disorder	1	
E. Acute brain syndrome	2	
M. Miscellaneous	7	5

CHEMAWA PHS HEALTH CENTER—CLINIC VISITS, APRIL 1968—Continued

	Visits	Revisits
VI. Diseases of nervous system and sense organs	113	130
A. Conjunctivitis	5	4
C. Refractive errors	18	17
D. Repair of glasses	46	43
F. Corneal opacity	1	
H. Otitis externa	5	7
I. Otitis media	6	2
K. Perforation of tympanic membrane	4	37
N. Epilepsy		2
O. Hearing loss		2
S. Mastoid cleaning		2
M. Miscellaneous	28	14
VII. Circulatory system	3	19
B. Prophylactic treatment of RHD		16
M. Miscellaneous	3	3
VIII. Respiratory system	87	13
A. Cold	74	7
B. Sinus		3
C. Laryngitis	1	
E. Pneumonia	2	2
F. Bronchitis	3	
J. Pharyngitis	2	
M. Miscellaneous	5	1
IX. Digestive system	24	11
A. Dental problems referred	3	4
B. Peptic ulcer	3	4
D. Hernia	1	1
E. Gastroenteritis	2	
F. Functional disorder of intestione	1	
M. Miscellaneous	14	2
X. Genitourinary system	18	8
B. Pyelonephritis		1
D. Menstrual disorder	9	2
E. Vaginitis	5	1
M. Miscellaneous	4	4
XII. Skin and cellular tissue	81	82
A. Boil	7	11
B. Cellulitis	2	4
C. Lymphadenitis	2	
D. Warts	1	
E. Pyoderma	10	3
F. Contact dermatitis	7	14
G. Nonspecific dermatitis	1	
H. Tinea pedis	3	
I. Dermatomycosis	1	4
J. Ingrown toenail	2	9
K. Acne	13	25
M. Miscellaneous	32	12
XIII. Bones and organs of movement	17	15
A. Rheumatoid arthritis	2	
B. Muscular rheumatism	8	8
M. Miscellaneous	7	7
XVI. Symptoms and ill-defined conditions	3	16
A. Vertigo	1	
C. Speech disturbance, therapy		16
E. Disturbances of CVS	1	
F. Disturbances of respiratory system	1	
XVII. Injuries and adverse reactions	97	45
A. Fracture evaluation	14	3
B. Fracture positive	3	13
C. Sprains and strains	18	1
E. Laceration	7	9
F. Superficial injuries	25	12
G. Contusion	8	3
H. Foreign body	3	4
I. Burns	4	
J. Toxicity from alcohol, medication, etc.	5	
M. Miscellaneous	10	
Total	712	395

CHEMAWA BOARDING SCHOOL

EAR PATHOLOGY (FISCAL YEAR 1968)

Audiograms: 866 (total enrollment); 822 (October); 44[1] (February).

215 Audiograms were considered abnormal,
77 of which were new students,
95 students were refered to CMC Otolaryngologist,
40 Myringoplasties were performed on 35 patients (5 bilateral),
2 Mastoid Revisions,
4 Tympanotomies,
3 Hearing aids purchased (2 additional students had hearing aids on trial basis without acceptance.

The above procedures accounted for 42 hospitalizations and 91 inpatient days.

Surgery by month: November, 3; December, 16; January, 9; February, 14; March, 3; April, 1; May, 0.

All needed procedures were accomplished with the exception of 3 indicated myringoplasties on 2 students. Attempts have been made on 3 occasions to obtain surgery permits without success.

Extensive follow-up of each procedure was provided by the CMC Otolaryngologist and PHS staff.

25 Students were seen by a Speech Therapist weekly from October-May. Plans have been made to hire a full-time Speech Therapist (utilizing funds from Alaska Vocational Rehab. and Equipment purchased by BIA so more students can take advantage of this service.

VISION CONSERVATION (FISCAL YEAR 1968)

Every student has vision tested by home room-teachers at the beginning of school year. The results are sent to the Health Center. Appointments are made with CMC Ophthalmologists.

Refractions by month

September	38
October	117
November	24
December	13
January	16
February	6
March	21
April	18
Total	253

New students and students who are currently not wearing glasses are given priority. By November the only refractions left to do were old students who were currently wearing glasses. Biannual refractions are done throughout the year on students presently wearing glasses.

Annual Trachoma checks were made on all Navajo students. This is done by Dr. Burns (Ophthalmologist) University of Oregon.

TUBERCULOSIS (FISCAL 1968)

Number of active cases diagnosed	0
Number of students on chemotherapy	306
Number of PPD conversions	1
Number of students previously discharged from sanitarium	35
Percentage of total student enrollment with positive tuberculin test	53
Percentage of Alaskan students with positive tuberculin test	54
Percentage of Navajo students with positive tuberculin test	39

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[1] The 44 audios done in February were on late arrivals and students unavailable during the initial screening. Services were provided by Oregon State Vision & Conservation.

A large chest film is taken on each student in September of each year. Films on Alaskan students are sent to Alaska to be read (we include all old chest films). Films on Navajo students are read by Oregon State Health Department.

On the basis of recommendations received follow-up includes additional chest films, sputum collections and INH chemotherapy.

PPD skin testing is performed twice a year (September and February). Any students with a previous negative test or a test with unknown result are done at these times (447 done in September, 433 in February).

CARDIAC PROBLEMS (FISCAL YEAR 1968)

The total enrollment is evaluated for heart problems at the beginning of each school year by the PHS physician at the time of Physical Examination.

24 Students (who either had a previous history of a cardiac problem or were picked up during physical examinations) received follow-up.

16 of which were evaluated by cardiologists from the University of Oregon Medical School, who came down to Chemawa.

8 others were taken to Portland (Crippled Childrens Division) for evaluation.

16 students received prophylactic treatment of Rheumatic Heart Disease throughout the year. (Monthly La-Bicillin). Letters were written to home areas to assure us that follow-up will be carried on during the Summer.

1 student had an Iliofemoral Shunt graft performed.

1 student with an Atrial Septal Defect was extensively reviewed. Cardiac Catherization was performed at University of Oregon and student is now on waiting list for open-heart surgery at the U. of O.

ORTHOPEDIC PROBLEMS (FISCAL YEAR 1968)

17 Students (most of which are related to Potts disease) are periodically checked by PHS Physician, CMC Orthopedist, or Crippled Childrens Division.

MENTAL HEALTH

	Fiscal year 1967–68	Fiscal year 1966–67
Number of suicide gestures	[1] 5	
Number of pregnancies out of wedlock (all cases were under supervision of social services and PHS. 2 delivered in home area, 3 in maternity homes)	[2] 5	10
Number of expulsions and dropouts	31	45
Number of releases from school for emotional problems	2	0
Number of students referred to psychiatrist	[3] 41	
Number of visits to psychiatrist (consulting psychiatrist comes to the school each week; part of this time to see individual students; part of this time as consultant to school and health center staff)	71	

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[1] 2 required hospitalization.

[2] All came to school pregnant.

[3] Diagnoses by psychiatrist:

Adolescent adjustment reaction	12
Passive aggressive personality	1
Transient situational personality disorder	4
Personality pattern disturbance	3
Psychoneurotic reaction	3
Schizophrenia, simple	1
Undiagnosed	7
Normal	3
Anxiety state	2
Idiopathic epilepsy	1
Nocturnal enuresis	1
Conversion hysteria	1
Posttraumatic epilepsy	1
Depressive reaction	1

STUDENTS WHO LEFT SCHOOL, 1967-68

Reason for leaving	Total number leaving	Number with no plan for return to school
Drinking, problems related thereto	11	11
Induction into service	2	
Homesickness	2	2
Disciplinary, related to	3	3
Parents, request and/or special family problems	4	4
Needed psychiatric treatment	1	1
Emotional problems	2	2
Transfer to another high school	1	
Pregnancy	[1] 5	2
Total	31	25

[1] All students received casework services, 4 in maternity homes and 1 at home. 1 of those in maternity care went home prior to delivery and was followed up by social worker in hometown. 2 of the 5 released their babies for adoption and returned during the school year; a 3d will return next fall to school. All were pregnant when they came to school. We have no record of any students who became pregnant during the school year this year.

SEEN BY SOCIAL WORKER, OCT. 15, 1967, TO MAY 15, 1968

Reason for referral	Boys	Girls
Drinking	2	0
Homesick	1	3
Counseling:		
a. Behavior	9	20
b. Emotional adjustment	6	24
Concern over family	6	8
Workup for Alaska Vocational Rehabilitation	4	5
Summer planning	4	12
Theft	3	0
Academic problems	4	1
Suicidal gestures	0	4
Pregnancy	0	5
Total	39	82
Total students seen	121	

ROLE OF THE VISTA VOLUNTEER IN A COMPREHENSIVE HEALTH PLAN

[By Lionel H. deMontigny, M.D., MSPMPH, Deputy Indian Health Area Director, Division of Indian Health, Portland, Oreg., and Mrs. Georgia Parks, MSW, ACSW, VISTA Program Officer, Western Region, Office of Economic Opportunity]

The VISTA Volunteers are being utilized by the Muckleshoot Indian community of Auburn, Washington, to help bring about a utilization of widely varied local available resources to formulate a comprehensive health care program for their community. Tribal leaders have long been aware that health status is relative to the social dynamic processes within the community. They know that making curative and preventive medical services available is but one of the many components necessary to organize an effective health program. These impressions are consistent with the experience of the health program in England, where extensive national legislation has been passed to make health services available to the lower socio-economic classes. Yet, evaluation has shown that these people have been least affected by such elaborate programs.[1]

Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA) was organized under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. Basically, it is a "manpower" organization which provides human resources to poverty stricken communities throughout continental United States and its prossessions. VISTA Volunteers are utilized on specific projects in urban and rural areas, among migrants, on Indian Reservations, in Job Corps centers, hospitals, schools, and institutions for the mentally ill or mentally retarded. They work on numerous "self-help" tasks with the target population toward a specific goal, such as: community improvement, housing management, upgrading educational and occupational opportunities, improving environmental conditions, health, sanitation, recreation, and many others. The Volunteer lives in near poverty as part of the community, and works unlimited hours, receiving only a minimal subsistence stipend.[2]

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[1] Taken from a seminar by Thomas McKeown, M.D., Professor, Department of Social Medicine, The Medical School, University of Birmingham, Edgbaston, Birmingham, England. Remarks made at the New York Academy of Medicine, Committee on Special Studies, at the 1967 Health Conference, titled: "Planning for Community Health Services, Prospectives for Action," April 20-21, 1967.

The Volunteer undergoes a six and one-half week period of training (generic or specific) at a VISTA orientation site prior to assignment on a project. Specific health training for this project is done by the University of Washington or the Division of Indian Health staff.[2]

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

A. General

American Indians enjoy a special relationship with the Federal Government, unlike that of any other citizen in the United States. This relationship developed as a result of their original occupation and use of the land and its resources and subsequent treaties made with the United States. Throughout the exploitation and development of the Northwest the tribes developed relationships with the Russian, Spanish, French, English, and American Governments. The first agreements were for trade; however, with the coming of the Americans, the tribes were subject to alternating military campaigns and peace or treaty making relationships. The Bureau of Indian Affairs, originally under the War Department, was transferred to the Department of the Interior before the turn of the century.[3] Responsibilities for health matters were transferred to the United States Public Health Service in 1955, on the recommendation of the American Medical Association and the American Public Health Association.

The traditional economy of the Western Washington tribes centered on fishing, clam digging, and hunting of sea and land animals. Later the tribes developed a lucrative trade with various nations previously mentioned. Following subjugation the tribes were able to retain some of their fishing and hunting privileges. Great effort has been made over the past eighty years to move American Indians from their respective locations to industrial centers, or convert their economic system to make it identical to that of the non-Indian. American Indians have, however, been able to increase their populations, keep some of their lands, and many of their original rights and privileges.[4]

Trends in the 1950's and early 1960's were toward termination and discontinuing of special Federal services. This trend has slowly been reversed in the past four years.

B. Specific

The Muckleshoot Indian Reservation is located in King County, Washington, adjacent to Auburn, a town of 11,933. There are 1,311 acres of trust land in scattered allotments held by the tribe. There are 203 Muckleshoots listed in the Public Health Service Unit; however, tribal members estimate 300 or more at the present time. They are of Salishan linguistic stock, but most members of the tribe are unable to communicate in their native language. Housing is sub-marginal. Educational level is below grade seven. The average family has five children. The average family income is $2,654 a year.[5]

The Tribe has a functioning five-member Tribal Council, a two-member Health Committee, and a tribal VISTA supervisor. Although tribal leaders are relatively well-informed on Federal, State, and County health programs, limited tribal funds prevent travel and participation in many planning sessions.

Curative and preventive medical services are made available through a part-time physician of the Public Health Service, and through the State and County Health Departments. Although such services have been available upon request, there has been minimal or improper utilization of these services. Only when an illness has reached an acute stage is medical care sought, and then only relief of immediate symptoms is desired by the patient. Often medical personnel are called at odd hours to provide limited services for minor illnesses. The need for preventive medical services is recognized by the population, but seeking such services is of relatively minor importance to the daily life of the average Muckleshoot Indian.[6]

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[2] VISTA Handbook, Handbook for VISTA Volunteers, published by U.S. Government Printing Office.

[3] The Pacific Coast Ranges, Roderick Peattie (Ed.), Vanguard Press, New York—1946.

[4] Indian Primitive, Ralph Andrews, Bonanza Book—1950.

[5] Information obtained from current records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Area Office, Portland, Oregon.

[6] Information obtained by personal interview with Muckleshoot Indian Tribal members.

In 1966 the infant mortality rate was 64.2 per 1,000 live births, as compared to 21.4 for all races. This is three times that of all races, and 80% higher than the over-all Indian mortality rate of 35.9. Chief health problems appear to be infectious diseases of the respiratory and gastrointestinal systems, mental health, accidents, and alcoholism. Immunization status against preventable diseases is unknown, but it is not believed to approach minimum standards needed to prevent occurrence of epidemics. Adequate prenatal care is almost unknown to mothers.[7]

The Indian population is very effectively socially isolated. The surrounding people feel that the members of the tribe who were "worth anything" have left, and that the "lower class," lacking motivation and amibition, with inferior mentality, remains. The non-Indian population surrounding the reservation feels that the answer to the "Indian problem" (the ways in which these Indians are a problem) is to integrate the Indian people at a distant location and that "special privileges," such as fishing, which have been retained by the Indians, prevents the desired integration. The Muckleshoots feel that fishing is vital to their survival[8]

Daily life of the Muckleshoot involves seeking short-term employment to fulfill immediate needs of feeding children, or perhaps purchasing needed clothing. It is often necessary for the provider to travel considerable distances to seek employment, returning to his home every thirty days or more. Fishing is the desired occupation. Other forms of employment are usually discontinued when fishing is at its best.[8]

The Muckleshoot Indian people find schools to be a foreign environment where strange habits and diet are followed. The Indian child rarely has money to dress in a fashion similar to that of other children. Sanitary facilities at home are often not adequate. The Indian home is usually overcrowded. It is often not possible to follow satisfactory sanitary practices. Indian children have been sent home from school because they were said to be not clean. They feel either persecuted or inferior.

Parents greatly fear that if their children become highly educated they may leave the reservation. Children soon learn to dislike school, and will tolerate it only until they meet minimum state standards set by law.[8]

With lack of local employment opportunities, and the apparent difficulty in dealing with the surrounding population, the Muckleshoot Indian finds it difficult, if not impossible, to survive on the reservation; and is met with an equally difficult or impossible situation when he attempts to live off the reservation. Contributing to society in any manner is distasteful. Escape through the use of alcohol is common.[8]

The Comprehensive Health Program--The VISTA Volunteer

The role of the VISTA volunteer is two-fold: (1) to stimulate and help organize the community to utilize health services; and (2) to advise the providers of needed health services concerning community dynamics so that program alterations can be made accordingly.

The two married volunteers assigned to the tribe disseminate information about health services to the Indian people and explain the value of such services in relationship to health and daily lives. Family participation at well-child clinics is encouraged by the volunteers. Transportation is a problem, although some families have automobiles. Two or more families may be transported to the well-child clinic by one parent possessing an automobile. Advice given by medical and paramedical personnel on a range of subjects, such as bathing of infants, formula preparation, child feeding, proper clothing, importance of prenatal care, immunizations, use of surplus commodities, care of the ill and aged in the home, sanitation practices, care of teeth, simple first aid treatment, proper cooking, importance of safe water, and use of sanitary facilities, is discussed in the home.

The providers of medical and paramedical services must constantly change their approach and their techniques in dealing with the Indian community. Because of the time limitations of professional and semi-professional personnel, it is difficult for them to become deeply involved in internal community dynamics. The VISTA volunteer keeps the providers of services informed of their relative effectiveness. Details of clinic operations, such as time, location, techniques, and resources must be constantly be altered or added to fit the needs of the community.[8] Although the volunteers are not highly trained in the health field, through inservice training they learn to recognize unhealthful conditions and can alert appropriate health personnel. Examples of situations they might find are outbreaks of impetigo or measles, or inadequate sewage or water supply systems. Action can then be taken by a public health nurse, sanitarian, nutritionist, or other health specialist.

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[7] Compiled from current statistical records, Portland Area Office, U.S. Public Health Service, Division of Indian Health.

[8] Health is a Community Affair, George Rosen, M.D., F.A.P.H.A., American Journal of Public Health and the Nation's Health, April 1967, Vol. 57, No. 4.

The Muckleshoot Tribe

Because of the tribal leaders' deep concern for the welfare of their people, they have searched for means by which they could obtain assistance with their health and health related problems. The tribe, because of limited resources, has turned to Federal, State, and local resources to fulfill their needs. Planning and coordination have been done by the tribe to get commitment of resources to the Muckleshoot Indian people. The tribe has made space available for health personnel in a local church building owned by the tribe. They are providing hot water, and heating the building at their own expense. Tribal members have donated their labor to prepare the building for use. They have dug ditches and laid pipe to supple adequate water and sewage disposal.

The University of Washington Medical School, Department of Pediatrics

The medical profession has become aware of gaps in the provision of medical services to lower socio-economic groups. Physicians throughout the nation know that the provision of medical care must be tailored to fit the need of the population served.[9] The Department of Pediatrics, University of Washington Medical School, has taken the initiative in exploring varied techniques in providing health services to a specific community.

A well-child clinic is held twice a month. The staffing includes three pediatric residents, one staff pediatrician, a nutritionist, a dental hygienist, and ancillary personnel. The University Medical School and U.S. Public Health Service, Division of Indian Health, provide equipment needed to conduct the clinic. Advice is given to mothers on health matters. Disease patterns are studied intensely in the home and community setting. Evaluation of health status and effectiveness of the program is conducted as an ongoing activity. Appropriate referreals are made to local community resources personnel, such as public health nurse, social worker, or dentist. Initial treatment is given to any ill child who comes to the well-child clinic, and a prompt referral is made to the local physician.

King County Health Department

Intensive public health nursing and epidemiology services are being supplied to the community and well-child clinic operations, with special emphasis on the effort as a demonstration project.

The King County Health Department supplies a public health nurse and a social worker. The nurse assists in preparing the children for examination by the pediatrician, supervises maintenance of records, provides a warm, receptive atmosphere in the clinic, administers medication and immunizations, alerts the pediatrician to specific problems, emphasizes the advice given by the pediatrician to the family, and provides follow-up care in the homes. The social worker is involved on the basis of specific family needs.

The King County Health Department epidemiological services are made available. The sanitarian checks water supply, sewage disposal, and solid waste disposal.

U.S. Public Health Service, Division of Indian Health

The U.S. Public Health Service, Division of Indian Health, is responsible for improving the health status of American Indians. Ninety per cent of the homes have some improvements in sanitary facilities, made through Public Health Service sanitation projects. Services are provided through PHS contracts with the Washington State Health Department and with local physicians. A part-time Public Health Service physician is stationed at Auburn, to whom most of the Muckleshoots turn for medical care. Referrals to specialists are financed by the U.S. Public Health Service when indicated. Referrals of ill children from the well child clinic are followed to see that the best possible medical care is received. Equipment and drug supplies for the clinic are provided by the Public Health Service.

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[9] The Professional Association's Responsibilities in the Field of Health Manpower, George James, M.D., M.P.H., F.A.P.H.A., American Journal of Public Health and the Nation's Health, April 1967, Vol. 57, No. 4.

According to needs of the community, PHS can also supply specialists to the clinic when indicated, such as a cardiologist, psychiatrist, hematologist, or orthopedist.

In summary, the project shows how an Amercan Indian tribe, VISTA volunteers, a medical school, a Federal health agency, and local health personnel in the immediate vicinity, have combined efforts to provide one comprehensive health care package.

Acknowledgments

1. Robert Deisher, M.D., and staff of University of Washington Medical School, Department of Pediatrics, for planning and staffing a Well Child Clinic.
2. Mrs. Bertha McJoe and Yvonne James of the Muckleshoot Tribe for their relentless efforts to meet the needs of their community.
3. Mr. William Knestis, Service Unit Director, U.S. Public Health Service, Division of Indian Health, for co-ordinating the entire project.
4. Mr. and Mrs. Michael Weisbrot, VISTA Volunteers, for their dedication to the Muckleshoot Indian Community.

EXHIBIT VI

IT CAN BE DONE

AN OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY PROGRAM SPONSORED BY THE CONFEDERATED TRIBES AND BANDS OF THE YAKIMA NATION

This is a summary of an educational program sponsored by the Yakima Confederated Tribes and Bands in fulfilling their obligation and responsibility to their children.

Cooperating with the Yakima Tribal Council in this effort were Community Action Program staff; Bureau of Indian Affairs, Yakima Agency; and the Bureau of Indian Services at the University of Utah.

Acknowledgments

Antoine Skahan, Chairman, Tribal Council.
Stanley Smartlowit, Chairman, Tribal Education Committee.
Edgar L. Fox, Community Action Project Director.
Charles S. Spencer, Superintendent, Yakima Agency BIA.
Robert P. Muehe, Yakima BIA Education Officer.
J. Michael Moyer, Yakima BIA Education Specialist.
Will L. Clegg, Training Staff, University of Utah.
Heber H. Hall, Training Staff, University of Utah
Bureau of Indian Services of the University of Utah.

In a nutshell

Six weeks of study at the Yakima Nation Education Camp resulted in as much as 1⅓ years of individual achievement in the basic core subjects (English, Reading and Arithmetic).

A comparison of test scores (California Achievement Test) given before and after the six weeks of instruction, revealed 12 months' growth in some cases and an average of nearly eight months' growth for the entire group of 40 pupils—chosen because they were at least two years behind their expected grade placement.

Five years of research by Tribal and BIA Educational staff into the educational problems of children on the Yakima reservation had indicated a need for this remedial education program.

A grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity (Grant 67CG8080, Component No. 7–3) enabled this program to become a reality. Students were taught, housed and fed at the Yakima Tribe's Camp Chaparral, 70 miles from the tribal headquarters. OEO funds paid for instructional staff, curriculum materials and food, while at the campsite, the facilities and transportation, were the in-kind contribution of the Yakima tribe.

This booklet hopefully will serve as a guide for other tribal councils and BIA educational staffs who endeavor to lift and challenge the educational level of children in their respective areas.

Startling statistics [1]

In 1961 the Yakima Agency staff initiated a five-year study relating to the educational problems of children on the reservation. Some meaningful data gathered showed—

A dropout rate exceeding 70% of students from grade one to twelve;

An average grade of "D" for all students in one of the four schools in the district;

In 1964–65 only 23 seniors from a freshman class of 87 received graduation diplomas. This is a dropout percentage of 74%;

During the school year of 1964–65, forty-four dropped out in grades nine through 12. In the elementary schools, there were 153 withdrawals from kindergarten to the eighth grade;

In the four school districts on the reservation, in grades seven, eight, nine and ten, 162 Indian children were achieving at a level two years below their grade placement;

In 1958–58, 22 Indian students entered ninth grade at one school; only six graduated. Three of the six entered college, none graduated;

In 1958–59, 28 Indian students entered ninth grade at one school, 12 graduated. Four of the 12 entered college, none graduated; and

During one school year alone, the total days' absence for 1,222 students was 18,103 school days.

Data of this nature, assembled in this instance by the Yakima Agency BIA Education staff, prompted the Tribal Council to seek a remedy. If similar conditions exist on other Indian reservations, perhaps this booklet will help to bring about similar gratifying results.

Educational background and attitudes on reservation

While school itself presents many hurdles for the Indian student, the home environment perhaps is the most difficult area to improve. Babysitting, permissive discipline and excessive illness are major causes for poor attendance. Unstable home life, no suitable place for study and low educational attainment of the parents greatly hampers any possible study after school hours. ~~Because~~ reading as a tradition is lacking and a bilingual background of at least the parents occurs. Indian students are not well prepared for English or reading when they begin school. Many parents of Indian students reduce the school's effectiveness by supporting their children rather than the school in school-student conflicts. Being somewhat over-defensive through a lack of security, many parents view these school conflicts as "White" against "Indian" conflicts.

Judging by survey results which showed 70% school dropout rate from grade nine to twelve, it can be concluded that at least 1,400 of the 2,000 *adult Indians* on the reservation *have not completed high school.*

About Indian students

While the dropout rate between kindergarden and grade twelve exceeds 70%, those students who *do* remain in school experience very little success. In the school year 1964–65, the Indian student body of sophomores, juniors and seniors at one of the four high schools had a "D" grade average. Extreme reading retardation appeared to be a contributing factor. Even courses in Home Economics appeared to show patterns of difficulty. In one year, at another high school, four out of six Indian girls enrolled in the required Home Economics course failed to pass. Other schools reported similar failures in this subject. Yet, every girl enrolled either had access to a sewing machine or could have bought one of her own from her Trust Fund.

Perhaps the standards, practices and economy of Indian homes are too different from those found in "white" homes. Perhaps this kind of required course in Home Economics is attempting to prepare young people for a home situation which does not exist. After all, what value is there in studying color scheme and harmony when there is no paint on the wall at home and probably no carpet? Why should we learn to arrange centerpieces from flower gardens when there are no flowers in the neighborhood?

Even courses in physical education, where young people often find pleasure, create serious problems for Indian children. One Indian girl failed five semesters of Physical Education, two at one of the high schools and three at another. An attempt to evaluate this particular kind of failure pointed toward disciplinary patterns characteristic of coaches and physical education instructors within this school district. These patterns appear to conflict directly with disciplinary patterns already established in the Indian homes and child's personality. Another factor contributing to this problem could be the excessive self-consciousness among the Indian children. The nonprivate dressing rooms and showers in the gymnasium, dominated by non-Indian pupils, appear to create a definite resistance among the Indian pupils who are expected to suit and shower as a group in preparation for P. E. classes. Early physical maturity and skin pigment among Indian girls might serve to intensify this self-consciousness.

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[1] All figures above were extracted from reports on file in the Yakima Agency, Bureau of Indian Affairs.

A feeling of "not being wanted" brings about a lack of participation in extracurricular activities by Indian children.

One-level instruction appears to offer another barrier for Indian children. If a child does not pass in the required courses, it is common practice in school to advance the child to the next grade through the principle of "social promotion." This practice begins as early as the second grade and conceivably continues through grade eight. The obvious contradiction is that a student is expected to do work on the grade level above the one he has just failed. This of course leads to frustration and eventually to the abandoning of all effort. This continual denying a child of success obliterates his motivation. The crowning frustration comes at the eighth of ninth grade level when grade-level achievement is demanded for promotion to the next grade level.

The philosophy[3]

Every child is important. Every child needs to feel *some* success.

But, consider the junior high school student who has rarely if ever experienced success in English class. He reads poorly, his spelling is atrocious, his vocabulary is limited, his writing is without substance, his oral contributions are shallow or none. Obviously he lacks understanding of the broad areas of the English curriculum: language, literature and composition. His efficiency is minimal in the skills of reading, writing, listening and speaking.

Imagine the frustration of the student who, each day that he comes to school, faces failure in English class and every other class that demands reading and writing in one form or another. What adult could endure such constant defeat and humiliation without becoming cynical, surly and bitter: It is a tribute to human resiliency that this student is as well adjusted as he is.

In the United States, the most widely accepted standards of behavior patterns of oral and written expression reflect the WASP (White, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant) culture; and materials used for instruction in schools follow these standards and patterns. Those who are pledged to propagate the culture, through education, legislation and social pressure—take a dim view of those who do not fit the pattern.

The student who daily receives instruction through materials foreign to his culture, applied with patterns of expression foreign to his culture, judged by standards foreign to his culture, cannot help failing. As he senses that all that is natural and right to him is being ignored or regarded as inferior, he naturally resents and rejects everything representing the culture which is rejecting him. Rejection leads to rebellion and thus to behavior problems. Soon the label of "delinquent" is attached to him—he may become a "dropout" and he is judged undesirable by the society which initially rejected him and caused his rebellion.

Laying the groundwork

To do an effective survey, Tribal and BIA personnel were keenly aware that the utmost cooperation was needed between them and school officials of the four districts concerned. Happily, this came about very easily—in fact, school officials had been well aware of the lack of achievement among Indian students, and they were most anxious to help in any way possible.

School officials and the school district psychologist worked hand in hand with Tribal and BIA officials, making available any and all requested academic records, test scores, personal evaluations and teacher comments on all Indian students in the Toppenish, Wapato, White Swan and Granger school districts.

Facts from this particular phase of the survey disclosed that 162 Indian students in the four districts were achieving at a level two years below their present grade placement.

Many more than this number were achieving at a level of 1½ years and one year below their present grade placement.

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[3] *Teacher's Guide, Learning Your Language/one*, Harold I. Herber, Reading Center, School of Education, Syracuse University.

An attempt to help this *great number* of low-achievers in an initial pilot effort appeared to be staggering. Obviously, some kind of compromise had to be reached.

Selection of students

It was agreed that a pilot remedial education program—as an initial effort—could include no more than 40 students—hopefully 20 boys and 20 girls. A survey blank in the form of a questionnaire was sent to the 162 who were two grades or more behind their current grade placement. Seventy-one responded in favor of summer remedial work. The 71 were invited to come, with parents, to the BIA Yakima Agency office at their earliest convenience. Not all came, but from those who did, the survey team chose 20 boys and 20 girls who appeared to be most serious about wishing to raise their educational achievement level, and whose parents appeared most anxious to have this change come about. School district officials were consulted during the final selection of students and there appeared to be a consensus that the 40 chosen would benefit most from the planned remedial program.

Choosing the site

Considerable thought and discussion went into selection of a site for the Summer Educational program. It was finally agreed that school facilities in the district should not be the first choice. A change of environment—a setting where students had never been faced with academic failure—seemed to be logical. Tribal officials then offered use of Camp Chaparral, their own summer youth campsite, 70 miles from the center of population on the reservation, high in the neighboring mountains.

Facilities at Camp Chaparral appeared to be, and eventually proved to be, ideal.

The site includes three dormitories, each of which can accommodate 25. It has a 24′ x 60′ multipurpose cabin, together with a 20′ x 30′ kitchen with running water. Four cabins (20′ x 20′) proved to be ample for the camp staff.

A diesel plant provides power for the camp. Separate shower facilities for boys and girls are provided.

A beautiful trout stream, Chaparral Creek, runs through the campsite.

Financing the program

Financing the program was one of the early question marks as the survey team began its work. Simultaneously with the study made about Indian student achievement, it was decided to submit a component to the office of Economic Opportunity, as part of a Community Action Program. The component, written up by the Education Committee of the Yakima Tribal Council and the technical staff of BIA, Yakima Agency, was submitted and funded (Grant 67CG8080, Component 7–3) just in time to start the summer program.

The initial outline

Summer Redemial Education Program, Grades 7 to 10

A. Curriculum:
    Remedial Reading.
    Remedial English.
    Remedial Mathematics.
B. Student Capacity: 40 students, preferably 20 girls, 20 boys.
C. Education Staff:
    1 Director.
    1 Guidance Specialist.
    5 Teachers.
    4 Teacher Aides.
    5 Recreation-work Leaders.
D. The Day's Schedule:
    6:45 a.m. Rise.
    7:30 a.m. Breakfast.
    8:30 a.m. Class Period I.
    9:30 a.m. Class Period II.
    10:30 a.m. Class Period III.
    11:30 a.m. Class Period IV.
    12:15 p.m. Lunch.
    1:30 p.m. Work Period.
    3:30 p.m. Organized Recreation.
    5:00 p.m. Free Time.
    6:00 p.m. Supper.
    8:00 p.m. Organized evening activities: Library, Dancing, Campfire, Films, etc.

Materials used for instruction

Science Research Associates, Chicago, Illinois:
    Computational Skills Laboratory.
    Reading Laboratories IIa, IIb, IIIa.
    Pilot Libraries IIa and IIc.
Harr Wagner Publishing Co., San Francisco, California:
    The Jim Forest Readers.
    The Deep Sea Adventure Series
    The Morgan Boy Mysteries.
    The Wild Life Series.
Garrard Publishing Co., Champaign, Illinois:
    Dolch First Reading Books.
    Dolch Basic Vocabulary Books.
    Dolch Folklore of the World Books.
    Pleasure Reading Books.
Reader's Digest Services, Inc., Pleasantville, N.Y.
    Reader's Digest Skill Builders
    Reading Ability, Grade Levels 1 to 8
J. B. Lippincott Co., New York, New York: *Reading for Meaning, Grade 6 to 8.*
American Book Co., New York, N.Y.: *Webster's Elementary Dictionary.*
Games:
    Ed-U-Cards Mfg. Corp., Long Island City, N.Y.:
        Arithmetic Can Be Fun Games:
            Multiplication and Division.
            Addition and Subtraction.
    Kenworthy Educational Service Inc.:
        Doghouse game—Phonics.
        Phonic Rummy.
    Milton Bradley Co.:
        Quizmo—addition and subtraction game.
        Quizmo—phonics.

(As a result of experience with the above materials, camp staff evaluated the entire six-weeks peirod, recommended that additional materials might add materially to success of the remedial education program. That list is included in a later page.)

Teacher selection

It was felt that the selection of a competent teacher staff would detemrine the success of the Summer Education Program.

Working closely with school district officials, tribal and BIA education leaders conducted a quiet but thorough study of teachers in the district, who would best fit into this kind of pilot remedial program. A carefully compiled list was assembled and these teachers were approached on a confidential basis as to their interest in and willingness to participate in this pilot program. It had been the decision of the survey team that teachers "hobbled to textbooks" should be screened out; that "stereotyped" teachers would be screened out; that those who were chosen should be "free-swingers who know how to get along with young people, who are understanding and patient and who wish to share what might be a thrilling experience in the lives of young children."

A similar survey was made on the reservation itself for non-professionals who might serve as teacher aides. It was agreed that this group of teacher aides *must* be Indian.

Orientation of students

Two significant events took place on the first day at Camp Chaparral:

1. All students were given the California Achievement Test to determine their grade placement at the Camp's outset. It was carefully explained that "pass or fail" was not a concern—tests were to *show* students *where they were.*

2. Tribal leaders met with and spoke to the group, pointing out expectations of the tribe, responsibilities of the students, expectations of parents of children involved and reminding all that many good things for Indians everywhere might result if good results and a happy experience could be reported as a result of this pilot program in remedial education.

Following are the before and after scores as obtained from administration of the California Achievement Test.

For obvious reasons, names have been omitted, and results are listed for Pupil No. 1, Pupil No. 2 and so on. All names and scores are on file in the Yakima Tribal Community Action Program office at Toppenish, Washington.

Attention is called to the Grade in which the student was studying, and his pretest scores at the opening of the Education Camp. Relating the scores on each subject and the total battery, to the after-camp scores, somewhat shows why Tribal officials felt that this first Summer Education Program was a success.

ACHIEVEMENT TEST SCORES—BEFORE AND AFTER (CALIFORNIA ACHIEVEMENT TEST)

Pupil	CA	Grade, 1965-66	Pre-Test				Post-Test			
			Reading	Arithmetic	Language	Battery	Reading	Arithmetic	Language	Battery
Pupil 1	13-7	7	5.5	7.5	6.8	6.6	6.3	7.7	7.3	7.2
Pupil 2	13-5	7	6.8	6.2	6.1	6.4	7.4	6.9	7.5	7.2
Pupil 3	13-9	8	5.7	6.7	6.4	6.3	5.7	6.4	6.5	6.2
Pupil 4	15-2	8	6.5	7.6	7.7	7.2	6.6	7.8	8.7	7.6
Pupil 5	16-2	10	8.3	8.2	7.4	8.0	8.9	8.3	9.0	8.9
Pupil 6	11-3	5	4.7	4.6	4.1	4.4	5.5	4.7	5.7	5.4
Pupil 7	14-4	7	3.1	4.6	4.6	4.1	3.4	5.0	4.1	4.1
Pupil 8	15-7	9	7.2	7.2	7.0	7.0	7.1	7.2	7.7	7.3
Pupil 9	13-9	7	5.5	6.0	6.0	5.8	6.1	5.9	6.5	6.2
Pupil 10	13-1	7	7.3	6.3	6.3	6.5	6.5	7.3	6.4	6.8
Pupil 11	14-9	8	5.9	7.1	6.3	6.4	6.7	7.8	7.1	7.3
Pupil 12	15-2	9	6.3	6.7	6.4	6.5	8.0	8.0	7.2	7.8
Pupil 13	13-8	6	5.7	7.1	6.0	6.2	5.9	7.4	6.8	6.8
Pupil 14	15-6	9	6.6	6.7	7.3	6.8	6.9	7.8	7.5	7.5
Pupil 15	14-3	7	4.5	6.8	5.0	5.1	5.3	7.0	5.4	6.0
Pupil 16	15-2	9	7.2	5.8	6.4	6.4	7.0	6.3	7.2	6.8
Pupil 17	15-11	9	7.2	7.6	6.5	7.0	7.5	7.5	7.2	7.4
Pupil 18	14-6	8	6.2	5.7	6.5	6.1	7.4	6.2	6.7	6.7
Pupil 19	13-9	7	5.1	5.0	5.4	4.9	5.8	6.5	5.8	6.1
Pupil 20	14-0	6	5.3	6.3	5.7	5.7	5.9	6.5	5.9	6.2
Pupil 21	14-2	8	6.3	6.0	5.1	5.7	6.8	6.4	5.9	6.4
Pupil 22	16-2	10	7.7	6.8	6.4	6.8	7.2	5.8	6.6	6.5
Pupil 23	14-10	8	7.8	7.4	8.6	8.0	8.7	8.2	8.7	8.3
Pupil 24	16-5	10	6.9	8.1	6.5	7.2	7.7	7.9	7.6	7.8
Pupil 25	14-5	7	3.2	4.6	3.4	3.7	4.0	5.1	3.6	4.3
Pupil 26	16-7	10	7.7	8.2	7.9	8.0	7.3	8.3	8.7	8.4
Pupil 27	13-1	7	6.2	5.3	6.5	6.0	6.2	5.7	6.4	6.1
Pupil 28	14-6	8	7.9	7.7	6.9	7.3	8.3	8.0	7.6	8.0
Pupil 29	15-11	9	6.5	7.5	6.4	6.8	7.3	7.8	6.5	7.3
Pupil 30	16-1	8	5.0	6.2	6.7	6.0	5.0	6.1	6.6	6.0
Pupil 31	13-5	6	7.2	6.6	5.7	6.4	6.9	6.5	5.8	6.4
Pupil 32	13-10	6	3.1	5.0	3.2	3.7	3.2	4.9	3.1	3.6
Pupil 33	13-0	6	5.4	6.5	5.7	5.9	4.9	7.2	5.7	6.0
Pupil 34	11-9	6	4.4	5.8	5.3	5.1	5.3	6.3	5.8	5.8
Pupil 35	15-4	9	7.7	8.0	6.6	7.4	8.0	8.3	7.8	8.4

Some thoughts from student letters[3]

"Some came to have fun and still others came up to learn. Some of us learned enough to help us through the following years. I hope other children come up and have the same experience * * *."

"I sure like the camp because of the studying I get in Math and English. From math I got help in division of fractions. Now from English I get nouns, pronouns and adverbs * * * one thing is wrong, though * * * the floor in the girls dorm has a hole so squirrels can get in and eat all my sunflower seeds up."

"I think they should have summer school every year. By having it every year it will enable the students to learn more and have more skills to help the person in his future school years. During his stay at summer school it will help him or her to get along with each other * * *."

"I learned a great deal in English with our teachers this past six weeks, but I wish we had more than six weeks so more kids could learn something this fall and be ready before school starts * * * but I wish we had a longer period like eight weeks so we can learn more up here * * *."

"Summer school has helped me very much. For example, in English, I didn't know capitalization or punctuation, but since I've been up here, I have improved. I think the program has been very worthwhile and have hopes it can be continued again next year."

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[3] Original letters from which these excerpts were taken are on file at the tribal office, Toppenish, Washington. For obvious reasons, identities and addresses, etc., have been omitted from this phase of the report, as well as test scores, etc.

"I would like to thank you for allowing me to be part of the education camp at Chaparral this summer. It has helped me in some of my worst subjects, such as math and English. When I start school this fall in Toppenish I think I will be able to keep up with my grades as well as my hopes. Thank you."

"I received lots of help in English while I was in Chaparral summer school. It will be very helpful to me in the coming school year. Now I'm sure I'll be an average student in the ninth grade."

"I hadn't planned on coming up to this summer school, but now I realize how much education I would have missed out on. I'd like to give myself a pat on the back for attending this past six weeks. . . . Summer school has helped me in the places I have had the most trouble. For instance, English is one of my favorite subjects and I am sure that what I have learned will help me in the next two years of high school. I hope the Tribal Council will continue this summer school program so that it will help other kids as much as it has helped me."

"I hope there will be more educational classes like this one. I had fun in all the classes. I learned how to use commas in the right places. I learned a lot in Math and Reading."

"This summer school has meant a great deal to me and improved my school work. I feel that I have improved English better than last year. I had trouble in Diagramming, now it seems simple to me and now I will improve this year. I know the rules now and what to do. Thank you for the room and board."

"Here I am able to learn to really think about the importance of these simple subjects such as English, Reading and Math. I have come to realize the importance that they have in my life. From these subjects I have gone into deeper thoughts and therefore I feel that these few weeks I've attended haven't been at all a waste of time."

I felt that I learned more in Math and English and that it will enable me to do better during the rest of my school years to come * * *."

"* * * was a great help to me especially on my worst subject, English, which turned out the other way around now that I know the hard parts on punctuation, capitalization and other parts of speech."

"I feel that we should have summer school every summer and for a longer period of time. * * * I've learned a lot that will help me during my coming school year and I think that the rest of the boys and girls in Camp Chaparral have learned a lot. By receiving all this education, maybe some day the Indian will amount to something in this world."

"It has helped me in most of my weak subjects, one of which is math * * *. The teachers have taught us what we didn't understand. I didn't know how to add, subtract, multiply or divide positive and negative numbers * * *. I would like to say a little about our teacher also. He wasn't exactly the best you could get, but he was good enough to help *me*."

"The math program is a great help, it took me step by step up in a higher grade level. Knowing about this is going to help me in this coming school year to be a better student. This Indian Youth camp showed me how to behave in various ways—how to behave in class and around the teachers. Next summer I hope this school will go on and help the other Indian students and children who need it."

The week's menu

The menu following is one used for the entire six-weeks period. Children left the campsite at mid-Friday afternoon, so that no Friday evening meal was planned. They returned to the campsite after breakfast on Monday morning, thus no plans were made for breakfast on that morning.

MENU

Breakfast	Lunch	Dinner
Monday:	Chili con carne Crackers Assorted cold meat sandwiches Carrot sticks Canned pears Milk, cookies	Baked ham Boiled potatoes Green string beans Lettuce-carrot-raisins salad Bread and butter Applesauce Milk
Tuesday: Orange juice Cooked oatmeal Scrambled eggs with ham Buttered toast Milk, Cocoa	Roast beef Mashed potatoes with gravy Buttered peas Tossed green salad Bread and butter Applesauce Milk, cookies	Meat loaf Scalloped potatoes Tomato slices, carrot sticks Pickles Bread and butter Apricots Spice cake, milk
Wednesday: Tomato juice Hotcakes and syrup Bacon and eggs Assorted cold cereal Milk	Beef stew with vegetables Molded fruit salad Bread and butter Canned peaches Cake, milk	Spaghetti with ground beef and tomato sauce Buttered green beans Tossed vegetable salad Bread and butter Milk, cookies
Thursday: Stewed prunes Cooked cereal (oatmeal, milk) Scrambled eggs Toast and jam Milk, cocoa	Fried chicken Parsleyed potatoes Corn on the cob Carrot-celery, raisin salad Sweet pickles Bread and butter and jam Milk, date bars	Vegetable-chicken soup Crackers Peanut butter and honey sandwiches or cold meat sandwiches Carrot sticks Fruit, cookies, milk
Friday: Tomato juice Assorted cold cereals French toast Butter and jam or syrup Milk, cocoa	Baked macaroni and tuna casserole Tossed green salad Bread and butter Canned fruit Milk, cookies	

Looking ahead (staff and administration views)

Plans are being developed for another educational camp for the Yakima Reservation pupils, summer 1967.

The Yakima Tribal Council and Education staff were so encouraged and gratified by the results and achievements of these pupils who attended Camp Chaparral that they wish to repeat and expand this youth educational program.

They are grateful for the financial help provided by O.E.O. for this component and plan to request additional support for next summer's programs. This would allow them to reach more students, whose educational needs parallel the 40 original pupils. They plan to expand this instruction to include the elementary grades 4, 5, and 6. They believe this will provide these younger pupils who, under present school practice, are failing second-grade English at second grade and second-grade English each successive year thereafter. Yet these pupils are being advanced into a more difficult curriculum, inadequately trained in the basic core subjects—English, mathematics, and reading.

Such practice damages the child's educational future and retards the recovery process, sometimes completely. This concept of social promotion does nothing to facilitate the problem of learning for the child. It only pushes him from one classroom and insures continued failure in another.

It is planned that a part-time counseling psychologist be employed under O.E.O. funding. This counselor would do the testing, assist with placement, counsel the pupil, parent, and school personnel as they alter and improve the pupil's learning environment. This changed learning environment and new attitude toward learning would better insure the pupil's success.

In a school system built upon the concept that all pupils can and do profit from educational experience, we must do all possible to reduce failures. If our public schools are to equip young people with skills for a successful life we cannot continue to produce failures. We cannot direct students into the main stream of society, expecting these eighteen years of failure to produce adults who will profit our society—intellectually, morally or financially. We must look ahead and include in our educational program such success experiences for our pupils similar to those experienced at Camp Chaparral during the summer of 1966.

Looking ahead (guidance specialist's recommendations)

1. Continue practice of selecting students who are at least two years retarded in the basic academic areas.
2. Administer a *group* intelligence test, preferably non-verbal, prior to or in conjunction with the regular achievement test. (California Achievement Test used in 1966.)
3. Increase the academic instruction time each day—reducing the "work" time as scheduled during the 1966 summer program.
4. Dip down into lower grade levels for students if additional funds can be obtained. (This would necessitate an adjustment in the curriculum.)
5. Select teachers from as many areas on the reservation as possible.
6. Schedule a full staff meeting prior to the opening of camp, so as to fully acquaint staff members with responsibilities—their own and others'—from camp director to teacher aides.
7. Strive to set up separate quarters to serve as a guidance center—space, whether a tent, trailer, or cabin, suitable to accommodate group counseling sessions for six or eight persons.
8. Consider the possibility of supplying periodical clerical assistance for the guidance counselor.

Suggested materials for improving future programs

Follett Publishing Co., Chicago, Illinois: *Learning Your Language*, Jack Abramowitz, editor. (Be sure to order reprints of questions in text—they are in workbook form and are cheaper in long run.)

Science Research Associates, Chicago, Illinois: SRA Multilevel, tracked achievement tests:
  Reading for Understanding Laboratory:
    General edition.
    Junior edition.
  Spelling Laboratories, IIIa and IIb.

Ginn & Co., New York, N.Y.: *A Programmed Approach to Writing*, Books I and II.

Follett Publishing Co., Chicago, Ilinois: *Slow-Learner Series*, Jack Abramowitz, editor:
  World History Study Lessons.
  Study Lessons in Our Nation's History.

Grosset & Dunlap Publishers, New York, N.Y.: *The Illustrated Junior Library* (and other collections of classical novels).

(If future program is expanded to include students from grades three, four, five and six, the above list would be greatly increased to accommodate this younger-age level.)

A Camera's Eye View

Following are a few camera shots taken showing various phases of the education camp program and the camp facilities.

2047 through 2054 deleted
because of non reproducibility

EXHIBIT VII

IT IS BEING DONE

AN INDIAN APPROACH TO EDUCATION, AN OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY PROGRAM SPONSORED BY THE CONFEDERATED TRIBES AND BANDS OF THE YAKIMA NATION

This is a summary of an educational program sponsored by the Yakima Confederated Tribes and Bands in an effort to fulfill their obligation and responsibility to their children.

Cooperating with the Yakima Tribal Council were: Yakima Indian Community Action Program; Bureau of Indian Affairs, Yakima Agency; Bureau of Indian Services, University of Utah; and the Office of Economic Opportunity.

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"It is being done"

When the Yakima Tribal Council, the Yakima Agency of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Yakima Indian Community Action Program completed their first Remedial Education Camp in the summer of 1966, the results were so gratifying and the feeling of satisfaction so complete that a booklet describing the planning and the accomplishments was published entitled "It Can Be Done."

Now, at the completion of a second similar camp, held in two sessions of 4-weeks each, this summarization has been entitled "It Is Being Done," because it is thought of all concerned that this must be an on-going process—continued from summer to summer, if adults are to properly fulfill their responsibilities to their children.

In the 1966 camp, enrollment was limited to a total of 40 Indian boys and girls. Success instills confidence, and so the 1967 camp accommodated 100 boys and girls. If plans are approved for a camp in 1968, it is hoped that at least 110 boys and girls can be helped to improve their educational skills.

The Yakima Tribe, the Yakima Agency of BIA, the Yakima ICAP are extremely grateful to the Office of Economic Opportunity for making funds possible to conduct the camp and to the University of Utah, Bureau of Indian Services, for assistance in compiling the data into this booklet "It Is Being Done."

The need for action

A recent educational survey of Indian children on the Yakima reservation isolated one startling academic weakness which stood out from all the others. Of 123 Indian children in Grade 8, thirty-three percent (33%) were reading from *two to six grades below* the median of grade eight. This particular handicap dooms one out of every three Indian students as far as high school achievement is concerned.

Further, it was noted that this severe retardation increased at each succeeding grade.

Another survey revealed what tribal and BIA officials had long suspected—there is widespread cultural, physical and emotional deprivation among Indian children on the reservation.

The obvious result of this deprivation has meant that a very high percentage of Indian children enter first grade not yet ready to do first grade work.

Specifically, it was found that of 42 first-graders enrolled at one school, eighteen (18) were not ready for first grade work on the basis of readiness tests and teacher evaluation.

Additionally, of 26 in kindergarten at one school, all but five tested *below average* in readiness and development.

This, of course, leads to unsatisfactory progress and adjustment. And when this situation is coupled with the kind (but unkind) "social promotion," it is here that the well-known under-achievement spiral begins. Each successive year the child starts the school year a little farther behind, with less chance of success and reward. He fails second grade work but is "promoted" to third grade where he again fails *second grade* work. This vicious spiral continues—fifth graders are promoted to sixth grade and still *do not achieve* even *fifth grade* standards. The obvious contradiction is that a student is expected to succeed on the grade level *above* the one he has just failed.

Finally, the student's only escape from failure and frustration is to abandon all effort and to drop out of school.

The educational survey taken during the first half of the 1966–67 school year dramatically bears out this conclusion. One school in the district had 94 Indian students enrolled in grades 9 through 12. After 140 days of school that year, 24 had dropped out of high school—25.5% of the total school Indian enrollment.

Another school in the district had 31 Indian students enrolled in grades 10, 11 and 12. After 140 days of school, eleven (11) students had dropped out—a dropout rate of 35.4%. Only three or four were expected to graduate and the average grade point for those "successful" graduates was 1.80.

Turning to another school, 48 Indian students are enrolled in grades 10, 11 and 12. At the time of the survey, seven, or 14.58% had dropped out—a somewhat respectable figure as compared to the other schools in the study.

These figures, stretching from kindergarten through senior high school, point up the urgency for extra attention to Indian students—not only preschool Indians, but at every grade level through high school.

Absenteeism, attitudes and achievement

There is much evidence to support conclusions reached at Yakima that absenteeism or poor attendance at school is directly related to poor achievement. Additionally, the home environment and parental attitude also adversely affect achievement by the Indian student.

At one high school in the district, Indian students average 88% in attendance. This means that in a school year of 180 days, students at this high school miss on the average—21½ days per year. Educators and education specialists are in accord that five days of absence can be critical. Our Indian children do not need *less* time, but *more* time in the classroom if they are to succeed.

A second school in the district has an Indian attendance figure of 85%. Projected on the 180-day school term, this means that these students, on an average, will miss 27 days during the year.

At another high school, the attendance figure for Indians is 87%, meaning that Indian students there have an average of 23.4 days absence each school year.

Reasons for absenteeism are many and varied. It is difficult to determine at times whether absenteeism causes poor grades, or whether poor grades cause absenteeism. There can be little argument, however that there is a relationship between home conditions, home environment, parental attitude, permissive discipline, excessive illness, low educational attainment of parents and achievement. Indeed, all of these factors seem to be so inter-related as to make it nearly impossible to differentiate between cause and effect.

School itself presents many hurdles for the Indian student, but it is quite possible that home environment as an influence is one of the most difficult to improve.

Unstable home life, lack of a suitable place for study, low educational achievement of parents, great distance between home and library—all of these factors play a major role in Indian student achievement—or lack of it.

Then too, where reading has not been a habit and there are very few bilinguals, Indian students generally are not well prepared for English or reading when they begin school. Many Indian parents reduce the school's effectiveness by supporting their children, rather than supporting the school when student-school conflicts arise.

It is not surprising, then, that when an Indian child first commences school already behind in "readiness," is socially promoted from year to year, continues to compile a poor achievement record year after year, that he eagerly looks forward to his sixteenth birthday or completion of his eighth year of school so that he may once and for all remove himself from a life of constant failure. Meantime, during those eight years of school, he is glad to miss as often as possible so as to minimize his daily confrontation with failure, and this repeated absenteeism brings him full-circle with the spectre of failure.

The Test Scores—at a Glance

Members of the camp staff, together with tribal officials and BIA education leaders, were more than pleased with the improvement in reading, mathematics and language skills shown by each camp participant, as shown by the pre-camp and the post-camp California Achievement Test scores.

Using the Total Battery results, the average growth for each individual was the equivalent of one full academic school year—this accomplished during only four weeks of intensive, individualized instruction made possible at the camp.

In Total Battery results, forty-two (42) students (nearly half of the total camp enrollment) showed a gain of more than *one full academic year.*

Greatest over-all growth in the total battery for one individual was 2.1, or the equivalent of two full academic years and one month of school. Another student showed a 2.0 gain—two full academic years of growth.

Greatest single-subject improvement was achieved by a ninth-grade student in language, who climbed from 6.7 to 10.1 during the four weeks of study—a 3.4 gain. An eighth grader in the same subject area climbed from 7.8 to 10.1, while still another eight grader showed a 2.9 gain, climbing from 8.3 to 10.4.

Scanning the Total Battery results, one finds that close behind those outstanding gains of 2.1 and 2.0, there were a great number of other significant gains recorded:

Three students gained 1.7 or one academic year and 7 months.

Four students gained 1.6, or one academic year and 6 months.

One student gained 1.5.

Three students gained 1.4.

Four students gained 1.3.

Five students gained 1.2.

Nineteen other students gained 1.0 or 1.1—an academic year or better during the four weeks period.

Again, using the Total Battery results, no losses or regressions were noted.

One Hundred Students—Two Camp Sessions

So successful were the first Remedial Education Camp in the summer of 1966 that instead of the 40 students who participated that summer, the Yakima Tribal Council and the cooperating Yakima Agency, Bureau of Indian Affairs, found it necessary to accommodate 100 Indian boys and girls at the second camp during the summer of 1967.

Forty-two (42) boys and girls from grades 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11 took part in the first four-weeks session at Camp Chaparral. The remainder, fifty-eight (58) from grades 4, 5, and 6, made up the student body for the second session, also four weeks in duration. Four youngsters from grade three were permitted to participate in the second session.

School district officials were consulted during the final selection of students and there appeared to be a concensus that the 100 children chosen would benefit most from the planned remedial education program during the summer.

Getting Off to the Right Start

Again, as in 1966, tribal officials and camp leaders took care to set the mood and the tone for this 1967 camp.

1. Tribal leaders pointed out that attendance at Camp Chaparral was a privilege and they outlined the responsibilities accompanying that privilege. Participants were reminded that the Yakima tribe had high expectations from each individual and that all parents involved had high expectations.

Additionally, it was pointed out that the success of Camp Chaparral would give encouragement to other tribal officials on other reservations to establish similar camps—thus the behavior, the academic growth and the carry-over by each participant could have a far-flung effect on Indian children throughout the land.

2. The first day at camp was important in that the California Achievement Test was administered to each participant. The results of the CAT (Reading, Mathematics and Language) provided a basis for all education activities during the camp period. The test results were used to group the children in sections of 10, as to achievement, rather than age or numerical grade placement. At the conclusion of the camp period, another form of the CAT (same subject areas) was administered to each individual, thus giving camp staff the "before and after" scores from which conclusions could be drawn as to the value of the camp for each one.

Something About Camp Chaparral

Camp Chaparral, offered by Yakima tribal officials for the first remedial education camp in 1966, proved to be such an excellent site for this kind of educational experience that preliminary planners were unanimous in agreeing that if tribal officials would consent, then Camp Chaparral should be the site for the 1967 session. Permission was gladly given.

A change of environment—a setting where students had never been confronted with academic failure—seemed to be the logical site. That was one of the principal criteria in choosing Chaparral in 1966. That summer's successes appeared to guarantee success for the 1967 sessions.

Camp Chaparral is 70 miles from the center of population on the reservation, high in the Cascade Mountains. A beautiful trout stream, Chaparral Creek, traverses the campsite. Fishing proved to be one of the more popular recreational pursuits. Swimming was another fringe benefit.

The site includes three dormitories, each of which can accommodate 25 persons. It has a 24′ x 60′ multipurpose cabin, four additional cabins each 20′ x 20′, plus a 20′ x 30′ kitchen, with running water. A diesel plant provides electrical power for the camp. Separate shower facilities are provided for boys and girls. Six rental trailers proved to be adequate for staff housing.

Selection of the Summer Camp Staff

Choosing a teacher staff for the school year in *any* school district is a difficult task, but the choice of a staff for a Remedial Education Summer Camp is even more difficult and exacting. And following the philosophy adopted for the first camp in the summer of 1966, it was felt that the selection of a competent teacher staff again would determine the success of the 1967 summer program.

Some guidelines used for the 1966 and the 1967 teacher selection are:

1. Look first for a professional educator who has an open mind in regard to new education materials and techniques. The standard textbook and classroom approach had been ruled out earlier as our approach to education for Indian children at a summer camp. Thus, it became paramount that teachers needed were those who were willing to experiment, willing to change, willing to adapt. There could be no place for the "stereotyped" classroom teacher—no place for the teacher who was "hobbled" to textbooks.

2. Find teachers who have a feeling for and a genuine interest in Indian children, their problems and their educational needs.

3. Find teachers who are "outgoing" and who have the ability to establish immediate rapport with Indian students. Not only must these teachers be outgoing, but patience and understanding must be part of their repertory.

4. Find teachers who will "fit in" with each other. Camp Chaparral is 70 miles from the Yakima Agency office, deep in the Cascade Mountains. The staff must live-in from Monday through Friday. The living conditions, the hours over and above the usual school day (all a part of the responsibility) make it essential that there be complete harmony on the part of staff members. Discourse—or dissent—among staff members is immediately picked up by young people.

5. Look for teachers who are willing to "go the extra mile." Staff members should be made aware that this kind of responsibility is not an eight-hour-a-day job, but extends to meet the daily needs and problems of the students at camp.

6. Use, if possible, teachers from public schools where Indians are in attendance during the regular school year. An important side-effect or fringe benefit for the student comes if local teachers can become enthused about Indian education and can take this interest and enthusiasm back to their local school districts.

Working closely with school district officials, the Yakima tribal council, the tribal education officials and BIA education leaders again conducted a quiet but thorough study of teachers in the district, in an effort to find teachers who could best meet the above guidelines. And just as was done for the 1966 camp, a carefully compiled list was assembled, these teachers were approached on a confidential basis and based on their interest and willingness, were selected to head up this second summer remedial education camp program.

Thinking of Indian Community

Student Reaction:

Traditionally, Indian celebrations have pre-empted all other Indian activities and events. In the past, when Camp Chaparral was used strictly for camp recreation, the Indians attending this camp left during the month of July to attend the two-week Indian National Annual Encampment held at White Swan, Washington.

Indian celebrations are an integral part of the culture. It was, therefore, a tribute to this program and its Indian leadership that during the 1966–67 Remedial Education Camp session, not one student left the program to participate in this cultural celebration.

Parent Reaction:

Parents and students feel that this camp, unlike the recreation camp, will be an important factor in shaping their lives. Tribal and BIA personnel find this camp improves the education motivation in both the Indian students and adults. They know, too, it will benefit future educational programs on the reservation.

Cooperation from the parents of the students has contributed greatly to the success of the program. Parents assist the students by preparing them for their five-day stay at camp, and also transport them to the agency on Monday morning. Each Friday the parents pick up their children and, again, spend the better part of Saturday and Sunday preparing clothing and other personal necessities for their next week's camp stay.

Often this preparation disrupts the parents' work in the fruit harvest and takes away from their earnings. It is indeed gratifying that the parents' primary concern now is the support of their children in this education program. Such support has made this program a successful reality.

But parental support did not end here. At the conclusion of the camp, hundreds of Indian people drove 140 miles to attend the Awards' ceremony for the students, and to tour the educational and recreational facilities.

Tribal Opinion:

The tribal leaders, through the efforts of their committees, have shown a great interest in education on the reservation. In support of their concern, they helped research the education problems of their people. Once the need for supportive education programs was established, the Remedial Education Program was developed through the efforts of these leaders.

At the present time, this program has the highest priority with them. For the program has proven to be a great aid to the students, and as such, has earned solid parental support.

Tribal Acceptance:

Tribal members already have requested enrollment of their children in the coming summer camp. It is significant to note the growing student enrollment: The camp began with 40 Indian students the first year and increased to 100 students last year. Now in the summer of 1968, tribal leaders hope to receive a grant that will enable at least 110 Indian students to attend the Remedial Education Program at Camp Chaparral.

Compared to the enrollment requests, the number of Indian students the camp can afford to accommodate is indeed small. One of the most difficult decisions the committee has to make is whom to accept and reject—when the need is so great.

Financing the Program

Thanks to the Office of Economic Opportunity, funds again were made available to the Yakima Tribal Community Action Program to conduct the 1967 camp.

The component was drawn up by the Yakima Indian Community Action Program staff, the Education Committee of the Yakima Tribal Council and the Education Staff of the Yakima Agency, Bureau of Indian Affairs.

The component was submitted to the Office of Economic Opportunity and was funded as Grant CG 8080 B/2, Component 703, in ample time to make all arrangements for the opening of camp on June 19, 1967.

We Pretested, and We Posttested

During the first half-day at Camp Chaparral, each student was tested through the California Achievement Test (Reading, Mathematics and Language). The tests were scored and the students placed into groups of ten. The pretest provided the basis for all education programs for the camp. Students were placed in an educational atmosphere where actual achievements were the criteria, rather than age or previous school grade placement. This is the basis of the program which combines new techniques and methods for education.

Another form of the same test (CAT) was administered to each student at the conclusion of the camp period. These two tests enabled camp administrators to measure the growth in each subject area and also to obtain a Total Battery score, Before and After. The Total Battery score is used to help evaluate this education program.

For obvious reasons, no names are listed on the following score sheets. All names and scores are on file in the Yakima Tribal Community Action Program office at Toppenish, Washington, and a duplicate set of scores is filed at the Yakima Indian Agency Office in Toppenish, Bureau of Indian Affairs.

It may be interesting to study the test results after first noting that the left-hand column indicates the grade placement of each student asking the test. The pretest score, matched with the grade placement, gives the observer an immediate evaluation of each student's ability to operate at the grade level in which he was studying. For example, in the First-Session Results, the first student scored was an eighth grade student whose pre-tests were 5.0 (fifth grade) in reading, 4.9 (nearly fifth grade) in mathematics and 4.9 in language (nearly fifth grade). Gains for this particular student, as shown in the post-test scores, were not significant—one of the few, though the Total Battery gain showed .5 (five school months) during the four-weeks period.

CALIFORNIA ACHIEVEMENT TEST SCORES—BEFORE AND AFTER CAMP

1ST SESSION—GRADES 7, 8, 9, 10, AND 11

Grade	Age	Reading			Mathematics			Language			Total battery		
		Pre	Post	Differential	Pre	Post	Differential	Pre	Post	Differential	Pre	Post	Differential
8	15.5	5.0	5.0		4.9	5.4	+0.5	4.9	5.1	+0.2	5.0	5.5	+0.5
7	15.8	6.8	7.5	+0.7	7.3	8.5	+1.2	7.3	8.0	+.7	7.1	8.0	+.9
9	16.2	6.2	7.4	+1.2	6.4	7.5	+1.1	7.5	7.2	+.2	6.7	7.5	+.8
6	12.11	4.7	5.3	+.6	6.0	7.4	+1.4	4.3	5.4	+1.1	5.0	6.0	+1.0
7	15.8	4.2	5.7	+1.5	5.8	7.3	+1.5	5.1	6.7	+1.6	5.0	6.6	+1.6
11	17.4	8.5	11.3	+2.8	8.5	10.3	+1.6	9.8	11.3	+1.5	9.0	10.7	+1.7
7	14.6	5.0	5.0		7.6	8.8	+1.2	6.8	6.4	−.4	6.5	6.7	+.2
7	13.4	8.8	8.5	−.3	7.3	8.9	+1.7	8.3	8.5	+.2	8.3	8.6	+.3
8	15.11	6.2	6.6	+.4	6.6	8.3	+1.7	7.3	7.2	−.1	6.7	7.0	+.3
9	14.9	6.4	6.8	+.4	6.9	8.1	+1.2	7.7	7.9	+.2	7.0	7.6	+.6
7	12.10	4.2	4.7	+.5	4.7	5.6	+.9	3.7	6.1	+2.4	4.2	5.5	+1.3
6	13.6	4.2	4.4	+.2	7.0	7.3	+.3	6.7	7.3	+.6	5.7	6.3	+.6
8	15.9	4.7	5.4	+.7	6.2	7.2	+1.0	4.3	7.2	+2.9	5.1	6.6	+1.5
10	15.7	6.5	7.8	+1.3	7.1	8.3	+1.2	6.3	7.7	+1.4	6.7	7.9	+1.2
7	14.11	6.0	6.5	+.5	7.0	7.8	+.8	7.1	7.3	+.2	6.7	7.2	+.5
8	14.7	7.1	8.3	+1.2	7.0	8.5	+1.5	7.9	9.0	+1.1	7.4	8.6	+1.2
8	15.8	6.6	7.8	+1.2	5.9	7.9	+2.0	6.7	8.4	+1.7	6.4	8.0	+1.6
7	14.7	6.7	7.3	+.6	6.1	6.0	−.1	7.3	8.3	+1.0	7.0	7.2	+.2
8	14.0	8.0	7.3	−.7	7.3	8.4	+1.1	7.5	7.9	+.4	7.1	7.9	+.8
7	13.4	7.1	8.2	+1.1	6.3	7.1	+.8	8.0	8.8	+.8	7.3	8.0	+.7
7	13.4	6.6	7.6	+1.0	6.9	8.1	+1.2	8.0	8.9	+.9	7.2	8.2	+1.0
8	15.10	7.1	7.8	+.7	7.1	7.8	+.6	7.5	9.2	+1.7	7.2	8.2	+1.0
10	17.9	6.8	8.6	+1.8	7.1	9.1	+2.0	10.0	10.0		8.0	9.2	+1.2
8	16.6	8.9	10.3	+1.4	7.1	8.4	+1.3	9.9	10.0	+.1	8.7	9.6	+.9
9	16.7	7.3	7.8	+.5	7.3	8.0	+.7	9.0	8.7	−.3	7.9	8.2	+.3
8	16.8	6.8	7.9	+1.1	7.5	8.9	+1.4	9.9	9.2	−.7	8.1	8.7	+.6
8	14.0	9.3	9.4	+.1	7.9	9.4	+1.5	10.0	9.1	−.9	9.1	9.3	+.2
9	16.1	6.1	5.9	−.2	7.1	7.8	+.7	5.7	6.6	+.9	6.3	6.7	+.4
9	16.9	7.7	8.9	+1.2	6.4	7.2	+.8	8.1	8.9	+.8	7.4	8.3	+.9
7	14.10	5.0	6.1	+1.1	5.7	7.3	+1.6	6.5	7.3	+.8	6.1	6.9	+.8
7	13.8	5.7	6.4	+.7	6.7	7.6	+.9	6.0	6.9	+.9	6.2	7.0	+.8
11	18.0	8.2	8.5	+.3	8.3	10.4	+2.1	7.5	8.6	+1.1	8.0	9.2	+1.2
9	13.0	7.1	7.6	+.5	7.4	9.1	+1.7	7.1	8.9	+1.8	7.2	8.5	+1.3
9	15.10	9.8	9.5	−.3	7.1	7.9	+.8	8.4	8.3	−.1	8.4	8.6	+.2
7	14.1	7.6	8.0	+.4	7.3	8.6	+1.3	7.0	8.7	+1.7	7.3	8.4	+1.1
9	16.8	7.6	9.4	+1.8	7.6	8.3	+.7	8.8	8.3	−.5	8.0	8.6	+.6
8	16.7	8.5	8.9	+.4	7.9	8.2	+.3	7.4	8.4	+1.0	7.9	8.5	+.6
8	14.4	8.9	9.6	+.7	7.8	9.1	+1.3	7.8	10.1	+2.3	8.2	9.6	+1.4
8	15.0	7.5	8.5	+1.0	8.1	8.6	+.5	7.8	8.6	+.8	7.8	8.6	+.8
8	15.11	4.5	5.2	+.7	5.8	6.6	+.8	5.6	5.6		5.3	5.8	+.5
9	15.3	6.4	7.4	+1.0	6.9	7.4	+.5	6.7	10.1	+3.4	6.6	8.2	+1.6
2D SESSION—GRADES 3, 4, 5, AND 6													
6	13.1	4.1	5.0	+0.9	5.1	5.4	+0.3	3.6	3.9	+0.3	4.2	4.7	+0.5
5	12.0	5.7	6.2	+.5	6.3	6.7	+.4	4.6	5.4	+.8	5.5	6.1	+.6
5	12.10	4.7	6.2	+1.5	5.7	6.1	+.4	4.1	5.3	+1.2	4.8	5.8	+1.0
4	11.9	3.4	5.5	+2.1	3.5	4.6	+1.1	3.8	3.9	+.1	3.5	4.6	+1.1
5	10.7	5.1	5.9	+.8	5.5	6.0	+.5	4.8	5.0	+.2	5.1	5.6	+.5
4	10.3	3.8	4.6	+.8	4.5	5.9	+1.4	4.3	4.5	+.2	4.2	5.0	+.8
5	13.6	4.6	4.9	+.3	4.9	5.4	+.5	4.2	5.0	+.8	4.5	5.1	+.6
6	12.6	5.8	6.9	+1.1	6.6	6.8	+.2	6.5	7.1	+.6	6.3	6.9	+.6
5	11.7	4.1	5.2	+1.1	4.1	4.7	+.6	3.2	5.2	+2.0	3.8	5.0	+1.2
5	11.2	5.5	7.4	+1.9	5.3	5.7	+.4	3.9	6.4	+2.5	4.9	6.5	+1.6
5	10.2	4.6	5.5	+.9	4.8	6.2	+1.4	4.5	4.8	+.3	4.6	5.5	+.9
5	12.3	4.3	5.4	+1.1	5.8	6.5	+.7	3.9	4.5	+.6	4.7	5.4	+.7
5	11.1	6.6	7.8	+1.2	5.7	6.7	+1.0	6.0	6.9	+.9	6.1	7.1	+1.0
4	10.7	3.9			5.0			3.2			4.0		

CALIFORNIA ACHIEVEMENT TEST SCORES—BEFORE AND AFTER CAMP—Continued

2D SESSION—GRADES 3, 4, 5, AND 6—Continued

Grade	Age	Reading			Mathematics			Language			Total battery		
		Pre	Post	Differential	Pre	Post	Differential	Pre	Post	Differential	Pre	Post	Differential
5	13.1	3.6	4.5	+.9	4.5	4.9	+.4	3.0	3.8	+.8	3.7	4.4	+.7
3	9.7	3.1	5.0	+1.9	4.1	5.5	+1.1	3.0	4.0	+1.0	3.4	4.8	+1.4
6	12.4	5.4	6.4	+1.0	6.2	6.3	+.1	5.8	5.8		5.8	6.1	+.3
5	12.8	5.9	6.6	+.7	5.8	6.2	+.4	5.5	5.7	+.2	5.7	6.1	+.4
6	14.0	5.1	5.3	+.2	6.7	6.5	−.2	5.3	5.3		5.7	5.7	
6	13.2	4.9	6.0	+1.1	6.4	6.4		4.8	6.0	+1.2	5.3	6.1	+.8
4	9.10	3.8	4.9	+1.1	4.8	4.8		2.9	3.5	+.6	3.8	4.4	+.6
5	12.5	4.8	5.7	+.9	4.5	5.3	+.8	4.7	5.8	+1.1	4.6	5.6	+1.0
4	10.1	3.2	4.4	+1.2	4.0	5.2	+1.2	2.9	4.2	+1.3	3.3	4.6	+1.3
6	12.7	4.6	6.3	+1.7	4.7	5.8	+1.1	4.8	5.2	+.4	4.7	6.1	+1.4
4	10.4	5.3	6.2	+.9	4.6	5.4	+.8	4.4	5.9	+1.5	4.7	5.8	+1.1
4	12.0	3.3	5.1	+1.8	4.2	5.0	+.8	3.8	4.3	+.5	3.7	4.8	+1.1
6	12.7	6.7	8.1	+1.4	6.9	7.5	+.6	7.0	7.8	+.8	6.8	7.8	+1.0
4	11.1	3.2	4.3	+1.1	3.8	4.7	+.9	2.9	4.3	+1.4	3.3	4.4	+1.1
5	11.9	5.3	6.0	+.7	5.4	6.1	+.7	4.0	5.9	+1.9	4.9	6.0	+1.1
5	11.9	4.1	5.9	+1.8	5.6	5.8	+.2	4.3	6.1	+1.8	4.6	6.6	+2.0
6	12.6	4.3	4.9	+.6	4.5	4.8	+.3	3.5	4.9	+1.4	4.6	4.8	+.2
4	11.8	4.4	4.8	+.4	5.1	5.1		3.7	4.3	+.6	4.4	4.7	+.3
5	11.8	5.1	5.9	+.8	4.5	5.6	+1.1	4.4	5.2	+.8	4.6	5.5	+.9
6	12.0	5.6	6.2	+.6	5.7	6.4	+.7	5.0	6.4	+1.4	5.4	6.3	+.9
4	11.1	2.6	4.4	+1.8	4.1	4.8	+.7	3.4	3.9	+.5	3.3	4.3	+1.0
4	10.6	4.9	5.7	+.8	5.5	6.0	+.5	4.1	4.4	+.3	4.8	5.3	+.5
3	11.2	3.0			3.0			2.7			2.9		
4	10.7	4.0	4.9	+.9	3.7	4.9	+1.2	3.9	4.8	+.9	3.8	4.8	+1.0
4	10.7	4.9	6.6	+1.7	3.9	6.7	+2.8	4.3	6.3	+2.0	4.3	6.5	+2.1
5	11.1	4.6	5.8	+1.2	6.1	6.1		5.1	5.1		5.2	5.6	+.4
4	10.9	3.8	5.2	+1.4	4.2	5.8	+1.6	4.5	5.8	+1.3	4.5	5.6	+1.1
6	12.6	5.1	7.1	+2.0	5.2	6.4	+1.2	5.1	7.1	+2.1	5.1	6.8	+1.7
5	11.1	5.0	5.6	+.6	4.9	5.4	+.5	5.0	5.3	+.3	5.0	5.4	+.4
6	12.2	6.9	7.5	+.6	6.8	7.6	+.8	7.0	8.0	+1.0	6.9	7.7	+.8
6	12.0	4.7	5.6	+.9	5.6	6.1	+.5	5.1	6.1	+1.0	5.1	5.9	+.8
4	9.7	5.1			5.3			4.7			5.0		
6	12.1	2.8	4.3	+1.5	3.3	4.1	+.8	3.8	4.5	+.7	3.3	4.3	+1.0
5	12.4	5.3	6.6	+1.3	5.8	7.1	+1.3	5.6	6.5	+.9	5.6	6.7	+1.1
6	14.0	7.4	7.5	+.1	5.6	7.1	+.5	6.2	6.3	+.1	6.4	6.9	+.5
4	10.4	5.9			5.1			5.6			5.5		
6	14.0	2.9	3.7	+.8	4.0	4.7	+.7	4.1	4.6	+.5	3.6	4.3	+.7
3	9.5	4.6	5.5	+.9	3.8	4.9	+1.1	3.0	5.0	+2.0	3.8	5.1	+1.3
6	13.0	4.6	5.2	+.6	4.6	4.9	+.3	4.7	7.0	+2.3	4.6	6.3	+1.7
4	11.7	4.6	5.4	+.8	4.9	5.3	+.4	4.8	5.3	+.5	4.7	5.3	+.6
4	11.1	4.0	4.7	+.7	3.5	5.0	+1.5	4.3	5.2	+.9	3.9	4.9	+1.0
3	9.3	3.6	4.2	+.6	3.6	4.6	+1.3	3.2	4.7	+1.5	3.8	4.5	+.7
6	12.3	6.5	7.9	+1.4	5.8	6.2	+.4	6.2	7.0	+.8	5.8	7.0	+1.2
5	11.8	6.9	6.9		5.4	6.2	+.8	6.1	6.4	+.3	6.1	6.5	+.4

Direct Fringe Benefits

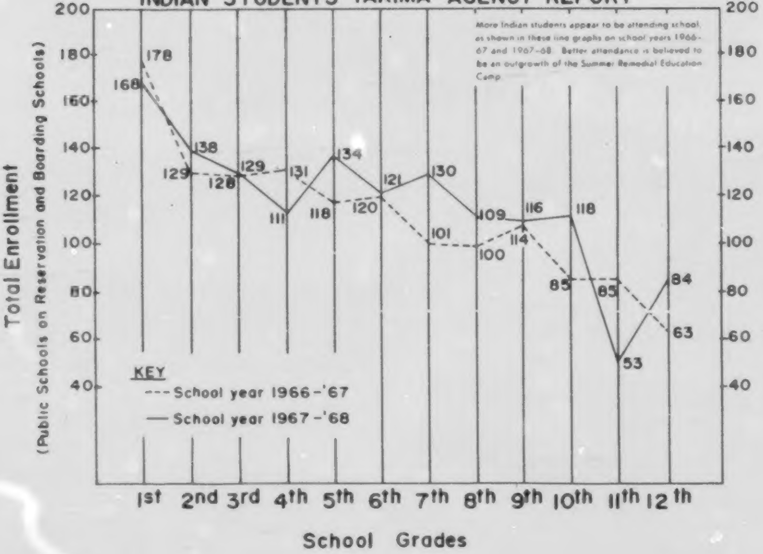
In addition to the obvious values shown in the "before-after" scores registered on the California Achievement Tests, there are several other side-effects directly attributed to the summer remedial education camps.

An increase in total enrollment is shown on the following line graph, which makes a comparison between the 1966–67 school year and the 1967–68 school year. Officials also point out that when comparing the figures for 1965–66 (not shown) and the 1966–67 attendance figures, the later school year also reflects an increase in enrollment by Indian children.

Another benefit can be seen in the bar graph which shows a tremendous jump in the number of Indian students who earned the Certificate of Educational Competence at the close of the 1967 school year (20) as compared with three (3) for the year of 1966.

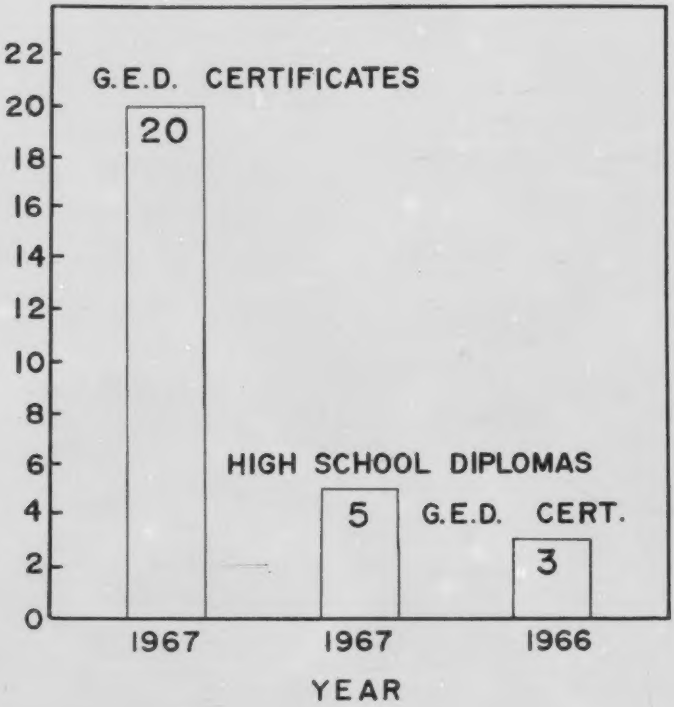
A third extra benefit is depicted in the graph which shows 52 potential Indian graduates for the 1967–68 school year, as compared with twenty-eight (28) for the previous year of 1966–67 and an equal number (28) for 1965–66.

INDIAN STUDENTS YAKIMA AGENCY REPORT



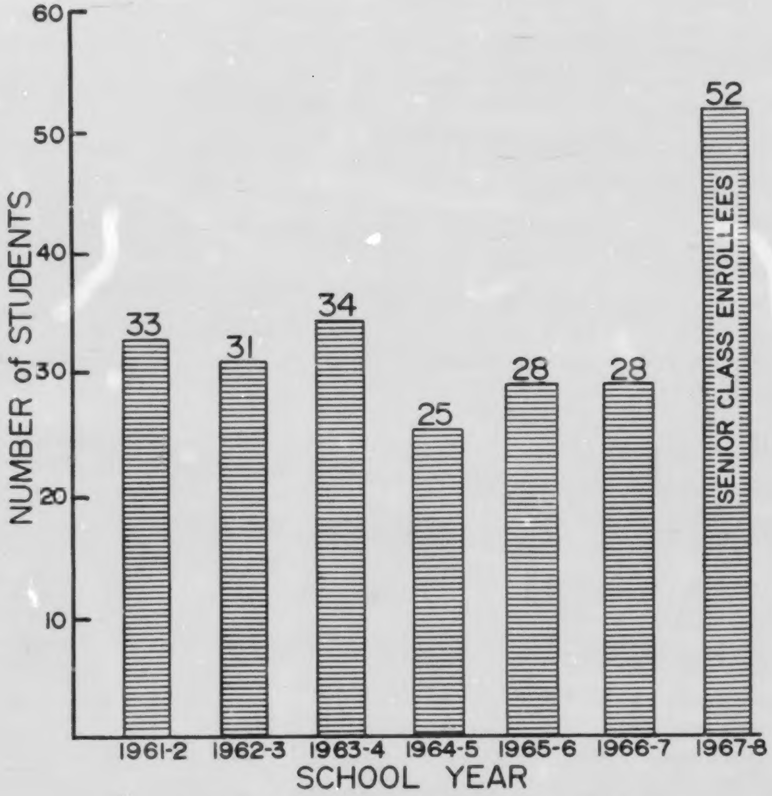
More Indian students appear to be attending school, as shown in these line graphs on school years 1966-67 and 1967-68. Better attendance is believed to be an outgrowth of the Summer Remedial Education Camp.

General Educational Development
"CERTIFICATES of EDUCATIONAL COMPETENCE"
or
"HIGH SCHOOL DIPLOMAS EARNED"



Following the 1966 Summer Education Camp, 20 Indian students qualified for the General Educational Development certificate, as compared with only three for the previous year. Officials believe that the Summer Camp stimulated students to continue their education.

INDIAN GRADUATES
Public Schools on or Near the Reservation



One possible outcome of the 1966 Summer Remedial Education Camp may be indicated in this bar graph showing 52 potential graduates for the school year ending June, 1968. In 1966, and again in 1967, only 28 students earned high school diplomas.

[From the Indian Record, November 1967]

SUMMER PROJECT BOOSTS LEARNING AT YAKIMA

> The phrase "It Can Be Done" appears to have caught on—it is used in this account of the 1966–67 summer camp which appeared in The Indian Record, published by the Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Nov. 1967 edition.

"It Can Be Done," an education project sponsored by the Confederated Tribes and Bands of the Yakima Indian Nation to upgrade the education potential of the Indian students on the reservation, had another outstanding summer. This Tribal program was designed to meet specific education needs of the children of the reservation.

A six year education study of the reservation pointed up many areas of concern in the field of education. Some of these are late entry, absenteeism, unwarranted promotion, and low scholastic achievement.

The program at Camp Chapparal in the Cascade Mountains, is designed to help the low achiever or the child who is promoted for social rather than academic reasons. The students were selected from a group of 500 children between third and eighth grades, who are non-readers (performing two years or more below their grade placement). The program was conducted from Monday to Friday at Camp Chapparal for four week periods.

The first class was held for 25 boys and 25 girls from the seventh through the ninth grade. The second session was held for boys and girls from the fourth through the sixth grade. The one hundred students in attendance showed fine progress.

The students were tested on the first and last day of their education camp. The first group of 50 children showed an eight and one-half month growth, based on preliminary figures the second group shows an even greater growth. The students were placed in five groups of ten with one professional teacher and one Indian teacher aide for each group. Based on first day testing, some students had as many as three reading classes a day plus math, English, and a large group of electives.

No textbooks were used throughout the program. To replace the texts the latest program learning materials and the teacher's creativeness was substituted. The use of these materials gave each child daily success, a thing they had not previously experienced in their education.

At the end of each session a graduation exercise was held for the parents and friends of the children. Over 200 adults attended each ceremony. It was very gratifying to the Tribe to see the new interest in education by the adults.

The Daily Schedule—Work and Play

"Early to rise and early to bed" with a careful blending of work, play and good food proved to be a good combination at the 1967 camp.

Students were out of bed at 7 a.m. and lights were out each evening at 9:20 p.m.

A flag-raising ceremony, followed by vigorous calisthenics prepared everyone for a hearty breakfast at 8 a.m. Classwork, broken into a six-period day, began at 8:45 a.m.

Classwork ended at 3 p.m. each day, followed by supervised-activity classes such as beadwork, horseshoes, archery, pottery, art, nature study and hikes.

Supervised athletics and games followed, with an option to fish or swim.

Following supper at 6 p.m., came a period of team games and athletics, followed by a campfire program or movies.

Lights out at 9:20 p.m.

Camp Chaparell-1967
2nd Session
Grades 4, 5 and 6

CAMP DIRECTOR:
Jack Bunnell
GUIDANCE COUNSELOR:
L. "Howdie" Davison

HEAD TEACHER:
Larry Griffith
DIRECTOR OF ATHLETICS:
Jack Abraham

**** DAILY TIME SCHEDULE ****

7:00 a.m. . . . Get Up
7:30 a.m. . . . Flag Raising and Exercises
8:00 a.m. . . . Breakfast
8:45 a.m. . . . School Starts

**** CLASS DAILY SCHEDULE AS FOLLOWS ****

Teacher and Subject	Lang (READING) Aide: Tomeno	Misemer (MATH) Aide: Charley	Ring (READING) Aide: Burns	Slocum (SCIENCE) Aide: WakWak	Whiting (LANG. ARTS)	Griffith (ART/CRAFTS) Aide: LittleBull
Period 1 8:45-9:35	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3	Group 4	Group 5	Group 6
Period 2 9:40-10:30	2	3	4	5	6	1
Period 3 10:35-11:25	3	4	5	6	1	2
Period 4 11:30-12:20	4	5	6	1	2	3

LUNCH. . . 12:20 - 1:10

Period 5 1:15-2:05	5	6	1	2	3	4
Period 6 2:10-3:00	6	1	2	3	4	5

3:05-4:05. . . Supervised activity classes - Bead Work, Horseshoes, Archery, Pottery, Art, Nature Study, Hikes
4:10-5:30. . . Supervised games and/or athletics - Fishing, Swimming, Etc.
6:00. . . SUPPER
7:00-8:15. . . Athletics - Basketball, Racing, Softball, Games
8:15-8:45. . . Campfire, Movies
9:00-9:20. . . Ready for Bed
9:20. . . LIGHTS OUT!

Indian and Non-Indian Values, Expectations

It is imperative that schools, institutions, agencies and individuals who deal with Indian students be keenly aware that extra effort must be expended in order to help the young Indian adjust to non-Indian values and expectations which are not always realistic.

Many times it is quite evident that the standards, practices and the economy of the Indian household is far different from those found in non-Indian homes. It is quite possible that courses in Home Economics, for instance, are attempting to prepare young people for a home situation which does not exist at present and which might possibly never exist. After all, what value is there in studying color scheme, harmony, interior decoration when there is no paint on the wall at home, probably no carpet and many times a situation where the entire family is living in two small rooms? Why should an Indian girl be concerned about the creation and arrangement of centerpieces from floral gardens when there are no flowers in the neighborhood?

It has been observed on the Yakima reservation—and perhaps others—that our young people oftentimes have difficulty finding pleasure and recreation in physical education courses, where non-Indian children are in most cases happier. One wonders whether disciplinary patterns and course requirements can be blamed for failures in this area. It should surprise no one to learn that disciplinary patterns already established in the Indian homes and in the child's personality are often in direct conflict with these same patterns in the school situation.

An off-shoot of this kind of discipline might arise in the matter of "suiting up" for physical education classes and participating in public showers after classes are over. Non-private dressing rooms and showers in the gymnasium, dominated by non-Indian pupils, appear to create a definite resistance among the Indian pupils who are expected to suit and shower as a group in preparation for P.E. classes. There appears to be an extreme self-consciousness among children about this kind of discipline. Early physical maturity and skin pigment among Indian girls may serve to intensity this self-consciousness and thus contribute to an unwillingness to suit-up or to shower, thus inviting failure in the course inasmuch as many instructors regard dressing and showering as major items in the course itself.

It is worth repeating then, that as we deal with our Indian students, we must be aware of the values inherent in these children, be conscious of their cultural and environmental backgrounds, be willing to rationalize with them and be anxious to help each child to achieve some measure of pleasure, satisfaction and success.

WASP Philosophy—and Its Impact[1]

Uppermost in our thinking as we deal with Indian students, whether in the regular school term or at our Remedial Education summer camp, must be the philosophy that every child is important as an individual. The overall purpose of our endeavors should be to develop happy and socially productive personalities. Every child need to feel *some* success.

Consider the frustration of the junior high school student who rarely if ever has experienced success in his English class. He reads poorly, his vocabulary is limited, his spelling is frightful, his writing is without substance, his oral contributions are lacking in depth or are none at all. Obviously, this student lacks an understanding of the basic areas of English—language, literature, sentence structure and composition. His skills in reading, writing, listening, understanding and speaking are minimal.

One wonders if it is possible to imagine the frustration of this kind of student, who faces failure in English class and every other class which demands reading and writing in one form or another. What adult could endure such constant defeat and humiliation without becoming surly, bitter, rebellious and cynical?

Most schools, agencies and institutions appear to assume that Indian students will automatically respond to the WASP (White, Anglo-Saxon Protestant) behavior patterns and oral-written expressions in the same way non-Indian children respond. Matérials used for instruction, as well as the system of rewards and punishments (values), follow these standards and patterns. In many instances, those who are pledged and committed to propagate the culture through education, legislation and social pressure, take a somewhat distant view of those who do not easily fit this mould.

It should not be surprising then, that the student who daily receives instruction through materials which are foreign or alien to his own culture, applied with patterns of expression foreign to his culture and judged by standards foreign to his culture, cannot help but fail. As he begins to become aware that all which is natural and right to him is being ignored or regarded as inferior, it is not surprising that he soon resents and rejects everything about the culture which is rejecting him. Rejection leads to rebellion and rebellion means behavior difficulties. Before long, the label of "delinquent" is associated with his name—he may become a "dropout" and he is judged undesirable by the society which initially rejected him and caused his rebellion.

Looking Into the Future

Plans are being formulated and hopes are high that another summer Remedial Education Camp can be held at Camp Chaparral during the summer of 1968—this time with even more students to be accommodated.

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[1] Extracted from Teacher's Guide * * * "Learning Your Language/One," Harold I. Herber, Reading Center, School of Education, Syracuse University.

The Yakima Tribal Council, its Education Staff, the BIA Education Committee and members of the Yakima Indian Community Action Program were so gratified and encouraged by the achievements of students at the 1966 camp and again at the 1967 camp that they feel a definite responsibility to see that other children have this chance for improvement educationally.

It is hoped that 110 students (there were only 40 in 1966 and 100 in the 1967 camps) can be accommodated at the 1968 camp. It is planned that there would be two sessions, each to work with approximately 55 students.

Of course all plans are contingent upon a helping hand from the Office of Economic Opportunity. It is hoped that a careful study of the California Achievement Test results—before and after—can support the feeling in and around Yakima that these summer camps are accomplishing a great deal of good for students who heretofore have been lagging in educational achievement.

Our school systems are built upon the concept that all pupils can and do profit from educational experience. Therefore, if we can increase this experience, individualize it, personalize it, there is hope that we can reduce the number of failures, the number of drop-outs and increase the number of students who are having a happy and satisfactory educational experience in our schools.

It is unrealistic to direct failing students into the mainstream of society and at the same time expect those eighteen years of failure to produce adults who will succeed and who will profit our society—intellectually, morally or financially.

We are looking ahead to the future. We are proud of our success in the 1966 camp and the 1967 camp. We are confident that based on these past successes, a camp during the summer of 1968 will be equally successful.

The Favorable "Feedback"

At the conclusion of the 1966 camp, students were asked to write their comments about the camp as a summer educational experience.

At the close of the 1967 camp, the camp staff itself was asked for comments regarding individual student attitudes, accomplishments, behavior and the like.

All remarks reflected favorable observations. Many were much alike. Some of the typical comments, together with a letter from the principal of one of the district schools follow:

"Resented authority when session began, but improved considerably by the end of camp."

"Has become an outstanding leader."

"Improved tremendously by this summer's experience."

"Pugnacious attitude disappeared."

"Most improved student in this year's group."

"Depressed and frustrated when session began. Grew scholastically as well as socially. Developed leadership qualities."

"Shows leadership potential not evident when camp began."

"Realizes limitations, but has developed self-confidence, poise."

"Disinterested in education at first, but developed an enthusiastic attitude."

WAPATO HIGH SCHOOL,
November 27, 1967.

EDGAR FOX,
Director, Tribal Community Action Program,
Yakima Indian Agency,
Toppenish, Wash.

DEAR MR. FOX: I certainly hope that it will be possible to hold a Remedial Education Camp again this year.

My association with the program during the summer and again during this school year has shown the amount of growth displayed by these young Indian children who attended camp this year and last.

Their reluctance to communicate with their teachers has diminished. Their attendance and interest in school work has improved, as has their grades.

Perhaps most noticeable has been the change in attitude by these young people with regards to relationships with their non-Indian peers. They seem a little less inclined to remain apart and they do enter into school activities.

Again, I hope this type of program can be continued.

Sincerely,

JACK W. BUNNELL,
Vice Principal, Wapato High School.

INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS

Science Research Associates, Chicago, Illinois:
    Computational Skills Laboratory.
    Reading Laboratories IIa, IIb, IIIa.
    Pilot Libraries IIa and IIc.
    Cross Number Puzzles.
    Reading for Understanding:
        General Edition.
        Junior Edition.
Harr Wagner Publishing Co., San Francisco, California:
    The Jim Forest Readers.
    The Deep Sea Adventures Series.
    The Morgan Boy Mysteries.
    The Wild Life Series.
Garrard Publishing Co., Champaign, Illinois:
    Dolch First Reading Books.
    Dolch Basic Vocabulary Books.
    Dolch Folklore of the World Books.
    Pleasure Reading Books.
Reader's Digest Services, Inc., Pleasantville, N.Y.:
    Reader's Digest Skill Builders.
    Reading Ability, Grade Levels 1 to 8.
J. B. Lippincott Co., New York, New York: Reading for Meaning, Grade 6 to 8.
American Book Co., New York, New York: Webster's Elementary Dictionary.
Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., Chicago, Illinois: Britannica Junior.
Wilcox and Follett Co., Chicago, Illinois:
    Learning English.
    Learning Your Language.
    Skills in Arithmetic.
Games:
    Ed-U-Cards Mfg. Corp., Long Island City, N.Y.:
        Arithmetic Can Be Fun Games.
        Multiplication and Division.
        Addition and Subtraction.
    Kenworthy Educational Service Inc.:
        Doghouse Game—Phonics.
        Phonic Rummy.
    Milton Bradley Co.: Quizmo—addition and subtraction game.

SUGGESTED MATERIALS TO ENRICH FUTURE PROGRAMS

Follett Publishing Co., Chicago, Illinois: Learning Your Language, Jack Abramowitz, editor. (Be sure to order reprints of questions in text—they are in workbook form and are cheap in long run.)
Science Research Associates, Chicago, Illinois:
    SRA Multilevel, tracked achievement tests.
    Spelling Laboratories, IIIa and IIb.
Ginn & Co., New York, N.Y.: A Programmed Approach to Writing, Books I and II.
Follett Publishing Co., Chicago, Illinois: Slow-Learner Series, Jack Abramowitz, editor:
    World History Study Lessons.
    Study Lessons in Our Nation's History.
Grosset and Dunlap Publishers, New York, N.Y.: The Illustrated Junior Library (and other collections of classified novels).

THE WEEK'S MENU

The menu following is one used for the entire six-weeks period. Children left the campsite at mid-Friday afternoon, so that no Friday evening meal was planned. They returned to the campsite after breakfast on Monday morning, thus no plans were made for breakfast on that morning.

(Menu follows:)

MENU

	Breakfast	Lunch	Dinner
Monday:		Chili con carne Crackers Assorted cold meat sandwiches Carrot sticks Canned pears Milk, cookies	Baked ham Boiled potatoes Green string beans Lettuce-carrot-raisins salad Bread and butter Applesauce Milk
Tuesday:	Orange juice Cooked oatmeal Scrambled eggs with ham Buttered toast Milk, Cocoa	Roast beef Mashed potatoes with gravy Buttered peas Tossed green salad Bread and butter Applesauce Milk, cookies	Meat loaf Scalloped potatoes Tomato slices, carrot sticks Pickles Bread and butter Apricots Spice cake, milk
Wednesday:	Tomato juice Hotcakes and syrup Bacon and eggs Assorted cold cereal Milk	Beef stew with vegetables Molded fruit salad Bread and butter Canned peaches Cake, milk	Spaghetti with ground beef and tomato sauce Buttered green beans Tossed vegetable salad Bread and butter Milk, cookies
Thursday:	Stewed prunes Cooked cereal (oatmeal, milk) Scrambled eggs Toast and jam Milk, cocoa	Fried chicken Parsleyed potatoes Corn on the cob Carrot-celery-raisin salad Sweet pickles Bread and butter and jam Milk, date bars	Vegetable-chicken soup Crackers Peanut butter and honey sandwiches or cold meat sandwiches Carrot sticks Fruit, cookies, milk
Friday:	Tomato juice Assorted cold cereals French toast Butter and jam or syrup Milk, cocoa	Baked macaroni and tuna casserole Tossed green salad Bread and butter Canned fruit Milk, cookies	

THE CANDID CAMERA AT WORK

Some of the various activities of the summer camp are shown on the following pages. The cameraman caught some students taking the California Achievement Test, some in nature study, others receiving individual instruction from members of the camp staff.

Some of the camp staff are shown in conference to evaluate the day's events or to prepare for the following day.

THE MOTION PICTURE CAMERA AT WORK

During the Remedial Education Program at Camp Chaparral in the summer of 1967, a colored, 16mm motion picture film was taken. The 32-minute film depicts the entire camp operation.

For additional information on this film contact The Yakima Tribal Council, CAP Office, P.O. Box 632, Toppenish, Washington 98948.

Pps. 2071 through 2075 deleted because of non-reproducibility

STUDENT AGREEMENT FORM

(Tribal Education Camp)

I fully understand that the purpose of this educational camp program is education and not recreation; that while I am at Camp Chaparral the Yakima Tribe will expect me to work hard on my studies, to follow the directions and regulations of the camp staff.

____
(Students's signature)

I approve of my child's enrollment in the Yakima Tribal Education Camp; of any necessary medical attention in case of an emergency. I understand that my child is expected to follow the directions and regulations of the camp staff.

____
(Signature of parent or guardian)

The Tribal Community Action Committee accepts the above named student for enrollment in the Yakima Tribal Education Camp.

____
(Stanley Smartlowit, Chairman of Tribal Community Action Committee)

PLANNED FOLLOW-UP FORMS (SUMMER REMEDIAL EDUCATION CAMP)

Name: ________________________________
Birth date: ________________________________
Sex: ________________________________
School: ________________________________
Grade: ________________________________
Date of report: ________________________________
Recent grades:
  Reading ________________________ ______
  Arithmetic-Mathematics ________________________ ______
  English ________________________ ______
  Others ________________________ ______
  ______________________________ ______
  ______________________________ ______

Comments of School Personnel

1. Attitudes toward school (cooperation, initiative, responsibility, etc.):

2. Social adjustment (peer relationships, observed social behavior, etc.):

3. Assets and liabilities:

4. Recommendations:

NOTE.—The information in this report is considered confidential. It will be used only to aid in the student's educational adjustment. Responsibility for confidentiality rests with the holder.

AMERICAN INDIAN CIVIL LIBERTIES TRUST,
Washington, D.C., August 15, 1967.

To Esteemed Friends of the American Indian:

On September 7, 1966 the Commissioner of Indian Affairs called upon the tribes to meet with him in nine regional areas for discussion of legislation and other matters of immediate concern to them.

As a service to the tribes and to others interested in Indian affairs this Trust sponsored the review and analysis of the recommendations made by tribes and committees to the Commissioner. This involved the examination of voluminous reports emanating from the nine regional areas. For the analysis we are indebted to the diligence and scholarship of Dr. Deward E. Walker, Jr. recently of Washington State University and now of the University of Idaho.

From the limited number of copies available for free distribution, we are sending you the enclosed for such study and use as you may deem appropriate.

ROBERT B. JIM, *Vice Chairman.*

Enclosure.

AMERICAN INDIAN CIVIL LIBERTIES TRUST,
Washington, D.C., August 15, 1967.

To Presiding Officers of Tribal Governing Bodies:

Here is a copy of an analysis of the recommendations made by tribes and committees to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at nine regional meetings last year.

We cannot but feel that the recommendations came from the heart and represented what the tribes need, what their conditions are, and what they think should be done by the congress and the government. As one long involved in tribal affairs and in Indian legislation, I agree with associates on the Yakima Tribal Council that here for the first time in this way we see a true picture of the Indian situation throughout the country and the action that should be taken by the congress and the executive departments to fill needs and to meet the problems which cry out for solution.

From these recommendations and their analysis, we see our own situation in clearer perspective. We see what legislation we should seek and what laws should be amended or repealed. We see how the government could help so that we may make best use of our human and natural resources. Above all, we see the areas of common interest on which we may present a united front.

You are requested to go over the analysis carefully upon receipt to see whether there are any discrepancies or errors in the statements of the recommendations or facts assigned to your tribe. In view of the voluminous reports and facts examined and correlated by computer and by personal review within the time available, misstatements are inevitable. Please report any misstatements promptly to Dr. Deward E. Walker, Jr. in the Department of Social Sciences of the University of Idaho for inclusion in an errata sheet which will be circulated among all holders of the analysis if it is deemed advisable.

The analysis was well done by Dr. Walker, and we hope it will serve you as well in the preparation of representations to the congress and the executive departments. We have before us H.R. 10560 and S. 1816, the "Omnibus Bill," and other bills are in the till and will be coming up. On invitation of the Commissioner we got together, and we should stay together by intertribal communication and by concerted action in matters of common interest.

From the limited number of copies printed for free distribution, we are happy to provide you with this copy.

ROBERT B. JIM, *Vice Chairman.*

EXCERPTS FROM THE NORTHWEST ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH NOTES,
FALL 1967

Published by the Department of Anthropology, Washington State University,
Pullman, Wash.

AN EXAMINATION OF AMERICAN INDIAN REACTION TO PROPOSALS OF THE COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS FOR GENERAL LEGISLATION, 1967

By Deward E. Walker, Jr., Associate Professor of Anthropology, Sociology/
Anthropology, University of Idaho, Moscow, Idaho

FOREWORD

This study reflects a growing anthropological interest in contemporary Indian affairs. It is being published in *NARN* in the hope that it will stimulate further interest among anthropologists in the Indian as he is *now*. Too long has anthropology concentrated on what the Indian was rather than what he is. Broad statistical surveys of contemporary Indian societies such as this study seem particularly useful at this time. Not only do they provide useful descriptive data, but they provide important clues for accultural studies. Clearly any study of contemporary American Indians or their acculturation that ignores federal and state relationships, the principal topic of this study, must be regarded as limited. The common assumption that American Indian societies are independent entities, capable of analytic isolation from external ties for the sake of study probably is invalid for most groups at this point in time. Today the Bureau of Indian Affairs and other federal and state agencies exert profound influences on virtually all aspects of reservation Indian life. It is hoped that this study will further our understanding of this neglected aspect of American Indian studies.

THE EDITORS.

PREFACE

This study is sponsored by the American Indian Civil Liberties Trust. Particular appreciation is due Dr. Paschal Sherman and Mr. Robert Jim, officers of the American Indian Civil Liberties Trust, whose great patience and kind assistance in locating rare Bureau of Indian Affairs documentary materials has facilitated the research greatly.

The many hours spent by my wife, Barbara Walker, Linda Brew, Dorothy Kammer, Victor Matthews, and Joanne Peterson have contributed substantially to the study. Without their combined assistance, many additional months would have been required. Essential facilities have been provided by the Washington State University Computer Center and Department of Anthropology.

On September 7, 1966 the Commissioner of Indian Affairs called upon the tribes to meet with him in nine areas throughout the United States for discussion of measures, including general legislation, to resolve Indian problems. The recommendations by tribes, committees and intertribal groups at the area meetings between the Government and the Indians form the subject matter of this study. It is hoped that it will help remove some of the confusion so often encountered in the relationships between Indian people and state and federal governments.

D. E. W.

FINDINGS AND INTERPRETATION

Introduction

This study has three goals. The first is to perform a content analysis of all the recommendations made by tribes, committees, and intertribal groups at the various area meetings held to resolve Indian problems. The second is to discover some of the major determinants of the various types of recommendations made by the tribes participating in the meetings. The final goal is to compare the Bureau of Indian Affairs summary or recommendations and the Indian Resources Development Act with the recommendations made to determine to what extent Indian recommendations were taken into consideration.

At different times before, during, and after the area meetings the Bureau of Indian Affairs has come up with drafts for an "Indian Resources Development Act of 1967" hereafter referred to as the omnibus bill. The draft ideas were crystallized in S. 1816 (see Appendix 5) introduced May 18, 1967 in the Senate, but because of time limitations it was necessary to compare our findings with the earlier draft of 12/14/66 (see Appendix 5). However, there are important differences between the draft of 12/14/66 and S. 1816 introduced by Senator Jackson on 5/18/67 which should be noted. First, the substantial increase in the revolving loan fund to a figure of $500 million clearly reflects Indian recommendations as will be seen in this study. Likewise the changes in the property management certificates reflect Indian wishes as does most of the section on heirship. The Indian recommendations made at the various area meetings suggest that section 309 of S. 1816 (section 301 of the 12/14/66 draft) dealing with the escheatage of inheritable interests worth less than $100.00 will be unacceptable to some tribes. Many tribes unequivocally state that they wish to see heirship problems settled on a reservation basis and not by national legislation. Generally when compared with the recommendations made by Indians at the area meetings S. 1816 appears meager in terms of the range of topics considered. As will be seen from this study legislation is desired on many topics other than the Indian Development Land Authority, Corporations, Management, and Indian Property, and the several miscellaneous items considered in S. 1816. On the other hand, most will agree that S. 1816 is a marked improvement over the earlier draft of 12/14/66.

TABLE 1.—FREQUENCY OF RECOMMENDATIONS BY INDIANS TO THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT ACCORDING TO TYPES FOR TRIBES AND AREAS[1]

Recommendations	By tribes		By areas		Totals	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Political organizations	43	3	14	3	57	3
Termination	44	3	10	2	54	3
Bureau of Indian Affairs	98	7	37	7	137	7
Treaty rights	34	2	13	3	47	3
Law and order	80	6	27	5	107	6
Taxation	8	1	5	0	13	0
Community physical development	195	14	61	12	256	13
Community social development	204	14	103	20	307	16
Elementary through college education	178	13	63	12	241	12
Adult and vocational education	65	5	24	5	89	5
Claims Commission	54	[illegible]	14	3	68	3
Heirship	52	3	39	7	91	5
Industrial development	119	9	44	8	163	8
Land consolidation	61	4	7	0	68	3
Credit	69	5	24	5	93	5
Employment	45	3	28	5	73	4
Resource development	68	5	13	3	81	4
Total	1,417	100	526	100	1,943	100

[1] Although the statistical computations for this study were calculated with a total of 1,943 recommendations, the later addition of some 7 recommendations to the inventory gives an actual total of 1,950 by our count. It is possible that another content analysis of the materials would give a slightly different total because of varying interpretations concerning the distinctiveness of recommendations. However, we are convinced that a separate analysis would yield a total very close to the 1,950 figure. The tribal recommendations are recommendations officially submitted by tribal governing bodies, whereas the area recommendations include the recommendations made at the area meetings called by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs as well as the recommendations made by the several intertribal organizations indicated in app. 1.

In order to deal with the approximately 1,950 separate recommendations made at the area meetings (see Table 1), they have been organized into six major categories. These are: Political Relationships, Community Development, Education, Claims and Land Repossession, Heirship, and Economic Development. Each is subdivided as necessary to account for the various kinds of recommendations made. The seventeen subdivisions may be seen in the inventory of recommendations contained in Appendix 2. The primary factors guiding us in selecting the categories are the headings used by those making recommendations. Whether made at the area meetings (the two Alaska area meetings were merged) or by the tribes, recommendations clearly fall into a limited number of categories. Every discernible recommendation made has been included, and the wording has been preserved wherever possible. In a few instances where several recommendations were given in one lengthy statement, they have been separated. However, there has been little, if any, increase or decrease in the actual number made or in their meaning. My contribution in inventorying the recommendations has been primarily one of summary and organization. Of course, it is possible that in a few instances the precise meaning originally intended has not been preserved. However, extensive rechecking suggests that this is rare. Where some deviation from the originally intended meaning is detected by the reader, a note to me to this effect would be appreciated.

Where reservations have more than one tribe, we have regarded them as one unit. This is necessary because of the second goal of this study, i.e., to correlate types and frequencies of recommendations with selected vital statistics to ascertain some of the reasons why given groups are more concerned about certain matters than others; in virtually all cases, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Public Health Service, and other vital statistics are given only for reservations and not for particular tribes. Therefore, for example, recommendations made by either the Apache, Kiowa, or Comanche are listed under the same heading. The list of reservation groups and their code numbers considered here may be seen in Appendix 1. This list indicates that area recommendations are kept separate from tribal recommendations. It has not been practical to indicate the particular area committee making a given recommendation, because committee members rarely "stuck to the subject." For exaple, recommendations on termination are made by members of several different committees at the Spokane meeting. Similarly, recommendations on treaty rights are made by members of the heirship committee. Since most of the Alaska recommendations are made by isolated villages, these are lumped under a single "tribal" heading. Alaskan Villages, with the exception of the Tlingit-Haida. Finally, recommendations made by the regional, multitribal groups such as the Western Washington Intertribal Council and the Great Lakes Intertribal Council are regarded as area recommendations as indicated in Appendix 1.

The background statistics available for this study leave something to be desired. In some instances they are out of date and given the impression of being estimates. However, the bulk of the statistics actually used were recent, i.e., colected since 1950, and, therefore, are reasonably accurate. Hopefully, more up to date and precise statistical descriptions of reservations will be made available to the public by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the future. Particularly unfortunate is the unavailability of most customary Bureau of Indian Affairs statistics for the Alaskan groups. Because of this, the correlational analysis does not take the Alaskan groups into consideration. Nevertheless, the recommendations made by Alaskan groups are listed in the inventory of recommendations seen in Appendix 2.

The Recommendations

The following summary is intended to convey only general interests present in the recommendations. For specific interests, the reader is referred to the inventory in Appendix 2. Because of their general nature, occasional exceptions to this general summary are to be expected. Nevertheless, we regard the following as an accurate reflection of the recommendations.

Recommendations on political relationships (1) (see Appendix 2) are numerous but fall under two major headings, political organization of tribes (11) and political interrelationships with federal and state governments (12. Approximately twenty-one percent of all recommendations are found under these two headings with a majority under the latter. The principal types of recommendations under these two headings may be seen in the guide to recommendations contained in Appendix 2. They are as follows. The groups recommend that

1) there be continued and/or increased tribal independence of political initiative.
2) there be new and improved rolls and constitutions.
3) there be stronger financial support of tribal governments.
4) there be improved training programs for tribal political leaders.

Principal interests of tribes and area committees making recommendations concerning their political interrelationships with federal and state governments are as follows. They recommend that

1) there be no termination of federal supervision, and where it is already underway, that its pace be slowed and/or that continuation of the tribal entity be insured after federal supervision is withdrawn. The only tribe officially desiring termination is severely divided over the matter.
2) there be major changes in Bureau of Indian Affairs decision making procedures and communications with tribes.
3) the BIA not be replaced but become more amendable to cooperation with tribes.
4) more control be given to area directors and particularly reservation superintendents in order to accelerate decision making.
5) Bureau of Indian Affairs personnel be more receptive and respectful of Indians and that tribes have a greater voice in selecting Bureau of Indian Affairs personnel for their reservations.
6) numerous, specific Bureau of Indian Affairs problems be adjusted immediately.
7) states not be permitted to extend control over reservations in any respect, except where specifically requested by tribes concerned.
8) *all* treaty rights be respected and that the federal and state erosion of these rights be halted immediately.
9) all "grey areas" in treaty rights be clarified to the benefit of tribes.
10) all hunting, fishing, and water rights be preserved.
11) treaty guaranteed tax exemptions be enforced.
12) numerous, specific treaty rights problems be resolved as soon as possible.
13) tribes be in control of law enforcement on reservations and that states not be permitted to extend jurisdiction over them through Public Law 280 except where specifically requested by tribes concerned.
14) special attention be given to problems of discrimination and juvenile delinquency.
15) there be improved and expanded police, court systems, and law enforcement facilities.

16) tribal police have control over non-Indians as well as Indians on reservations and that there be uniform law codes on all reservations.

17) numerous, specific law and order problems be resolved as soon as possible.

18) comprehensive reservation tax schemes be drawn up to enable tribal governments to draw tax support for their operations.

Recommendations on community development (2) (see Appendix 2) also are numerous and fall under two major headings, community physical development (21) and community social development (22). Approximately twenty-nine percent of all recommendations are found under these two headings with a slight majority under the latter. The principal types of recommendations under these two headings may be seen in the guide to recommendations contained in Appendix 2. They are as follows. The groups recommend that

1) many new roads be constructed and that present roads be improved to facilitate overall economic development of reservations.

2) road programs be better funded and in several cases that Bureau of Indian Affairs programs be integrated with county and state programs.

3) harbors and airstrips be developed on a large scale, particularly in Alaska.

4) improved fire prevention and suppression systems be provided.

5) water, sanitation and irrigation systems be expanded and/or developed and that present programs be funded more adequately.

6) water resources be protected from state and local encroachment and pollution.

7) numerous water and sanitation systems be established as soon as possible.

8) all eligibility regulations of Bureau of Indian Affairs housing programs be changed to permit participation by all families who need housing and to enable them to build houses wherever they choose.

9) construction of a house under the Bureau of Indian Affairs program should not cancel welfare eligibility.

10) the funds for house construction be expanded substantially and include provisions for house improvement as well as construction.

11) other agencies besides the Bureau of Indian Affairs be drawn into the program to help finance more houses.

12) numerous housing programs be initiated (or expanded) as soon as possible.

Principal interests of tribes and area committees making recommendations on community social development are as follows. The groups recommend that

1) native arts and crafts be preserved and stimulated through special Bureau of Indian Affairs programs, community centers and other techniques such as reservation fairs.

2) public relations and communications be improved with non-Indians in surrounding communities to reduce discrimination.

3) technical assistance be provided to get Indian people more involved in community civic and recreational programs.

4) communication facilities such as telephones and newspapers be developed.

5) the substantial social and geographic isolation of many Indian communities be reduced by whatever means necessary.

6) planning and coordination of the various Indian health programs be improved.

7) health insurance programs be initiated and/or expanded.

8) flexible programs be developed in prenatal, dental and old age medical care with mobile clinics where necessary.

9) medical personnel be increased and provided on a population basis particularly in such specialties as nutrition, sanitation, and alcoholism.

10) medical personnel not be moved so frequently and have special training in Indian cultural patterns.

11) more funds be provided for all medical programs.

12) eligibility for medical care be changed to include all Indian people.

13) numerous medical facilities such as clinics and hospitals be expanded and/or provided where needed, as soon as possible.

14) special care be given to elimination of alcoholism on reservations and facilities to that end be provided wherever necessary.

15) welfare programs be better coordinated so that federal, state, and local assistance all will be available to the Indian where needed.

16) welfare programs be expanded in terms of problems covered (medical care, dental care, etc.) and eligibility (children, adults, and particularly, the elderly, wherever they live).

17) more dedicated and better trained welfare workers be assigned to Indian areas.

18) funds in welfare programs be increased to a level sufficient to satisfy the great needs.

19) numerous welfare facilities requested be provided immediately.

Recommendations on education (3) (see Appendix 2) also fall under two major headings; elementary through college education (31) and adult and vocational education (32). Approximately seventeen percent of all recommendations are found under these two headings with a great majority under the former. The principal types of recommendations under these two headings may be seen in the guide to recommendations contained in Appendix 2. They are as follows. The groups recommend that

1) Bureau of Indian Affairs eligibility barriers be lowered so all Indian students can attend any accredited school or college of their choice.

2) boarding schools be expanded to take care of the numerous Indian students who wish to attend them.

3) the Bureau of Indian Affairs establish a permanent advisory body composed of education experts to deal with the many problems of Indian education.

4) the Johnson-O'Mally Act remain in force and that there be aid to all accredited schools educating Indian students.

5) special personnel be hired to handle education problems in both the school *and* homes of Indian students.

6) the transfer of Indian education from the Bureau of Indian Affairs to Health, Education, and Welfare not be implemented, if at all, until there has been a full discussion of the matter and consent by all concerned.

7) the curriculum in Indian schools be designed to educate the Indian for the world in which he lives and particularly to give him pride in his cultural background.

8) sufficient funds be provided to expand and improve Indian education on all fronts, particularly in the area of scholarships.

9) special care be exercised in selecting counselors and teachers for Indian schools and adequate compensation be paid to attract and retain the best possible personnel.

10) remedial scholastic and athletic programs and kindergartens be established; if the Office of Economic Opportunity stops the Headstart Program, the Bureau of Indian Affairs should continue it.

11) major efforts be made to correct the truancy and drop out problem.

12) every effort be made to increase community involvement in schools and education generally.

13) numerous new educational facilities be established. A particularly large number of responses recommended that the unsatisfactory conditions in the Mt. Edgecumbe, Stewart, Fort Sill, and Riverside schools be alleviated immediately.

14) the number of vocational training programs should be increased and established ones expanded.

15) vocational training should take place close to home and in Indian communities if possible.

16) action be taken immediately to satisfy a number of specific requests for new vocational education programs, renewal of discontinued programs, and expansion of present programs.

Recommendations on claims and land repossession (4) (see Appendix 2) although important, are meager when compared with the foregoing topics, comprising about three percent of all recommendations made. The principal types of recommendations under these headings may be seen in the guide to recommendations contained in Appendix 2. They are as follows. The groups recommend that

1) the Indian Claims Commission be continued until all tribal claims are settled.

2) termination or the threat of termination in no way affect tribal claims or the disposition of judgment money.

3) procedures be established to enable tribes without adequate funds or organization to prosecute their claims.

4) the affected governmental agencies take a more positive view towards tribal claims.

5) restrictions be lifted on tribal use of judgment funds for economic development and related projects.

6) procedures be established for equitable distribution of judgment funds.

7) all lands belonging to tribes through treaties but which are in disputed ownership be returned to the appropriate tribes as soon as possible.

8) numerous, specific land repossession requests be satisfied as soon as possible.

Recommendations on heirship (5) (see Appendix 2) also are meager when compared with recommendations on such topics as community development or political relationships, i.e., approximately five percent. Nevertheless, the sense of the recommendations, as with the preceding group on claims and land repossession, suggests that they are of the greatest importance to the tribes and area committees making them. Principal interests of those making recommendations under this heading may be seen in the guide to recommendations contained in Appendix 2. They are as follows. The groups recommend that

1) sufficient funds be appropriated to enable tribes to buy fractionated lands in multiple ownership so they will not be lost to Indian ownership.

2) Indians should be given preference in purchasing fractionated lands.

3) Indians and tribes be permitted to buy trust lands with any money, not just trust money.

4) procedures be established to enable tribal or individual Indians to purchase fractionated lands, but that these be tailored to the peculiar conditions of each reservation.

5) there can be no simple, uniform solution to heirship problems.

6) procedures be established to ensure continuation of Indian ownership of reservation lands and to halt the present rapid reduction of Indian land resources.

7) trust arrangements be continued, that fee patent and all other lands be open to purchase by individuals or tribes and be eligible for trust status, and that tribes have authority over all reservation land sales.

8) numerous, specific requests for solution of heirship problems be satisfied as soon as possible.

Recommendations on economic development (6) (see Appendix 2) are numerous, comprising approximately twenty-four percent of all recommendations made. They are of several major types; i.e., industrial development, land consolidation, credit, employment, and resource development (see the guide to recommendations contained in Appendix 2 for further subdivisions). Principal interests of tribes and area committees making recommendations on industrial development are as follows. They recommend that

1) master plans for industrial development be drawn up, to include information on particular tribal resources, tax incentives, and other means of attracting industry, and that these be oriented entirely to the benefit of the Indian. Numerous requests were made for human resource surveys.

2) skilled personnel be obtained by the BIA and other governmental agencies to facilitate industrial development.

3) full encouragement, assistance, and freedom from restrictions be given by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to tribes interested in industrial development.

4) where necessary, adequate funds for stimulating and funding industrial development be provided from federal and other agencies.

5) the Bureau of Indian Affairs aggressively pursue a program of industrial development of reservations, preparing them for industrial development through physical improvements such as industrial parks and dissemination of information to tribes on all topics relevant to industrial development.

6) tribal members be given all the training necessary to enable them to manage industrial development.

7) tribes be granted corporation status upon request of the governing body and empowered to borrow funds and conduct all business essential to industrial development.

8) numerous, specific requests for assistance relating to industrial development be satisfied immediately.

Principal interests of tribes and area committees making recommendations on land consolidation are as follows. The groups recommend that

1) improved procedures be established to facilitate land transactions connected with consolidation of land resources and land leasing.

2) Indians have final authority in land transactions.

3) present land lease inequities be eliminated and that all leasable land be leased immediately to the Indians' benefit.

4) the duration of land leases be lengthened.

5) greater flexibility be observed with respect to individual leesees and that the Bureau of Indian Affairs make all leases in the Indians' interest.

6) Indians should be granted preference over non-Indians in land leasing.

7) numerous, specific requests for land leasing and consolidation be satisfied as soon as possible.

Principal interests of tribes and area committees making recommendations on credit are as follows. The groups recommend that

1) the revolving fund be expanded.

2) loan procedures be streamlined and requests implemented more rapidly.

3) loan procedures should be modified to fit the peculiar conditions of the Indian such as extreme poverty, lack of collateral, etc.

4) present interest rates charged Indians be lowered.

5) all tribes and individuals be empowered to negotiate loans.

6) loan funds be established wherever there is a demonstrated need, particularly in industrial development and that all government and private financial agencies be utilized.

7) loan guarantee programs are essential.

8) numerous, specific loan, credit and related requests be satisfied as soon as possible.

Principal interests of tribes and area committees making recommendations on employment are as follows. The groups recommend that

1) industries be decentralized and moved into Indian areas to provide employment.

2) wage rates be elevated and hiring discrimination be eliminated by whatever means necessary.

3) information be gathered on job skills and employment patterns to aid in promoting employment.

4) improved employment assistance programs be developed which consider the Indians' peculiar needs and that communication of employment information be expanded.

5) employment assistance be provided to all Indians regardless of present eligibility barriers.

6) Indians should be given employment preference in Bureau of Indian Affairs positions and in tribally related construction and industries.

7) Indians should be given special encouragement to advance themselves in the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

8) numerous, special employment requests be satisfied as soon as possible.

Principal interests of tribes making recommendations on resource development are as follows. The groups recommend that

1) maximal development of agricultural lands be undertaken immediately.

2) provisions be made to ensure adequate agricultural training and technical assistance at the local level.

3) more tribal control be granted over agricultural, grazing, and other resource exploitation and development.

4) adequate funds be provided to ensure resource development where desired.

5) water systems be expanded, purified and established where desired.

6) irrigation systems be expanded and improved as desired.

7) tribal mineral rights be extended indefinitely and that surveys be conducted to determine the nature and extent of mineral resources.

8) construction of access roads and adequate surveys be undertaken to facilitate exploitation of timber resources.

9) timber resources be developed so as to provide tribal income and Indian employment.

10) recreational developments be undertaken wherever feasible.

Certain emphases stand out particularly clearly in the recommendations. The very widespread opposition to termination of federal supervision over reservations is reinforced by an equally common desire for greater independence from the Bureau of Indian Affairs and other external authority, particularly in political affairs and legal matters such as Public Law 280. This desire for independence is reinforced by a very strong desire for self-improvement through social and economic development. However, the desire does not envision the phasing out of the Bureau of Indian Affairs to become merely a coordinating agency with responsibility for Indians shifting to other federal agencies and to the state. Implicit in the recommendations is the expectation that any grant of greater authority to the tribes would be accompanied by a corresponding extension of services, aids and protection by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The fact that approximately three-fourths of the recommendations are in areas linked with social and economic development (see Table I) cannot be dismissed lightly. It is clear that the bulk of the groups making recommendations envision self-improvement in terms of reservation development, and the common concern with claims, heirship, and treaty rights is further confirmation of the Indian conviction that a land base and corporation status are essential to this end.

Determinants of the Recommendations

As part of the effort to determine some of the more important factors influencing groups to make numerous recommendations on particular subjects, we have gathered a number of background statistics. At first we hoped to perform an analysis of both tribal and area responses in this regard, but the small number of areas and their great heterogeneity with respect to most background statistics made the latter unfeasible. Very few conclusions can be drawn with regard to area patterns aside from a few descriptive observations such as the fact that the Southwest is concerned more with irrigation, water, and mineral rights, whereas the Northwest is concerned more with timber and hunting and fishing rights. Nevertheless, it is clear that the strong associations between such factors as the size of the land base or population and making numerous recommendations of several types can be used in certain instances by those who wish to infer patterns typical of particular areas.

The background statistics used in this study may be seen in Appendix 3 and include such things as size of population, amount of land, treaty status, etc. Selection of these variables hinged on several considerations, not the least of which was the availability of information. Another was their presumed close relationship to the recommendations. For example, the great concern with social and economic development of reservations can reasonably be thought to relate casually to factors such as income, education, land, population, and resources. Finally, and in order to account for as many unknown relationships as possible, we collected any additional statistics which seemed potentially though not necessarily closely related to the recommendations in light of our own experience and that of others who have studied contemporary American Indian societies, e.g., Brophy and Aberle (1966).

Once the background statistics were collected, coded and punched onto IBM cards, they were cross tabulated to determine what, if any, relationships existed among them. The results of this cross tabulation of what are properly termed independent variables may be seen in Appendix 4. This step was essential to isolate those groups of background statistical features commonly occurring together, e.g., large population and large land base. Interpretation of the relationships between the recommendations and the background statistical features of the tribes making the recommendations is greatly aided by this procedure. For example, as may be seen in Appendix 4, those tribes having large populations tend to have treaties, more land, high levels of education, more health facilities, and tribal government. Not surprisingly, there also is a close relationship between the amount of total land, tribal land, individual land, and government land held on reservations. Likewise, those reservations possessing high blood quanta levels generally have large land holdings. Further, those reservations possessing grazing land resources tend to have large populations, large land bases, high blood quanta levels, more health facilities, and mineral resources, but as may be seen in Appendix 4 also, few have timber resources. Those possessing farm land resources also tend to have high blood quanta levels, more health facilities, tribal government, mineral resources, and, not surprisingly, grazing land resources. Those possessing mineral resources tend to have low incomes, low education, and high blood quanta levels. Therefore, if a given type of recommendation is strongly associated with large land holdings in Appendix 4, it cannot be assumed that it is strongly associated with only this background feature. It could be strongly associated with any or all of the background features associated with large land holdings. Similarly, a strong association between a given recommendation and possession of grazing land resources could be linked to any or all of the features associated with possession of grazing land. In view of such complicating factors and limited time for analysis, the conclusions reached concerning why given types of tribes stress particular kinds of recommendations obviously are open to occasional exceptions. Nevertheless, it is clear that a more intensive statistical analysis would further validate the conclusions reached here.

The second cross tabulation was performed to detect any multiple associations among the dependent variables, i.e., the recommendations made by each tribe under the seventeen subdivisions of the six major types of recommendations listed in both Appendix 4 and the guide to recommendations contained in Appendix 2. For example, it may be seen in Appendix 4 that tribes making numerous recommendations on political organization also tend to make numerous recommendations on such topics as termination, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, law and order, community social and physical development, land consolidation, credit, and employment. However, a concern with termination is paramount among the vast majority of tribes making recommendations, correlating highly with virtually all other types of recommendations. Numerous recommendations on land consolidation is positively associated with all but three of the seventeen types of recommendations. As may be seen it is negatively associated only with adult and vocational education, and unassociated with community physical development and claims commission.

As may be seen also in Appendix 4, frequent recommendations on elementary through college education are strongly associated with twelve of the seventeen types of recommendations considered. Of the remaining four, associations are apparent but not statistically significant. Again this indicates, among other things, a widespread concern with elementary through college education among all groups making recommendations. On the other hand, numerous recommendations on adult and vocational education is associated strongly only with numerous recommendations on elementary through college education and termination. A concern with community social development is associated strongly with numerous recommendations on all but five of the seventeen types of recommendations considered. Particularly obvious is the unusually strong association between numerous recommendations on the social development of the community and numerous recommendations on elementary through college education. Numerous recommendations on law and order as well as credit also are strongly associated with many other types of recommendations.

The strong, multiple associations among the various types of recommendations suggest an internal complexity equal to that detected among the background statistics on each tribe discussed above. Clearly a concern with community social development or education, as indicated by the number of recommendations on these topics, cannot be considered in isolation. Appendix 4 clearly indicates that there is a cluster of strongly interrelated interests present in the body of recommendations which can be described well as twin concerns with reducing unduly restrictive external control and implementing basic social and economic development.

Given these complex internal interrelationships among the background statistics on the one hand and among the recommendations on the other, what then may be said about interrelationships between the background statistics and the recommendations? Is it possible to conclude that certain types of tribes make certain types of recommendations more often than other types? As may be seen from Appendix 4, there are few unusually strong associations between the various types of recommendations on the one hand and the background statistics on the other. Nevertheless, there are a number of very suggestive associations. For example, it is clear from Appendix 4 that there is a strong association between groups making numerous recommendations on political organization and groups possessing large government land holdings on their reservations. In other words, as government land holdings on reservations increase, there tends to be a similar increase in the number of recommendations made on political organization. The reasons for this strong association may lie in the fact that large government land holdings also are associated strongly with a cluster of recommendations on such topics as community social development, credit, and employment. However, the cluster of strong associations among large government land holdings, large overall land area, and large populations provides a more reasonable explanation. In essence those groups that have large populations and land holdings are concerned with perfecting the political means of administering and developing them. It will be remembered that the bulk of the recommendations on political organization summarized above deal with increasing the strength and effectiveness of tribal governments.

The strong association between making numerous recommendations on termination and having timber resources probably reflects the fact that many Northwestern tribes, most of whom possess timber resources, have been much disturbed by the recent termination of the Klamath and the pending termination of the Colville, both located in the Northwest. However, the fact that possession of timber resources also is strongly associated with making numerous recommendations on taxation and treaty rights suggests that another link between timber resources and recommendations on termination is a desire among the vast majority of tribes to retain control over their resources and overall development through maintaining strong tribal governments. It will be remembered that practically all recommendations on termination are opposed to or highly critical of it. The virtually total absence of a strong association between numerous recommendations on the Bureau of Indian Affairs and any background statistics may indicate several things. First, it is apparent that recommendations on the Bureau of Indian Affairs are strongly associated with many other types of recommendations, e.g., recommendations on treaty rights, community social development, elementary through college education, heirship, industrial development, land consolidation, and employment. This would suggest that recommendations concerning the Bureau of Indian Affairs are functions of other recommendations, the latter of which may be interpreted in light of the appropriate background statistics. For example, the sense of the majority of Bureau of Indian Affairs recommendations suggests that this agency is widely regarded as essential to implementation of the various recommendations dealing with social and economic development.

The few, strong associations between making numerous recommendations on treaty rights and most of the background statistics is a case similar to the foregoing Bureau of Indian Affairs recommendations. The numerous, strong associations between making numerous recommendations on treaty rights and on such topics as law and order, taxation, elementary through college education, claims commission, heirship, land consolidation, and resource development suggest strongly that protection of treaty rights is also regarded widely as essential to implementation of many other recommendations. Undoubtedly, retention of treaty rights, the principal guarantor of Indian corporate distinctiveness, is essential to ensure the broad social and economic development so strongly desired by those making recommendations. As may be seen in Appendix 4 recommendations on law and order likewise are strongly associated with numerous recommendations dealing with social and economic development, e.g., taxation, community physical and social development, elementary through college education, claims commission, industrial development, land consolidation, and employment. Undoubtedly, resolution of problems of law and order also are integrally related to general social and economic development. However, unlike the Bureau of Indian Affairs recommendations (but similar to the treaty rights recommendations), there are several strong associations between law and order recommendations and particular background statistics. Whereas making numerous treaty rights recommendations is expectedly strongly associated with being a treaty tribe, the law and order recommendations are strongly associated with large land holdings. The latter association gains meaning when one considers the fact that there is a strong association between large land holdings and the possibility of, as well as a concern with, community social development.

As we have seen, recommendations on taxation are linked with timber resources and ultimately, therefore, with the large cluster of recommendations dealing with social and economic development. Not surprisingly, recommendations on community social and economic development are inversely related with income and educational levels. In other words, as income levels decrease, recommendations on community physical development increase. Likewise, concern with community social development increases as either income or educational levels decrease. As may be seen in Appendix 4, concern with community physical development is associated strongly with a cluster of other recommendations such as community social development, elementary through college education, industrial development, land consolidations, credit, and resource development, i.e., a broad range of recommendations dealing with basic social and economic development. On the other hand, community social development is strongly associated with more background statistics than are recommendations on community physical development.

Recommendations on elementary through college education are associated inversely with income and education levels, i.e., as income and educational levels go down, concern with elementary and college education goes up and vice versa. As would be expected in view of the foregoing strong associations among recommendations concerning economic and social development, recommendations on elementary through college education are strongly associated with recommendations on adult and vocational education, heirship, industrial development, land consolidation, credit, and employment. Further, recommendations on adult and vocational education are strongly associated with very few other types of recommendations and no background statistics at all. In view of their close link with recommendations on elementary through college education, therefore, they can best be interpreted in terms of the same general ties found between recommendations on elementary through college education and their associated background statistics.

Making numerous recommendations on claims and heirship tends to be strongly associated with several other types of recommendations. For example, it is associated closely with making numerous recommendations on termination, the BIA, and treaty rights. In view of the associations between these other recommendations and various background statistics, it seems safe to conclude that concern with claims, and particularly heirship problems, is very strongly associated with large land holdings. In as much as land and its retention are viewed by most tribes as critical to their overall development, this is not a surprising finding. This conclusion is reinforced by the strong association between making numerous recommendations on industrial development and possessing large land holdings. However, as we have seen, yet other factors are strongly associated with a concern about industrial development, e.g., the presence of tribal government. It is clear also that recommendations on industrial development are closely tied to recommendations on credit, resource development, employment, and land consolidation. We may conclude therefore, that a concern with industrial development is part of a cluster of strongly interrelated recommendations and that all must be considered when interpreting links between any of them and particular background statistics.

Making numerous recommendations on land consolidation is more strongly associated with having large individual land holdings than with having large tribal land holdings. This seems reasonable, since tribally owned land is not subject to continued subdivision through individual inheritance. Expectedly, having a tribal government is strongly associated with making numerous recommendations on land consolidation. Of course, other factors must be taken into consideration because of the strong associations between land consolidation recommendations and the aforementioned cluster including recommendations on credit, employment, and resource development, all part of a major concern with economic and social development apparent throughout this study. The credit recommendations included in this cluster are closely associated with possession of large individual and government land holdings on reservations, whereas making numerous employment recommendations is associated closely with large population, large government land holdings and having more numerous health facilities. This link with the amount of government land on a reservation is difficult to interpret. It may be instead that the desire for industrial development credit is a function of large land holdings in general, since there is a fairly strong association between all types of background statistics on land.

The strong association between having a large population and making numerous recommendations on employment is more easily understood. Traditionally, wherever masses of Indians are present, their general lack of skills, cultural differences, and discrimination tend to make employment problems particularly acute. Among smaller populations, the problem is less pronounced, not only because of the smaller number of people, but probably also because the Euroamerican economy understandably absorbs Indian employees more freely under such conditions. Finally, making numerous recommendations on resource development is associated strongly with having large tribal land holdings and mineral resources. This is consistent with our general finding that those who have resources want to develop and retain them indefinitely for tribal benefit. As such it is consistent with the overall interest in social and economic development typical of the whole body of recommendations and readily apparent in the statistical associations contained in Appendix 4.

Comparison of Findings with the Omnibus Bill and BIA Summary of Recommendations

With respect to Title I of the omnibus bill, draft 12/14/66 (see Appendix 5), it is clear that the Bureau of Indian Affairs wishes to withdraw more support for the privileges it confers than most tribes are willing to accept. From the sense of the recommendations, it appears that the tribes want both more control over their affairs and more support and protection from the Bureau of Indian Affairs than they presently receive. This is seen particularly clearly in the Washington, D.C. and Kansas City meeting reactions to sections 101 thorugh 107 of the omnibus bill draft of 12/14/66 (see Appendix 5) dealing with property management certificates. Whereas the effect of the Bureau of Indian Affairs property management certificate proposal would be to weaken tribal control over Indian owned property by setting up corporations independent of tribal control, the tribes want tribal corporations only. The Washington, D.C. meeting resolution makes this very clear, but even a superficial reading of the numerous recommendations made by tribes and area meeting committees makes it clear that such proposals were foredoomed to rejection by the tribes. Tribes in the vast majority of cases want their political and economic integrity retained and reinforced wherever possible. If property management certificates are to be granted to groups or individuals within tribes, it is clear that the tribes wish to have substantial authority over them. Fortunately S 1816 takes some cognizance of this fact (see Appendix 5). In general, it seems that tribes will object to any measure affecting basic resources and political independence that enables the tribal member to circumvent tribal authority by appealing directly to federal authority. This is seen in the common complaint in the recommendations that the Bureau of Indian Affairs pays too much attention to dissident groups within tribes, thus undercutting the power of legitimate tribal governing bodies.

The desire for economic stability and retention of basic resources so apparent in the recommendations seems to have been ignored by those writing sections 108 and 109 of the draft of 12/14/66. The majority of the tribes clearly want the power to make long-term leases. Similarly, tribes most commonly want the land inherited by non-Indians to be either reacquired by tribes or at least for Indians to be given preference over non-Indians in buying it. Further, section 111 of this draft deviates from the consensus of the recommendations in that many tribes want fee patent land they acquire or already have to be put back into trust status. Clearly, there is little in the recommendations that would justify the provision that fee patent land not be convertible into trust land. On the other hand, it would appear that section 110 of this same draft dealing with land consolidation reflects the consensus of the recommendations.

In the case of section 112 of the 12/14/66 draft, it is safe to conclude that few, if any, tribes want to lose their protection from legal suits. The consensus would appear to be that tribal enterprises be immune from attachments as is trust land. The sense of the recommendations is that the federal government should act as protector not only by guaranteeing loans acquired but also by protecting tribes against unforseen, financial setbacks occasioned by programs of economic development. Again, the fear of losing yet more of the few resources remaining in Indian hands, even in hope of economic development, may be responsible for this reaction.

Section 114 of the 12/14/66 draft which would facilitate land sales to non-Indians clearly is contrary to the sense of the recommendations. Finally, section 113 of this draft probably reflects tribal feeling closely except for the extreme power retained by the Secretary. In general, tribes seem to prefer that this power be more decentralized. In fact, there is a widespread desire for decentralization of Bureau of Indian Affairs authority down to the area director and particularly local superintendent levels. This received no attention in the omnibus bill according to our reading of it.

In the discussion of property management certificates above, the point was made that any other than tribal corporations would be objectionable to the vast majority of groups making recommendations. This point applies well to Title II, of the omnibus bill draft of 12/14/66, e.g., section 201, which provides not only for tribal but also for subtribal and individual corporations. The latter will have to be deleted if this section is to become acceptable to the majority. On the other hand, sections 202 and 203 of this draft reflect the recommendations closely and probably are acceptable to most tribes. Section 204 of this draft probably would be acceptable also if the clause on suing tribal corporations were redrawn to conform with the protection most tribes believe is their right in such matters. Alternatively, section 205 of this draft closely reflects the sense of the recommendations, but section 205 probably will have to be revised in order to be acceptable. It is clear that most tribes who mention it wish to have a substantial voice in formulating the rules and regulations of charters granted by the Secretary.

Section 301 of Title III in the draft of 12/14/66 undoubtedly is unacceptable the most tribes if their recommendations on the topic are at all indicative of their attitude. Any escheat provision that permits land to leave Indian hands will be unacceptable to most. With respect to sections 302–310, the Indian preference clauses are in line with recommendations, but the restrictions placed on tribal reacquisition of fractionated lands probably will have to be removed before the majority will accept the bill. Finally, settlement of land disputes involving non-Indians in state courts probably would be unacceptable to most tribes. Traditionally such courts have not been as respectful of Indian interests as have federal courts. The settlement of such disputes involving only Indians by "administrative action" requires clarification. Most tribes appear to want a strong voice in such decisions. Similarly, the restrictions on tribal reacquisition regarding the loan fund will have to be matched with guarantees that such loan requests will be expedited more rapidly than in the past. This, of course, also would relate to the commonly voiced need for a substantial increase in this fund (see S 1816 in Appendix 5).

In sections 311–317 of the draft of 12/14/66 the power granted the Secretary to sell Indian lands is clearly out of line with the general tenor of the recommendations. Most tribes appear to want substantial, if not final, authority over any sales of their land. Lands acquired by Indians under the provisions in these sections also should be convertible to trust status in order for the bill to reflect the sense of the recommendations. Trust status for land is regarded as a primary means of retaining basic Indian resources and protection of tribal integrity, two of the most prominent emphases in all the recommendations made. On the other hand, it is not clear whether requests for sale of the fractionated lands by those owning 25 percent would be acceptable. At any rate such provisions are secondary to the main issue of whether such land will be permitted to drift gradually out of Indian ownership.

The loan guarantee provisions in Title IV of the 12/14/66 draft seem acceptable to most tribes in view of the nature of the requests made in the recommendations. In Title V, section 501 of the same draft, the clause on animal trespassing reflects nothing in the recommendations we have analyzed. On the other hand, there is no mention of the fairly common recommendation that tribes have greater authority over human trespassers in order, if necessary, to arrest, prosecute, and fine them. Section 502 of this draft will be welcomed by many tribes, particularly those in the Southwest who made the most recommendations concerning flood control. There is a question as to whether the following section 503 will prove acceptable, since the nontaxability of sales to Indians on an Indian reservation depends on the federal control of trading under present law and present interpretative court decisions. There should be no objection to the subsequent section 504. As to section 505, in view of the position taken by most tribes on termination, general opposition is anticipated on the grounds that it would open the way to agitation leading, as in the case of the Colvilles, to full-blown bills for termination. To be acceptable, control over such programs will have to be substantially decentralized. Finally, it appears that section 506 of this draft is acceptable to most of the tribes in view of the recommendations made.

In general, the March 21, 1967 Bureau of Indian Affairs summary of the recommendations (see Appendix 6) is accurate, but in matters of emphasis it diverges somewhat from our analysis. The following comparison is only suggestive since limited time makes a point by point comparison impossible. A prominent discrepancy concerns the proposed transfer of Indian education from the Bureau of Indian Affairs to Health, Education, and Welfare. Their summary suggests that one tribe was opposed to it and one tribe favors it, but in reality several tribes were opposed to it quite explicitly. Further, several others stated that they would support it only with certain precautions. In all cases it was emphasized that the tribes should be consulted and give their consent before such a transfer takes place. Another example of this deviation concerns the buy-out plan for those who wish to abandon tribal membership. The Spokane Tribe made a much more cautious and conditional recommendation than the Flathead Tribe, both of which appear from the Bureau of Indian Affairs summary of recommendations to be backing the same plan. Yet another is the case of the Colville termination bill. A number of Northwestern tribes, particularly the Spokane, explicitly oppose the bill besides the Yakima who are the only group listed as so doing in the Bureau of Indian Affairs summary. The summary also fails to mention the strong opposition to termination by the Colville minority groups but mentions the recommendations of other minority groups such as the Omaha Land and Resources Development Association.

There are numerous examples of differences in detail. The summary fails to mention the many specific requests for Bureau of Indian Affairs action on particular subjects, all of which are included in our inventory of recommmendations. It also fails to mention the Seminole request to be transferred from state to federal trust, but mentions the Miccosukee request. In the Bureau of Indian Affairs summary the Western Washington Intertribal Council is said to oppose any legislation providing for negotiation with foreign nations over fishing rights off the Northwest Coast unless said group has an opportunity to preview the legislation. We can find no recommendation to this effect other than a somewhat differently worded Quinault recommendation. Similarly, the Bureau of Indian Affairs summary attributes recommendations to the Santa Ana and Santa Clara Pueblos for which we can find no basis in the official minutes. In the former case, it concerns accepting land instead of money when a claims case is awarded and in the latter, recommendations on civil rights. Further, this summary lists the Burns Paiute request for a reservation, but fails to mention the important fact that they have strong support from other groups.

The recommendations included more requests than apparent from the Bureau of Indian Affairs summary that greater numbers of Indians be hired by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and that those already in this agency be advanced more rapidly through incentive programs. Similarly, a return to "force accounts" is requested in several instances but is presented in the Bureau of Indian Affairs summary as if it were recommended only one time. Nothing concerning gambling was mentioned by the Nevada Intertribal Council in the official minutes of the meetings provided for this study. Likewise, we can find no recommendation by the All Indian Pueblo Council to the effect that they wanted all proceeds of "labor money" paid directly to the tribes rather than to the treasury.

In general, it is clear that the very sketchy Bureau of Indian Affairs summary of recommendations fails to state adequately the principal emphases apparent in the recommendations, i.e., a strong desire for freedom from undue bureaucratic restraints, social and economic development, and maintenance of tribal organization, resources and associated rights. Perhaps this was not the intent of the summary, but as we have seen in preceding sections of this study, this set of major emphases among the recommendations is clear indeed. Of course, some of the discrepancies of detail between the Bureau of Indian Affairs summary of recommendations and our own may be due to omissions in the official minutes of the meetings and/or to additional information possessed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and not included in the minutes. Clearly, the discrepancies between the principal attitudes reflected in the recommendations and the various provisions of the omnibus bill suggest several areas that might be acknowledged or substantially redrafted in future revisions of this important piece of legislation. The more recent S. 1816 is a step in this direction.

Conclusion

It seems useful at this point to restate the major emphases among the many recommendations considered in this study. Clearly, there is widespread opposition to termination of reservations and a strong desire that treaty rights and Indian land be preserved in their entirety. There is a widespread wish to participate more fully in formulation of policies affecting Indian people. The Bureau of Indina Affairs is regarded as essential for Indian progress, but not without some changes in its organization and functioning. In the opinion of most of those making recommendations, many Bureau of Indian Affairs services need expansion. Decentralization of authority in the Bureau of Indian Affairs as well as more effective communication between this and other government agencies and the tribes were mentioned numerous times in the recommendations. Industrialization of reservations and maximal development of their recreational potentials also were widespread recommendations. Requests for improved water and road systems were numerous as were recommendations for increased appropriations, services, facilities and opportunities in health, education, employment, and housing. Increased development of Indian resources was a common request closely related to the equally common request for thorough human resources surveys under government auspices. Particularly common was opposition to the state assumption of jurisdiction over Indian reservations and the request that Public Law 280 be amended to provide for tribal consent before the application. Opposition also was voiced frequently against Internal Revenue Service rulings on Indian income taxation. Finally, virtually universal requests evident in the recommendations were for expansion of the Bureau of Indian Affairs revolving loan fund and for provision of loan facilities to enable tribes to buy up heirship land interests for consolidation into tribal holdings.

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APPENDIX 1

CODE NUMBERS FOR TRIBES AND AREAS

Tribes	Code No.	State
Alaskan villages	111	Alaska.
Apache, Kiowa Comanche	112	Oklahoma.
Apache, Jicarilla	113	New Mexico.
Apache, Mescalero	114	Do.
Apache, San Carlos	115	Arizona.
Apache, White Mountain	116	Do.
Apache, Yavapai	117	Do.
Arapaho, Shoshone (Wind River)	118	Wyoming.
Arikara, Gros Ventre (Fort Berthold)	119	North Dakota.
Assiniboine, Gros Ventre (Fort Belknap)	120	Montana.
Assiniboine, Sioux (Fort Peck)	121	Do.
Blackfeet	122	Do.
Chehalis	123	Washington.
Cherokee of North Carolina	124	North Carolina.
Cherokee of Oklahoma	125	Oklahoma.
Cheyenne, Arapaho of Oklahoma	126	Do.
Cheyenne, Northern	127	South Dakota.
Chickasaw	128	Oklahoma.
Chippewa, Bad River	129	Wisconsin.
Chippewa, Bay Mills	130	Michigan.
Chippewa, Cree (Rocky Boy's)	131	Montana.
Chippewa, Keweenaw	132	Michigan.
Chippewa, Lac Courte Oreilles	133	Wisconsin.
Chippewa, Lac Du Flambeau	134	Do.
Chippewa, Minnesota	135	Minnesota.
Chippewa, Red Cliff	136	Wisconsin.
Chippewa, Red Lake	137	Minnesota.
Chippewa, Saginaw	138	Michigan.
Chippewa, Sakagon	139	Wisconsin.
Chippewa, St. Croix	140	Do.
Chippewa, Turtle Mountain	141	North Dakota.
Choctaws of Mississippi	142	Mississippi.
Choctaws of Oklahoma	143	Oklahoma.
Clallam	144	Washington.
Cocopah	145	Arizona.
Coeur d'Alene	146	Idaho.
Colville Business Council	147	Washington.
Colville minority	148	Do.
Colville Petitioners Party	149	Do.
Covelo	150	California.
Creek	151	Oklahoma.
Crow	152	Montana.
Flathead	153	Do.
Goshute	154	Nevada.
Havasupai	155	Arizona.
Hoopa	156	California.
Hopi	157	Arizona.
Hualapai	158	Do.
Iowa, Kansas-Nebraska	159	Kansas.
Kalispel	160	Idaho.
Kickapoo-Kansas	161	Kansas.
Kickapoo-Oklahoma	162	Oklahoma.
Los Coyotes	163	California.
Lummi	164	Washington.
Makah	165	Do.
Miami	166	Oklahoma.
Miccosukee	167	Florida.
Mission Indians	168	California.
Mohave, Chemehuevi (Colorado River)	169	Colorado.
Mohave, Fort Mohave	170	Arizona-California-Nevada.
Morongo	171	California.
Navaho, Alamo	172	New Mexico.
Navajo, Ramah	173	Do.
Nez Perce	174	Idaho.
Nooksack	175	Washington.
Omaha Tribal Council	176	Nebraska.
Omaha Resources Development Association	177	Do.
Oneida	178	Wisconsin.
Osage	179	Oklahoma.
Otoe-Missouri	180	Do.
Paiute, Burns Colony	181	Oregon.
Paiute, Duckwater	182	Idaho-Nevada.
Paiute, Fallon	183	Nevada.
Paiute, Fort McDermitt	184	Do.
Paiute, Indian Peak	185	Utah.
Paiute, Kaibab	186	Arizona.
Paiute, Pyramid Lake	187	Nevada.
Paiute, South Fork	188	Do.
Paiute, Yerington	189	Do.
Papago	190	Arizona.

CODE NUMBERS FOR TRIBES AND AREAS—Continued

Tribes	Code No.	State
Pawnee	191	Oklahoma.
Pima, Maricopa (Gila River)	192	Arizona.
Pima, Maricopa (Salt River)	193	Do.
Pit River Tribe	194	California.
Ponca	195	Nebraska.
Potawatomie, Citizens Band	196	Oklahoma.
Potawatomie, Forest County	197	Wisconsin.
Pueblo, Acoma	198	New Mexico.
Pueblo, Canoncito	199	Do.
Pueblo, Cochiti	200	Do.
Pueblo, Isleta	201	Do.
Pueblo, Jemez	202	Do.
Pueblo, Laguna	203	Do.
Pueblo, Nambe	204	Do.
Pueblo, Pojoaque	205	Do.
Pueblo, San Felipe	206	Do.
Pueblo, San Ildefonso	207	Do.
Pueblo, San Juan	208	Do.
Pueblo, Sandia	209	Do.
Pueblo, Santa Ana	210	Do.
Pueblo, Santa Clara	211	Do.
Pueblo, Santo Domingo	212	Do.
Pueblo, Taos	213	Do.
Pueblo, Tesuque	214	Do.
Pueblo, Zia	215	Do.
Pueblo, Zuni	216	Do.
Puyallup	217	Washington.
Quapaw	218	Oklahoma.
Quechan (Fort Yuma)	219	Arizona.
Quinault	220	Washington.
Sac and Fox, Iowa	221	Iowa.
Sac and Fox, Missouri	222	Missouri.
Sac and Fox, Oklahoma	223	Oklahoma.
Seminole, Florida	224	Florida.
Seminole, Oklahoma	225	Oklahoma.
Shawnee, Absentee	226	Do.
Shawnee, Eastern	227	Do.
Shoshone, Bannock (Fort Hall)	228	Idaho.
Sioux, Crow Creek	229	South Dakota.
Sioux, Flandreau	230	Do.
Sioux, Fort Totten	231	North Dakota.
Sioux, Lower Brule	232	South Dakota.
Sioux, Lower Community	233	Minnesota.
Sioux, Oglala	234	South Dakota.
Sioux, Rosebud	235	Do.
Sioux, Santee	236	Nebraska.
Sioux, Sisseton-Wahpeton	237	South Dakota.
Sioux, Standing Rock	238	Do.
Sioux, Yankton	239	Do.
Snohomish	240	Washington.
Spokane	241	Do.
Squaxin Island	242	Do
Stillaguamish	243	Do.
Stockbridge-Munsee	244	Wisconsin.
Suquamish	245	Washington
Swinomish	246	Do.
Tlingit-Haida	247	Alaska.
Tulalip	248	Washington.
Uintah-Ouray	249	Utah.
Umatilla	250	Oregon.
Ute Mountain	251	Colorado.
Ute, Southern	252	Do.
Warm Springs	253	Oregon.
Washoe Community	254	Nevada.
Washoe, Reon-Sparks Community	255	Do.
Wichita, Caddo, Delaware	256	Oklahoma.
Winnebago, Nebraska	257	Nebraska.
Winnebago, Wisconsin	258	Wisconsin.
Wyandotte	259	Oklahoma.
Yakima	260	Washington.
Yakima minority	261	Do.

Areas:*	Code number
Alaska	991
Alaska Native Brotherhood	991a
Albuquerque	992
All-Indian Pueblo Council	992a
Las Vegas	993
California delegation	993a
Nevada delegation	993b
Minneapolis	994
Great Lakes Intertribal Council	994a
Michigan Intertribal Council	994b
Montana	995
Spokane	996
Western Washington Intertribal Council	996a
Oklahoma City	997
Washington, D.C	998

APPENDIX 2

INVENTORY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

* * * * * * *

Index No.	Subject	Tribe
3	Education.	
31	Elementary through college.	
311	Policy and eligibility:	
3111	The BIA should conduct a survey to find where and how and why BIA schools are inadequate, and how able families are to provide educational needs (this last could also provide a census).	112, 113, 232.
3112	Future planning in education should be done by university specialists, the agencies, the Department of Education, and Indian leaders.	203.
3113	The Federal Government should establish and maintain an advisory service on Indian education that would research, collect, and coordinate relevant education data and furnish Indian communities with such information on request. This service would include representatives from local areas.	112, 125.
3114	We recommend that the Bureau stop relocating Indians away from the reservation for education purposes and instead concentrate on supplying facilities for education right on the reservation. Certainly students could take advanced training elsewhere but the foundations should be laid at home first. Then when their talents are developed, they can bring them back to the reservation.	220:991.
3115	We recommend that the Chemawa Boarding School in Oregon that is currently being used by the BIA to board Indian students from the Southwest, be used by the BIA as a school for Northwest and Plains Indians who now are presently attending boarding schools in Oklahoma.	996.
3116	Students at Federal schools and denominational colleges and universities should be eligible for support as long as the school meets accreditation requirements.	119, 200, 247:991, 992, 993, 995, 997.
3117	Residency should not figure as a factor in determining the eligibility of Indian children for tribal or Federal aid. Johnson-O'Malley funds should be available for all Indian children in all schools.	112, 128, 144, 152, 178, 200, 244, 256, 257: 992, 995, 997.
3118	Children who live in local nonreservation areas should be given preference at the schools over those from outside reservation areas. That is, Indian children from Oklahoma should be given preference at the schools even if they do not live on a reservation, over Indian children from another State.	112.
3119	Blood quantum eligibility requirements should be lowered. If eligibility can't be lowered, an alternative would be to place a portion of any judgment fund in a commercial trust and use the interest to meet the needs of these children.	128, 153.
311.10	The grant-in-aid system should be changed so eligibility would be on a more equitable basis, for example, based on "blood quantum" rather than "needy." The 4-year limitation should be eliminated and every student should get the same amount of aid. The grant should include transportation, tuition, and equal subsistence, with additional funds for married students. The student should be able to pick his own school, but should be obligated to return to the State for a period after graduation.	991-A.
311.11	Grant committee membership should be increased to include lay people and Indian representatives.	200: 992.
311.12	Indian children should not be sent to boarding schools. They should mix with white children.	120.
311.13	The problems raised by placing children in boarding schools should be evaluated in terms of age, emotional stability, and a consideration of their home life. Present boarding schools are inadequate to care for all children. The old system is not the answer to the Indian probelm and in fact has helped create many present difficulties.	132:993.
311.14	The BIA should support parochial schools with Indian children enrollees more liberally.	200:992.

INVENTORY OF RECOMMENDATIONS—Continued

Index No.	Subject	Tribe
311.15	The BIA should consider the variations between groups, areas, Indian cultures, and the attitudes of adjacent communities, including the presence of discrimination and adjust their educational policies accordingly.	180:993.
311.16	Indians have no voice in BIA schools. In the future, Indians should be consulted before changes are made. Now Indians can do nothing about unsatisfactory personnel but wait for them to be transferred.	213, 234, 238.
311.17	Federal scholarships should be administered so that students are not put into embarrassing positions. Some of our students have complained that they have entered college on the promise of tuition grants from the BIA personnel and then have got into trouble with the colleges because the promised funds did not arrive. We recommend that BIA advisers assist high school seniors who are prospective college material in working out their budgets and financial affairs well before their entrance into college.	220.
311.18	Specific, clear-cut definitions of eligibility and procedures for applying for scholarship aids should be available and followed explicitly by the BIA in allocations and administration of the program.	112.
311.19	Children need better services so they can utilize the facilities the BIA leaves	198.
311.20	The BIA should keep all the tribes well informed of policy and legislative policies affecting the tribes.	153.
311.21	The educational and governmental agencies of the tribes should be eligible for Government surplus materials and equipment.	164.
311.22	More emphasis, time, and effort need to be applied in the field of Indian education.	181.
311.23	3 of the BIA's regulations should be amended to base criteria on family income and number of dependents rather than discriminate against federally employed people.	204.
312	Legislative recommendations:	
3121	We recommend the amendment of criteria 2 and 3 of the Johnson-O'Mally Act	200, 211:992.
3122	We recommend that legislation be introduced transferring land and buildings once used as a school site to tribal use.	198.
3123	The transfer of education to HEW from BIA should not be effected, if at all, until a conference is held with tribal leaders so their views can be presented. We are strongly against such a transfer at this time.	114, 200, 203, 211, 213, 234:996, 997.
3124	We want safeguards if schools are turned over to HEW before the change is made. For example, guarantees that we will have representation on boards of education, or a special Indian division should be set up to administer Indian education.	176:993b.
3125	The Cheyenne-Arapaho want the schools transferred to HEW	126.
3126	The Tlingit-Haida feel Federal schools should be phased out and education turned over to the public schools.	247.
3127	The BIA should continue to operate the elementary school at Isleto Pueblo. The public schools are not presently equipped to adequately take care of the elementary education of the children at Isleto.	201.
313	Curriculum changes and additions:	
3131	Educational programs should give children self-respect through an appreciation of their Indian heritage and skills through which they can find success as individuals and citizens as well as a positive picture of the American way of life.	143, 203, 214, 234.
3132	Indian children should be educated in their own world rather than in the world people wish they were in.	114.
3133	Indians should be educated away from their dependence on agriculture to a more diversified economy.	993.
3134	Educational programs from preschool through high school and beyond must be adapted to realistic goals for the students. We need a kind of education that would prepare for an active participation in the growing economy of the community, provide preliminary training in local government, cultural heritage, business management, fisheries management, forestry, motor repair, carpentry, plumbing, food processing, electricity, etc., along with the 3 R's. The kind of program that we have in mind is one that would provide alternatives for those who plan their lives around the economy and culture of the area. Some of these alternatives are prevocational and work experience programs. This would be a special educational program aimed at the Indian student specifically. We recommend that the BIA give us advice and assistance in carrying out this plan.	122, 200, 220.
3135	Upward Bound cirriculum should include conservation of natural resources where applicable to the locale, special emphasis on the Indian's role and contribution to our culture, and phases on prejudice and discrimination toward minorities.	996.
3136	Aptitude tests should be used for young high school students	178.
314	Financial support and program expansion:	
3141	The BIA should provide more funds for the schools so that present educational services could be expanded and improved.	112, 119, 120, 122, 144, 159, 162, 164, 198, 200, 202, 204, 223, 241, 257, 260:991, 992, 993, 996, [illegible]
3142	We request that programs such as our summer remedial education camp be funded so that we may increase our enrollment.	260.
3143	The Alaska education committee favors the passing of the school bond issue	991.
3144	We recommend that the BIA fund a summer athletic clinic which would develop skills and a willingness to engage in high school athletics and activities, all of which would be advantageous to the youth and fit them for integration into society.	246.

INVENTORY OF RECOMMENDATIONS—Continued

Index No.	Subject	Tribe
3145	We oppose the State plan of eventually removing 85 percent of the money supplied by Congress under Public Law 874 and equalizing the money on a progressive scale (the feeling in some parts of the State is that districts that receive this money are "too rich"). We believe that this is contrary to the intent of Public Law 874 and protest it on that ground. If the Congress wishes to alleviate local revenue problems caused by Federal impact, the State should not interfere. However, since the State can follow a policy of equalization that is not subject to interference, the Indian student might suffer a substantial loss through changes in State policies affecting Public Law 874, so we recommend that Johnson-O'Malley funds be used to fill the gap.	220.
3146	We recommend that each of the 4 districts on the reservation be staffed so that existing programs may be given to all areas. This would mean an addition of 3 professional educators and 4 education aides to the present professional staff of 2. The existing personnel at the agency would coordinate the entire reservation program.	260.
3127	The summer remedial school financed by the BIA and the Swinomish Indian Community should be greatly enlarged and expanded.	246.
3128	Hot lunch programs should be available for low-income families	144, 256:996.
3149	If OEO stops the Headstart program, the BIA should take it over and then perhaps the program could be administered by a tribal or intertribal organization. In any event, the Headstart program should be continued.	113, 144, 167, 200, 202, 203:992, 993a, 993b, 996.
314.10	The BIA should provide kindergartens	200, 232:992.
314.11	Special education should be provided for the physically and metnally handicapped, and accelerated programs for the very bright should also be established.	203, 257:991.
314.12	Part-time students should be included in education plans	178.
315	Personnel.	
3151	Counselors:	
31511	We need to expand counseling services. We suggest that we use qualified counselors from the grades on but particularly in high schools and in-residence at universities and colleges.	125, 160, 180, 244, 257:991, 992, 993, 994, 998.
31512	We request that the State or Federal Government underwrite the cost of a counselor whose duties in part would be the intensive counseling of students and parents on the judicious use of the child's share of the minor's trust (this is evidently a plan to use part of the judgment fund for scholarships).	160.
31513	Social workers should be assigned to all housing schools in the Anadarko and Muskogee areas to work with children with social, physical, and emotional problems.	997.
3152	Teachers:	
31521	The BIA should help recruit more teachers by paying the incentives sufficient to draw them.	114, 203, 232:998.
31522	We need younger, 1st-class professional teachers who understand the Indian and can impart a good education without damaging the moral influences and restraints of the child's culture and family. Summer institutes might be established to give present teachers special instructions in the understanding of Indian students. There should be an intensification of the recruiting of Indian teachers and an upgrading of the levels of competence of present Indian teachers.	112, 114, 125, 180, 230, 234:993, 994, 997.
31523	The non-Indian administrators at Fort Sill and Riverside Indians School have been kept under close observation for over 2 years and this committee is convinced that they are not beneficial for our people. So we request that Talmadge Heard, Robert Randolph, and Geneva Jones be removed from these 2 institutions.	112.
316	Student problems.	
3161	Dropouts and truants:	
31611	Studies should be conducted so all causes of dropouts and truancy can be found and corrective measures taken. The problem might be lessened if qualified social workers (perferably Indian) were employed to go directly to the homes and educate parents to the importance of education. Also, if the home itself were improved, if the student had more privacy and better studying conditions, and if he had the necessities—clothing, books, hot lunches etc.—the dropout rate might be lowered.	112, 113, 128, 132, 138, 151, 205, 228, 233, 236, 244, 253, 256, 260:991, 996, 997.
31612	We should have a State compulsory education law	143.
31613	A monetary reward should be offered to all students who graduate from high school.	119.
3162	Financial assistance:	
31621	More money should be available for more scholarships and existing grants should be enlarged. Also, scholarships should be available for graduate study.	119, 128, 137, 160, 198, 200, 204, 205, 223, 246, 257:991, 993a, 993b, 996, 997.
31622	Every effort should be made to get all information about scholarships to Indian children and to get it there in time.	112, 160, 200.
31623	Income could be provided for high school students through BIA work programs, but students who are able should share partially in school expenses.	142:991.
31624	Additional grant funds should be applied to the Anadarko and Muskogee areas to cover graduate work in the field of social science.	997.
31625	The extreme administrative delay that too often characterizes BIA responses to tribal programs and requests has kept a scholarship plan that the Coeur d'Alene proposed from being put into effect. The plan was first submitted in April 1961 and if the BIA had responded, perhaps as many as 6 $750 scholarships could have been awarded, not to mention a number of grants to breadwinners for vocational education. The BIA is often responsive at the local and area office levels, but this is all worthless if the Washington officials delay programs months beyond their hoped for establishment. We hope the Commissioner's office will process this investment directly and work to expedite further requests from the tribe.	146.

INVENTORY OF RECOMMENDATIONS—Continued

Index No.	Subject	Tribe
317	Community participation and outside support:	
3171	The support of Indian communities should be enlisted and parents should be encouraged to participate in activities such as the PTA. Perhaps a permanent PTA might be established through the cooperation of the BIA, teaching and administrative staffs, and the local school systems.	113, 203:992, 993.
3172	Advisory groups should be formed to meet with the staffs for discussions of curriculum, personnel, discipline, communications, and to act as liaisons for all departments that can be of a benefit to education.	113:994.
3173	Better school-Indian communications should be worked for with meetings between parents, school administrators, teachers, and Indian leaders whenever possible to bridge communication gaps.	114:995.
3174	The States should assume their share in seeing that Indians are educated on a par with other citizens.	993.
3175	Public schools attended by Indians should never lower standards	993.
3176	We are against the tendency in the State of Washington to arbitrarily force the consolidation of our local school districts with larger districts which are directed by people with whom we have difficulty in communicating. Education should be locally controlled and should be involved in the community life and developments. We recommend that the BIA sustain an advisory capacity to the State in such programs and that the wishes of the tribal councils involved be considered.	220.
3177	There should be more cooperation and coordination between the BIA, the public schools, and parochial schools.	200.
318	School facilities requested:	
3181	We recommend that existing plants be improved, for example, repaired and enlarged where necessary and supplied with the proper equipment.	142, 167, 229:991, 993, 997, 998.
3182	The BIA should continue to supply water for the elementary school at Laguna and should rent its teacher housing at a cheaper rate.	203.
3183	The BIA should help in securing adequate housing for teachers in areas where housing of a standard consistent with that available elsewhere is not available.	111:991.
3184	The following recommendations were made regarding new school buildings on the reservations:	
	1. The Ramah community wants the BIA dormitory at Ramah enlarged	173.
	2. The Alaska education committee requests additional schools and housing so students will not have to be sent out of the State to go to school.	991.
	3. The Northern Cheyenne want a public high school on the reservation	127.
	4. The Fort Berthold tribes say that dormitories are needed and should be supplied.	119.
	5. The Lower Brule Sioux would like an integrated high school in the vicinity of the reservation. It could be used for Lower Brule, Crow Creek, and public school children. A feasibility study should be undertaken immediately and Federal funds sought.	232.
	6. A new dormitory is needed at Eufaula	151.
	7. The Choctaws of Mississippi request that adequate dormitories be built.	142.
	8. At Kaltag, Alaska, the new school has been delayed and the BIA has refused to use temporary buildings. It is recommended that the BIA establish a school in the community hall, church, or other temporary quarters until a school can be built.	111:991.
	9. The education committee at the Alaska conference requests a new school building, a teacher's residence, and 3 teachers at Kluckwan, Alaska.	991.
	10. The Seminoles of Florida request a gymnasium at Brighton and 2 classrooms and teacher housing at Big Cypress. A gymnasium is also needed at Big Cypress.	224.
	11. The Miccosukee need teacher housing and 1 added classroom	167.
	12. The Cherokee of North Carolina need a new high school building and supporting facilities.	124.
	13. The Mescalero Apache want a high discipline high school on the reservation for troubled children.	114.
	14. The Laguna Pueblo wants facilities in their locale for emotionally handicapped children.	203.
	15. The Crow Creek Sioux would like the BIA to build an integrated high school at Fort Thompson, S. Dak. The BIA terminated the high school at Fort Thompson about 2 years ago.	229.
	16. The California delegation at the Las Vegas conference requests that facilities similar to the Sherman Institute be made available to all needy California Indians including, without limits, dropouts, children from broken homes, and children from schoolless reservations.	993a.
	17. We recommend that the BIA set up a boarding school in this area for students who are experiencing difficulty in public schools.	996.
	18. The Queets-Clearwater school is old and difficult to maintain. A modern functional plant would be the 1st step in upgrading the program there. The Taholah school has a good plant, but it is not large enough. A centralized library is needed as well as more classroom space.	220.
	19. We recommend the development of on-reservation living situations so children could stay on the reservation and attend public schools.	153.
319	Miscellaneous requests.	
3191	Mount Edgecumbe, Alaska:	

INVENTORY OF RECOMMENDATIONS—Continued

Index No.	Subject	Tribe
31911	An advisory board should be set up for Mount Edgecumbe High School with qualified natives in the field of education on the board. Native associations in the area should be encouraged to take more interest in the school. Specific Mount Edgecumbe needs are: 1. School faculty and staff housing. 2. Black-topped roads. 3. Play areas. 4. A neighborhood center for social functions, club meets, etc. 5. Razing of obsolete structures. 6. Modern waiting rooms with restrooms. 7. A program for upkeep and beautification which would use and train native people. 8. The support of the BIA for a commissary. 9. It should be a posthigh vocational school. 10. Summer courses there should be given credit. 11. A personnel officer should be assigned to review every personnel action made over the last 3 years. All wage board positions should be clarified. 12. The BIA should explain its actions of July 1, 1966. (All PHS employees were put back on the same jobs after transfers were accepted for them.) 13. Dormitory personnel should be given on-the-job training and a work-scholarship program should be set up. 14. The BIA should clarify its position on filling necessary positions by assigning "acting" or temporary personnel.	1119:91.
3192	Stewart School:	
31921	The 7th and 8th grades should be abolished at Stewart School and a 2-year postgraduate vocational school be set up in its place.	993b.
3193	Riverside and Fort Sill Schools:	
31931	We recommend these 2 schools be open to local area children again	112.
3194	The school at English Bay, Alaska, should be transferred from the BIA to the borough.	991.
3195	We solicit the support of the BIA in getting our application for the Taholah School approved. This application was made under Public Law 815 which has a special section for Indian programs.	220.
3196	The Yakimas request more space at boarding schools	260.
3197	The BIA should look into the possibility of enrolling more students from the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Tribes in the Indian schools of Oklahoma if the need arises.	112.
3198	Education is the key to the betterment of all Indians	174.
3199	Schools in the Bethel area, Alaska, are grossly inadequate	991.
32	Adult and vocational education.	
321	Adult education.	
3211	Policy and programs:	
32111	Training programs should be set up for married couples on homemaking and ways to increase earning power. Every agency should have a home educator. We need family life education.	113, 200, 253: 991.
32112	A series of adult education programs should be set up under CAP to provide working knowledge of all laws and social rules affecting their everyday life. This would thus provide members with the knowledge they need to obtain all the benefits to which they are legally entitled as well as how to live in the contemporary society as a productive member.	153.
32113	We recommend the use of Federal adult educational programs for members who do not have the basic educational requirements to get jobs.	253.
32114	Education programs should train Indian people to meet tomorrow's skill requirements.	181.
32115	The adult education programs at the Anadarko area office should be reinstated	256.
32116	Only qualified persons should be hired to teach adult education classes	994.
32117	Counselors should be available in adult education	180.
3212	Financial support:	
32121	Adequate funds should be appropriated for basic adult education programs which should include the teaching of English and extension programs like home economics, canning, dressmaking, and care of gardens. Enrollees should be paid a stipend. Funds should also be appropriated for night school.	142, 143, 144, 164, 173, 200, 201, 203, 207, 214, 222, 228, 238, 260: 991, 992, 993, 993a, 993b, 995, 997.
322	Vocational education.	
3221	Policy and program:	
32211	Local area technical schools should be utilized and adult vocational training should be done within the State.	125, 137, 153, 200, 223, 239, 244 : 992, 994, 997.
32212	Age limits for vocational training should be raised from 35 to 50	223, 225: 997.
32213	There should be fewer restrictions for eligibility for vocational education	256.
32214	Vocational education should be directed toward the training of reservation Indians who will remain on the reservation.	137.
32215	The BIA should recognize the State accredited training facilities supplied under the employment assistance program.	993b.
32216	The AVT program should be continued	200.
3222	Financial support:	
32221	The problem of unemployment which is directly related to lack of skills and training can be remedied in part through vocational and on-the-job training programs to train workers for presently existing jobs and other jobs which would be created by new industries in the area. We recommend, therefore, that the BIA finance and expand vocational training schools in Indian communities, along with the development of job opportunities suitable for the individual.	125, 144, 164, 173, 179, 200, 207, 212, 238, 239, 250, 256, 260: 992, 993, 994a, 996, 997, 998.

INVENTORY OF RECOMMENDATIONS—Continued

Index No.	Subject	Tribe
32222	Individuals in vocational education who have large familes should get an increased allowance.	997.
32223	We recommend the use of the tribal scholarship program for training in the professional fields.	253.
3223	The establishment of vocational education facilities:	
32231	We would like a trade school set up so Seminoles could learn to earn a living	225.
32232	The Flandreau Sioux want a re-creation of the vocational education program at the Flandreau Indian School.	230.
32233	A 2-year postgraduate vocational school should be set up at Stewart School	993b.
32234	Glasgow Airbase, if abandoned, should be turned into a job corps or adult education center for Indians.	995.
32235	We support the new Indian technical-vocational school in Albuquerque and want enough space guaranteed for Pueblo pupils. This space should be guaranteed for 1,000 Pueblo children.	200, 204:992.
32236	Isleta Pueblo wants the BIA to set up a vocational training high school and vocational training posthigh school.	201.
32237	San Idefonso Pueblo wants a vocational training school under the BIA	207.
32238	Warm Springs tribes would like to use the public elementary and secondary schools to provide basic educational needs for vocational training. If needed, Federal boarding school facilities could be used.	253.
32239	The Nooksack have only seasonal, inadequate employment and feel that if they had specialized schools in the area—such as equipment operator—the Indians would have a better chance to train themselves.	175.
3223.10	Sitka Village would like training centers established with dorms which will be staffed by native personnel who will have to be trained.	111:991.

* * * * * * *

INDIAN EDUCATION

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1968

U. S. SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INDIAN EDUCATION OF THE
COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to recess, at 9:25 a.m., in room 4232, New Senate Office Building, Senator Walter F. Mondale, presiding pro tempore.

Present: Senators Mondale (presiding pro tempore), Yarborough and Fannin.

Committee staff member present: Adrian Parmeter, professional staff member.

STATEMENT OF HON. WALTER F. MONDALE, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF MINNESOTA

Senator MONDALE. We are meeting today to conduct the first public hearing of the Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education since the tragic death of its late chairman, Senator Robert F. Kennedy. During the 6 months of his chairmanship, Senator Kennedy devoted an enormous amount of time, energy, and personal concern to the work of this subcommittee. In this short 6-month period despite many other pressing concerns, including his presidential campaign, Senator Kennedy visited Indian schools and reservations throughout the western part of the United States, listened to dozens of Indian witnesses, and talked privately with an even larger number of our Indian citizens

In that short period of time his concern for the problems facing Indian children and adults became a national concern, and the question of the quality of educational programs for Indian students became a national issue. It was indeed an extraordinary accomplishment. He pricked the conscience of the Nation and significantly raised the hopes and aspirations of an entire minority group. He became in the process a symbol of compassion and vision for all of the poor and disenfranchised citizens of our nation. It was indeed an act of political courage and conviction for which we are all deeply indebted, and it has left a burden of great responsibility on the Senators of this subcommittee to fulfill his promise and achieve his goals.

It is highly appropriate that the hearings today should focus on what this subcommittee has come to realize is perhaps the most fundamental problem facing Indian education—the question of mental health. First, because Senator Kennedy, through his experience on the subcommittee, gave it the highest priority. Second, because the American Journal of Psychiatry in its August 1968 issue has devoted a special section to "The Mental Health of the American Indian." One of the authors in that special section, Dr. Harry Saslow has previously appeared before this subcommittee, and a second author, Dr. Robert Leon will be testifying today. I would like to submit this special section on mental health for the record to be included in the official transcript.

(The document referred to follows:)

THE MENTAL HEALTH OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN

INTRODUCTION *Alexander H. Leighton* 217

THE SOCIOCULTURAL SETTING OF INDIAN LIFE *D'Arcy McNickle* 219

RESEARCH ON PSYCHOSOCIAL ADJUSTMENT OF INDIAN YOUTH *Harry L. Saslow* and *May J. Harrover* 224

SOME IMPLICATIONS FOR A PREVENTIVE PROGRAM FOR AMERICAN INDIANS *Robert L. Leon* 232

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In response to requests from readers, the *American Journal of Psychiatry* is making extra copies of its Special Sections available. The cost of this Special Section, The Mental Health of the American Indian, will be as follows: 1-10 copies, 50 cents each; 11-20 copies, 40 cents each; 21 or more copies, 30 cents each. Special sections are bound into a cover.

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Senator MONDALE. I would like to briefly outline some of the major concerns of the subcommittee and some of the information that has already been established in previous hearings. It has been rather well established that the basic policy of the Federal Government toward Indian tribes since the Allotment Act of 1887 has been one of coercive assimilation. This appears to at least have been the dominant policy dictated by Congress although there have been some variations in the actual administration of Indian affairs. The Allotment Act of 1887 did tremendous damage, not only to the land base of Indian tribes, but also to the social and psychological viability of their way of life. By the 1920's the American Indian had not only lost 100 million acres of land but the hostile-dependency syndrome had become well established on most reservations. Additional testimony has indicated that despite the reform movements of the thirties the general pressure of the dominant society on Indian cultures has been destructive. Discrimination, hostility, and exploitation in varying degrees appear to be a common phenomena in towns bordering most reservations. On the reservation, Government paternalism has been emasculating and oppressive. Dr. Forbes, an anthropologist and historian who has written extensively about the American Indian and other minority groups has pointed out "Indian problems are generated by white men, and will go unsolved without change in white men. The white men cannot pretend to be the doctor; he is the sickness!" Perhaps this puts the matter too strongly, but it deserves our most serious consideration.

Quite frankly the subcommittee has had some difficulty understanding what is happening on Indian reservations that we have visited. There often appears to be a considerable amount of social disorganization and a general process of cultural disintegration. Alcoholism appears to be widespread and a serious problem among every Indian group we have visited. Broken families also appear to be a fairly common problem. In addition, we have found high suicide, homocide, and accident rates on many reservations. Many times it would appear that accidents, particularly car accidents, are masked suicides. In addition to all of these problems we have also found very high unemployment rates on many reservations. Recent research has indicated that much of this unemployment is a function of psychological maladjustment and is really not unemployment at all, but rather something that could be better called idleness. In addition, and despite many pronouncements to the contrary the ill-conceived termination and relocation policies of the 1950's are still with us in the 1960's and rather than alleviate these problems they aggravate and reinforce them.

As early as our first hearings in December of last year, the subcommittee was deeply concerned about the mental-health problems of BIA boarding schools. The Association of American Indian Affairs made a very strong case in our initial hearings that the boarding schools for elementary school-age Indian children were highly questionable. Dr. O'Connell made several points in his testimony that I would like to summarize.

1. There are approximately 9,000 Indian children 9 years of age and under in boarding schools.
2. Approximately 8,000 of these children are Navajo children.
3. To a large extent this is due to a lack of roads on the Navajo reservation.

4. Navajo parents do not necessarily oppose boarding schools for their children but really have no choice when they do feel the schools are unsatisfactory.

5. There is almost universal agreement in the field of developmental psychology that early separation of a child from the family unit is a destructive influence.

6. That family relationships are more complex and more important to an Indian child than in white society, and crucial to his development of a sense of identity. Thus, separation from the family is potentially even more traumatic and emotionally destructive.

7. That boarding schools as they presently exist are totally inadequate as a substitute for parents and family—and even with very substantial improvements can never be an adequate substitute for a home and family.

The painful reality of this problem has been brought forcefully to the attention of this subcommittee by a very perceptive letter which was received from a teacher in one of the large boarding schools for elementary age Navajo children. Senator Kennedy often quoted from that letter and was deeply moved by it, and I would ask at this point that the letter be included in my remarks in its entirety.

(The letter referred to follows:)

TUBA CITY, ARIZ.,
February 27, 1968.

Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: I hope that some of the thoughts and observations in this letter may be of some use in your coming inspection and study of the Navajo reservation. First, I had better admit, that I am a BIA peon (that is, teacher) and so I can't—or at any rate don't want to sound as if I can perceive or understand the total picture of problems and progress on the reservation—I have only been here two years, and have only experienced the problem here in a limited manner.

However, two years is long enough for observations to be made, and opinions formed, on the little I have experienced, here at the local level, and this might in turn help provide you with some insight, or at least one person's feelings, on what is or isn't happening. This can at times be valuable, for here is the level at which the successes and failures of people and programs can be most honestly assessed, after all the promoters and disclaimers have made all the speeches and put forth all the ideas. This is the place at which reality steps in, and it is often not pleasant to face.

I realize, of course, that your concern covers many aspects of the life here and the problems are in dozens of areas. It makes for difficulty in selecting one as being the most crucial. However, I'm prejudiced. I feel that many of the problems and answers lie within the reservation schools.

I've only had experience in teaching here at the Tuba City Boarding School. But I've seen enough here and at schools that I've visited, and talked with enough people from different places to come to some—hopefully accurate—conclusions. I hope they prove to be valid, and useful.

One major problem of course, is the boarding school per se. Although the idea of a boarding school, which draws in students from a broad area, is undoubtedly less expensive and more readily controlled than a large number of small day schools, and offers the students advantages such as a good diet and health and sanitation facilities, the problems that it creates are vast, and require solutions. The problems are often recognized, and are often bemoaned, but little has been done to eliminate them. One of these is distance from the home.

In an age and area which need local community interest, involvement and understanding, in which we are supposed to be building and maintaining a harmony between cultures, we find many schools at such distances from the homes of the students, that meaningful contact is difficult to say the least. These distances make meaningful relationships, or even mere visiting, a severe hardship. (For example, the two young boys who froze to death while running away from a boarding school were trying to get to their homes—fifty miles away.)

The lack of transportation and the ruggedness of the terrain compound the problem.

As a result, most children on the reservation starting at age six, only see their parents on occasional weekends, if that often. At these times parents are usually "allowed to check out their children—if the child's conduct in school warrants it," in the opinion of the school administration. If he has been a "problem" (e.g. has run away) parents are often not allowed to take him until he has "learned his lesson". This may take up to a month to accomplish. This may tend to cut down on runaways, but it would seem that we should work toward eliminating the cause, rather than punishing the results.

However, these are often the lucky children. I have no evidence of this, except the word of teachers who are directly involved, but I have been told of schools (e.g. Toadlena Boarding School) at which parents are not allowed to check their children out on weekends, in order to eliminate runaways (except for emergencies).

When children are taken from their homes for nine months a year, from age six onward, family ties are severely strained, and often dissolved. Even brothers and sisters in the same boarding school rarely see each other, due to dormitory situations, class and dining hall arrangements. The children become estranged from relatives, culture and much-admired traditional skills. (For example few of my students have been able to learn the art of rug-weaving, or are familiar with Navajo legends, and sandpaintings.)

Yet, this could almost be understood if we were replacing it with something strong on which they could build a new life. We are not. We may be providing some opportunities for academic training—but that is all we are doing.

For example, my own school, the Tuba City Boarding School is the largest on the reservation, housing 1200 elementary students. This alone creates immense problems. I don't believe any public school system in the country would tolerate an elementary school of this size, for the simple reason that the individual student would be lost in the crowd. We have them here, not only for an ordinary school day, but twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, nine months a year.

The problems of properly running any institution of this size are enormous—be it hospital, prison or whatever. However, when we are involved in what is actually the home situation of young children from another culture, we had best do everything possible to provide a secure, pleasant, stable and enlightening environment for them. We aren't.

For instance, if day schools are not possible, could we not at least provide some overnight guest facilities for parents who would like to visit their children? Nothing elaborate or expensive would be necessary—a hogan would suffice and could be put together easily by Navajos in the vicinity. Or, a small frame building might be constructed.

Yet, as far as I know, this is not done anywhere. This might tend to make the school more of a Navajo school, and less a white school for Navajos.

There are many other ways in which the schools could serve. For instance, they could be opened in the evening to provide training, or formal courses, or just things of interest, to the people. Areas which require instruction, such as English, or writing, could be taught by the teachers themselves. In many depressed areas, teachers earn extra money by such professional means. Why not here? Also, many talented Navajos might wish to earn extra money by conducting courses in the weaving of quality rugs, or in teaching oral English to the people. Consumer and health education could be included, with field trips to make them meaningful. The possibilities are endless. Yet nothing is being done in this area.

The academic program could also be improved. It should be realized that the Navajos are a pragmatic people. Perhaps courses which reflect this could be offered to make school more important and more understandable in their eyes. Classes in sheep, agriculture and native crafts would be greeted with far greater enthusiasm and understanding than the typical curriculum arouses.

(This idea doesn't set well with many of the "old hands" among the administrators—teachers from my own school—agricultural majors—have been turned down in requesting premission to initiate programs of this sort. The reasons given being a) we are not training them to be rural dwellers—we are urbanizing them; b) they can do these things in certain secondary schools; c) there isn't enough water. However: a) they are rural people; b) they are not made aware of all the possibilities of secondary schools, and without earlier experience, interest and ability will be limited and c) you should see the water that comes from the myriad of sprinklers in town from spring through the fall.

If the opportunity arises, look into the "typical" (as opposed to "showplace") schools. You will see how the limited curriculum is hindering us. (I must admit my direct supervisor is very interested in this area—but personnel and funds—along with policy—limit her.)

However, no matter how lacking our program may appear to be, we always manage to consider the academic department to be high quality when we compare ourselves with our dormitory counterpart, the "guidance" department. Herein lies the most serious deficiency of the entire boarding school system, for these people are in charge of the children sixteen hours a day, seven days a week, yet they are understaffed, underprogrammed, undersupervised and overextended. For example, each dormitory has only one teacher, and it is extremely difficult to find suitable personnel for these crucial, demanding positions. Yet, even the finest teachers could accomplish little, when they are working with 150 children of a different culture, and are responsible for their care and welfare seven days a week.

Of course, there are aids working with the teachers—usually two, but occasionally only one on duty at a time. However, what with trying to mend clothes, supply linens, check roll, keep order, fill out forms, prepare children for meals, bathing, school and bed, there is little time to do more than keep the walls from being pulled down. There is nothing to take the place of the homes they have left behind, or the personal interest and training they would have received from their families. The social relationships and interaction which brings about stability and contentment are denied them.

Even an effective guidance program could not replace that. But the truth is, we don't have an effective guidance program, only a "maintenance" program, due to the shortages of guidance personnel, funding and planning. This accounts for the high degree of regimented confusion that abounds after the school day ends. Vast blocks of time are filled with boredom or meaningless activity. There are no learning activities, and few recreational or craft areas being worked in.

The children search everywhere for something—they grasp most hungrily at any attention shown them, or to any straw, that might offer escape from boredom. You can't help but see it in their faces when you visit the dorms of the younger children. At the older boys' dormitories, they are used to the conditions—you can see that too. They no longer expect anything meaningful from anyone. Many have lost the ability to accept anything past the material level, even when it is offered. Unless you lived with them over a period of time, and see the loneliness and the monotony of the daily routine, you cannot appreciate the tragedy of it but it's there.

Yet, even if the guidance department were consistently able to do what they set out to do, it would be something. However, basic things are often neglected. Many children will "slip by" without showering, or washing their single pair of socks, until the odor makes it obvious. Toothbrushes are lost by October or November, or worn out, and that's the end of it. No one has time to check to see if they've been replaced, or even notice if they are missing. Shoes are worn after they are coming apart. Often, dirty clothes will be worn until clean ones are available. Boys get a "zip" haircut from anyone who has a spare minute, irregardless of their wishes, or of Navajo tradition. (And what haircuts!) Girls wash their long hair with bars of soap, for lack of shampoo. Stealing in the dorms is rampant.

Because of the shortage of personnel, there is a tendency—a pronounced tendency—to "herd" rather than guide. The boys and girls are yelled at, bossed around, chased here and there, told and untold, until it is almost impossible for them to attempt to do anything on their own initiative—except, of course, to run away. The guidance people definitely need help!

It should be adequately staffed and provided for, and have well planned programs in order to live up to its name (for example, each dorm might have three teachers or more, instead of only one). We might then reduce the necessity of the child's having to run away to his own culture, to receive the personal attention he craves. Until then, perhaps these "prolonged absences" could be viewed as necessary for emotional stability and security, rather than frowned upon. Perhaps traveling specialists could help in the transition of making BIA schools into Navajo schools. Perhaps they could become centers of community interest, instead of white refugees in the Indian world. These, of course, are only suggestions, but it would be nice to see someone begin to do something.

Finally, please don't bother to send this letter on to the BIA, as I wrote you last year and the letter came back "down the line" to the local level, and the very people involved in some of the situations described here evaluated themselves and their programs. The only thing that came out of that were some dark days for me, and a label as a trouble-maker.

I'd like to, someday, be able to work my way up to a position where I could change things—that would be hard to do if I'm on my superiors "s" (for special)! list, so, as a young troublemaker working his way up to being a bigger and better one, I'm asking—don't rock my personal little boat!

Thanks for your interest.

———— ————.

Senator MONDALE. Senator Kennedy, on several occasions referred to this practice of separating Indian children from their families as a "barbaric" practice. This was both a profound understanding on his part of the supreme importance of personality development in young children, and of the cardinal principles of cultural and family integrity.

The deepest violation of these principles is perhaps summed up in a young Indian child's prayer, recently recorded by a fieldworker in a Methodist boarding school on the Navajo Reservation—"Dear Lord, help me not to hate my mother and father."

Dr. John Collier, Jr., based on the recent fieldwork of one of his graduate students, has described a boarding school on the Navajo Reservation that in many ways matches the worst practices of boarding schools 70 years ago. For example, "children are beaten, pervasive attacks are made against their cultural beliefs, classes start with the Lord's Prayer, and teachers advocate the free labor of Navajo girls in their homes, doing laundry, scrubbing floors, et cetera, all done on students after-school time, 'to teach them the American way of housekeeping'."

A second problem area that was established in our initial hearings by Dr. Harry Saslow, a clinical psychologist in residence for 3 years at the Albuquerque Boarding School, was the serious inadequacies and mental health problems of the off-reservation boarding schools. A number of witnesses have testified regarding this problem from various parts of the country. Some of the problems identified are as follows: A large number of the students have serious emotional or social problems before they ever come to school. Some of the schools appear to be only masquerading as schools, functioning primarily as juvenile detention centers with little or no provision for rehabilitation. Dr. Saslow pointed out that there is no screening process for identifying the problems of these students when they come to the school. Even if there were, there is little or no provision for treatment. There is little or no mental health staffing in any of the off-reservation boarding schools that we know of. To my knowledge the figures that I am about to cite are new to the record, Senator Fanin.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs has recently advised us that there is one psychologist in the whole BIA school system and only two or three social workers. The problems of many of these youngsters appear to get worse rather than better in the boarding school environment. Others simply retreat into a shell and vegetate "putting in your time" as the Indian students call it or "going AWOL."

As a result, very little academic progress is made by many of these students. The atmosphere of the school is usually authoritarian and repressive. Dormitories are often barracks and horribly understaffed.

Guidance counselors are rarely professionals, usually disciplinarians. The quality of administration of both on and off reservation boarding schools is often bad. The tendency too often appears to be for the good teachers to get disgusted and leave while mediocre and bad teachers stay on, some eventually becoming administrators. There is also a tremendous amount of shifting of students from school to school, which testimony would indicate is damaging. There is not one boarding school in the whole BIA system which provides a "therapeutic community" for its students.

It should also be pointed out that testimony has also established that many public schools are failing Indian children as badly as the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Dropout rates of many public schools run from 40 percent to as high as 100 percent (for example, Alliance, Nebr.). Research conducted by Dr. Bryde and Dr. Spilka demonstrates the profound effect of cultural alienation in the adolescent years. Dr. Mindell at Pine Ridge has interviewed a number of Indian students and found a striking amount of repressed self-hatred. These phenomena appear to be common in a number of different Indian student populations.

Perhaps the most dramatic example of the mental health problem of Indian students in public schools was driven home to the subcommittee by its visit to the Fort Hall Reservation in January of this year.

The subcommittee was told during its visit to that reservation that the suicide rate among teenagers was perhaps as high as 100 times the national average. No one really knew for certain but everyone could cite examples. We were told that suicides had occurred as early as 10 years of age. Two days after the subcommittee visit, a 16-year-old Indian boy whom Senator Kennedy had met at a public high school just off the reservation committed suicide. He hung himself in the county jail where he had been placed without a hearing and without notification of his parents after having been accused of drinking during school hours and referred to the police by his high school guidance counselor. He had been placed in a cell where a large pipe extended across the cell; two other Indians from the same reservation had committed suicide in the same cell, by hanging, from the same pipe, in the preceding 11 months. One of them was a 17-year-old Indian girl from the same high school.

We have been informed since then that two additional members of the boy's family, as well as his only close friend, have since then made serious suicide attempts. For the first time study is now underway of all Indian adolescents on the Fort Hall Reservation and the preliminary results suggest that thoughts about committing suicide and general discussion about violent death can be found throughout the reservation.

The scope and depth of this problem is staggering to the imagination. It is for this reason that we have called together today leading experts on mental health problems who have had considerable experience with Indian affairs.

I apologize to Senator Fannin, to Dr. Menninger, and the other witnesses and everyone here for these extended remarks but it has been some 6 months since our last hearing and I thought it important to summarize some of these main points.

Senator Fannin?

Senator FANNIN. Chairman Mondale, I certainly commend you for taking the time to make these remarks which are very appropriate. I concur with them. I pay tribute to Senator Robert Kennedy for focusing the concern of the people throughout our Nation on the plight of our first Americans who are the last Americans in economic, cultural, social, and educational consideration.

Senator Kennedy was tireless and fearless in his approach to the inadequacy of the work of our Government with our Indian people. He was critical but objective in his approach to the Indian problems.

Senator Kennedy was demanding of the staff but their response was commendable, too. We have confidence, and I know I speak for the staff members that I have worked with, in the opportunities that we have, we have confidence in the Indian people.

Throughout our hearings where Senator Kennedy chaired the meetings and throughout our field trips where we visited with groups and individuals we saw the response from these youngsters and the adults. We know that if they are given the chance, the opportunity, that they will come forward and be an important segment of our society. They are capable of taking an important place in our life, the life of America. And I am very pleased that we have men like Dr. Menninger here this morning to speak to us.

I will not take more time but I certainly do want to say that I am very pleased with your statement, Mr. Chairman, as I said before. I pay tribute to what Senator Kennedy had projected for the future and it will be an important assignment to be carried through.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you, Senator Fannin.

It is our privilege to have as our first witness one of the truly great psychiatrists of our Nation, Dr. Karl Menninger, whose background is so long and extended that I think it would take longer than my original statement to outline it. I think he is one of the psychiatrists who does not need an introduction. He is one who grew up in western soil and always has been interested in mental health.

I was told at the beginning if you really want to see how it really should be done see how the Menningers do it in Kansas. So, I am delighted at this initial introduction. The committee is pleased that you could give us your time this morning to discuss this most important problem.

At this point I would like to include the background information.

(The background information on Dr. Menninger follows:)

BIOGRAPHY OF KARL MENNINGER, M.D.

Dr. Karl Menninger is chairman of the Board of Trustees of The Menninger Foundation and Dean of the Menninger School of Psychiatry, Topeka, Kansas and Senior Consultant to the Stone-Brandel Center in Chicago, Illinois.

Dr. Menninger is author of—

The Human Mind, 1930 (Revised & Rewritten 1953).
The Healthy Minded Child, 1930 (with Nelson Antrim Crawford).
Man Against Himself, 1938.
Love Against Hate, 1948 (with Mrs. Menninger).
Manual for Psychiatric Case Study, 1952.
Guide to Psychiatric Books, 1956 (with collaboration).
Theory of Psychoanalytic Technique, 1958.
The Vital Balance, 1963 (with collaboration).
The Crime of Punishment, 1968.

He serves as a consultant to the Veterans Administration, the U.S. Department of Justice (Prison Service), the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (Vocational Rehabilitation), the Kansas Board of Social Welfare (Institutional Management), the Committee on the Rights of the Mentally Ill of the American Bar Foundation, the Forbes Air Force Base Hospital, the Topeka State Hospital, the Topeka Veterans Administration Hospital, the Kansas Diagnostic and Reception Center, the Kansas Neurological Institute, the Aspen Institute of Humanistic Studies in Colorado, and the Illinois State Psychiatric Institute. He is a member of The Chicago Committee of the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, the Family Study Commission of the Illinois Legislature, and the Cook County Sesquicentennial Committee of Illinois. He is on the Advisory Board of Directors of the Anthropos Academy of Athens, the Board of Directors of the Chicago Boys Clubs and the John Howard Association, serves as a Governing Member of the Orchestra Association of Chicago and Professor of Psychiatry at the University of Cincinnati.

In 1965 the American Psychiatric Association awarded, for the first time in its history, a Distinguished Service Award to Dr. Menninger.

In 1966, at its centennial celebration, the University of Kansas appointed Dr. Menninger as its first "University Professor-at-Large," authorized to teach in any department or on any campus of the University. In February, 1968, Dr. Menninger was appointed the first Distinguished Professor of Psychiatry for the University of Health Sciences of the Chicago Medical School. He has also been appointed Distinguished Lecturer in Psychiatry at Loyola University, Chicago, Illinois.

STATEMENT OF KARL MENNINGER, M.D., CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD, MENNINGER FOUNDATION; SENIOR CONSULTANT, STONE BRANDALL CENTER, CHICAGO, ILL.

Dr. MENNINGER. Senators, might I state my sense of excitement and pleasure and solemn responsibility in being asked to say a few things about this subject to you, because I know from the admirable statement that you just read, Senator Mondale, and from the demonstrated activities of Senator Fannin which I have seen personally, how much this subject means to you, and I know how much it meant to Senator Kennedy, whom I knew personally. Indeed, I believe Senator Fannin, Senator Kennedy, and I were together only the last of March on the Navajo Reservation; the hearing at Flagstaff was impossible for me to make.

I remember how pleasing it was to those of us who love the American Indians to see the wonderful way in which these two fine leaders were cooperating in this big job.

And I also admired the excellent staff work that was done for Senator Kennedy. I think that Mr. Parmeter and his associates have collected some marvelous material here and my first testimony would be that I concur with everything that is in this folder.

(The materials referred to can be found in the appendix of these hearings.)

I think what my colleagues have said here, Dr. Leon and Dr. Saslow, Dr. Howard, all the others, are superb statements. It is a complicated picture and it takes a good many statements because there are so many aspects of the matter.

What disturbs one on the reservation is really not only the suicides. Those are dreadful things, but I think what disturbs us most is the recognition that the suicides are an expression of great misery and great disorganization of spirit and of life which comes to our public attention here and there via the suicides. But where one commits suicide, scores are in despair or their talents are being wasted, their lives are oppressed. It is a miserable picture, relieved, to be sure, by a few bright spots but not enough of them.

One always wonders whether to speak about the dark areas or the bright spots and it depends a little on one's audience. I know for the Senators here it is unnecessary to stress the fact that these children are mishandled, mishandled not because there are not some earnest, dedicated teachers—but because the whole system is based upon a false philosophy. It is a philosophy which assumes that you can remove children from their home and put them in a school and the school will make up for the home in some grand way, so that the seperation from the maternal and paternal patterns and sibling patterns and the whole home situation will soon be more than compensated for by the artificial arrangements of the schooling.

Well now, psychiatrists would almost unanimously deny this, refute this principle. It is simply not so that the school is better than the family for the child's mental health. You are forcibly damaging a child in this way.

You damage a child still more when you destroy his first steppingstone of identity, when you tell him his language is no good, when you tell him that his color is not right or imply it by surrounding him with people of a different color, habits, and status. You tell him that what his parents have taught him is no good, that he should not do so and so, or be what he is.

Children, to my knowledge, were—I do not say they are today because I am not there today—punished for speaking their own language to one another, the only language their babbling childish tongues knew. The white trend of eliminating that horrible language and that horrible Navajo way or that heathen Hopi way or whatever it was is a remnant of a kind of educational philosophy which I think has died out among advanced educational lists with our own children, but for some reason or other it did persist.

There are so many factors it is hard to know which one to emphasize. The things I thought I would mention that I put on my sheet here were, first of all, this false philosophy of the schooling, and then secondly, the constant threat which many Indians live under that their tribal relationship to the Federal Government is to be terminated.

This threat of forcible termination is a terrible menace to the Indians. It discourages any attempt on their part to do some of the things that would most benefit their tribes and their people, and leads them to think what is best for me? What can I get out of this individually?

There is also I think, the great error of the relocation program. I live now in Chicago (not officially but practically) and we have in Chicago 16,000 Indians, I believe, many of whom have been, well, as I perhaps unkindly put it, bribed by the Government to go there with a small sum of money and the promise of a job. This is done with the best of intentions, and sometimes a job is found and sometimes the placement is made, but most of these people are not equipped to live in Chicago or for that matter in any industrial community and they become——

Senator **Mondale**. Certainly not in the Chicago of a couple of weeks ago.

Dr. **Menninger**. They become a heavy burden upon the social agencies. They are not, for the most part, well-adjusted individuals and many of them do, of course, return to their reservations and what happens then I really do not know. I personally feel that their relocation is usually a step in the wrong direction. The Indians would be much better strengthening their own cultures and strengthening their own tribal activities, building their own schools, and so forth. And that is why I was so excited by Robert Roessel's school, the Rough Rock School, about which I am sure the Senators know.

I visited this school. I talked to Indians who were the teachers. I have talked to Indians who are the school board. I talked to the Indian who is the director (Mr. Platero). I have talked to many people there and I seldom have seen a social experiment that I thought was so exciting.

Senator **Mondale.** Could you dwell on the Rough Rock experiment for a moment and set forth your appraisal of what elements in that experiment you find most hopeful.

Dr. **Menninger.** Yes, Senator. The Rough Rock Demonstration School was set up on the premise that the Indians could make some decisions about themselves and would, if given the opportunity, and so a school board was selected comprised of Indians some of whom could neither read nor write but who had definite opinions about what they hoped their children would learn.

Then the emphasis on the Navajo tradition is very strong in this school. They are publishing books about the Navajo people in the Navajo language. They are publishing it with illustrations made by Navajo artists. They have their own water system, of course, and their own fire system, their own gymnasium, their own dormitories. The Indian parents come and live in the dormitories as dormitory supervisors for, I believe, a week at a time. They crave this privilege.

Senator **Mondale.** Are these the parents of the children at school?

Dr. **Menninger.** Yes.

Senator **Mondale.** They take turns coming in and serving as dorm parents?

Dr. **Menninger.** Yes, that is right. They are paid a small amount for this but it is a great honor. They tell the children stories and Indian legends, Indian history to the children. Some of them teach weaving, and so on. In return the parents themselves are permitted to come to the school and learn English words and speech and sometimes to learn Navajo writing. But the point is that this school is for Navajo's and by Navajo's.

Senator **Fannin.** Dr. Menninger, is it not that these men although they are not educated, are still wise men. They have the thoughts that you would expect to hear expressed from people that have had an education. I have talked with some of the school board members.

Dr. **Menninger.** I strongly concur.

Senator **Fannin.** They are wise in their thinking. They are certainly interested, objective, and they follow through and one of the great problems we have with our education program is that we do not follow through and that is illustrated by what you say is happening in Chicago, happening in San Francisco, that we take these youngsters, we graduate them from high school. They are not prepared to meet the problems of society and we place them in a large industrial area and forget them.

I think that is one of the great problems we are facing today.

Dr. **Menninger.** Yes. Well, then, as you know, the Navajo—under Dr. Roessell's inspiration—have now gone ahead to form a Navajo college. This is the first all Indian college in the world, I believe.

Senator **Mondale**. It is a community college, is that correct?

Senator **Fannin**. Yes. It is going to be a school that will use high school facilities presently but it will be a community college.

Dr. **Menninger**. I think they will make it a degree-granting college.

Senator **Fannin**. Yes. As time goes along they obtain the funds for the facilities. Starting out they are using high school facilities at Many Farms, Arizona because this high school is just developing.

Dr. **Menninger**. Right. Well, this is one of the bright spots. I think this is an inspiration, this school, to anybody who goes there. I believe they have had many visitors. I think they have had something like 16,000 visitors, did they not, Senator Fannin?

Senator **Fannin**. Yes, and the great advantage is that the people at the school, even the employees that do the work around the school, speak the language of the Indian children.

Dr. **Menninger**. Yes.

Senator **Fannin**. So, when a child comes that cannot speak English, they are not in a strange atmosphere. They are accorded the same treatment that the youngsters that speak English would have that would go to a school where English would be spoken. They are not just isolated from every member of the faculty and all as they are in many of the other schools, dormitory schools.

Senator **Mondale**. Could you dwell on that language problem? Senator Fannin said language at Rough Rock is the native Navajo language for children.

Dr. **Menninger**. Yes.

Senator **Mondale**. And they will work from there to teach them English as well. But they begin with Navajo.

Dr. **Menninger**. Yes.

Senator **Mondale**. The Navajo language. Children come to school being taught in their native tongue. How important is that to the mental health of the children?

Dr. **Menninger**. I think it is extremely important because it helps to establish the identity of the child which can be changed gradually later if there is an indication for such change, but at least it has a firm basis. They have to learn one thing and be proud of it, be proud of being a Navajo.

It seems to me that to be proud of being what one is, a Navajo or a Cherokee or Choctaw or Menominee or whatever one is, to be proud of that instead of being made to feel ashamed of it is of the utmost importance in mental health. I would say more important than anything else. That establishes an identity, whereas the feeling that the identity I have is no good and I have got to be something else leads to a constant instability and tendency toward personal disorganization. You have unstable individuals who begin to drink, for whom alcohol is something of a relief and a welcome escape from the torture of not being anything or having any respect or recognition or self-respect.

Senator **Mondale**. Yet, the policy traditionally of many of the educational efforts with Indian children has been first to beat their own culture out of them ——

Dr. **Menninger**. Yes.

Senator MONDALE (continuing). Their language and their traditions and what their parents have taught them to be important, to replace it with another system and values neither of which they can understand.

Dr. MENNINGER. Exactly.

Senator MONDALE. So, we take from them the one thing that they understand and initially appreciate and try to substitute something which they do not understand and many of them are unable to accept.

Dr. MENNINGER. Senator, that expresses it exactly as I see it. I do not think the general public has any idea of the disastrousness of that—in my opinion—wrong philosophy. You see, there are even some very socially minded individuals who say we should help the Indians to assimiliate, integrate with white Americans. I think that is a false notion. That is what the Germans decided in regard to Alsace-Lorrainians. That is what the Russians did about the Georgians, and so forth. "You have got to integrate with us. It is best for you to get like the rest of us."

I do not think it is a sound social philosophy, and I do not think it is a proper policy to use toward the American Indians. The American Indians have stood with incredible and steadfast resistance against that policy and it seems to me they should be supported in their wishes to be what they are, not what somebody else is. They will still be a part of us, they will still be our fellow citizens, they will still be a loyal component of this Nation. But I think they should not be forced to be amateur white men.

I think this applies to almost every tribe. A few have made successful integrations and assimilations, but I think most of them will not and should not.

Senator MONDALE. If the policy of the Federal Government were to equip the Indian through education to deal with the problems of making it in the white man's world, that is, understanding the language, learning a skill, undertaking an education to become a professional man or whatever it is the Indian might want to do, would it not be the case that the Indian is better equipped to do so if he appreciates, understands, and is proud of his own culture than if we beat that out of him?

Dr. MENNINGER. Yes, Senator, but may I take issue with the expression "the white man's world." I do not know that this is our world. I think that the meaning of your phrase is that the dominant culture in this country which is white has established certain ways of life which for many of us seem good and healthy and proper. I think for many Indians they are not good and not proper. I am well acquainted with some distinguished Indians that have achieved fine things in our culture, but for many other Indians, their attitude toward nature is different, their attitude toward one another is different. To force them to change their attitudes or else commit suicide is not what American democracy means.

If they want to stay that way and we can help them do this constructively, I believe we can. I believe the Navajos are doing this. They were not originally my favorite tribe, but I have come to be very fond of the Navajos. I have been at their tribal ceremonies and at their sacred religious ceremonies and I know something of their philosophy. I believe they are determined to be self-supporting and to be self-reliant, but that is not helped by being told that "your Navajoism is no damn good, your language is impossible, and your homes are not equipped with air conditioning so get with it and join up."

I think we must help them to do what they want to do that we can approve. I do not want them to do something that I think would be destructive to the country or to themselves.

Senator FANNIN. Dr. Menninger, I know that at the Phoenix Indian School, they stress that this is an American nation and that our Indian citizens are the first Americans and that they have every right and privilege and should have and must to take their place in society along with all other Americans. I think it has been extremely beneficial.

One of the great problems we have had is that the youngsters, especially the first, second, and third graders throughout our Indian educational program have had a great disadvantage.

Dr. MENNINGER. Right.

Senator FANNIN. So, I feel that Headstart, one of the most successful poverty programs, has aided materially in assisting the Indians.

Now, I feel it has been successful in many areas of the country but more successful on the reservation than any other place. I have been very proud of the Headstart programs on reservations.

Do you not think that we should emphasize this and bring this into our standard educational program on the reservations rather than just have it as a poverty program, have it as a requirement in our school program on the reservation, whether it is under OEO or whatever it may be?

Dr. MENNINGER. Senator, I think so, but I do not think I can qualify as an expert on this matter. I think so. But I do not want to commit the sin of presumption. I am not sure I know enough about it to say exactly, you know, that this particular bureau or that one should be in charge. I simply know that the situation in regard to the schools is not a mentally healthy one and that part of that is ascribable, I think, to our assumption that we must make amateur white men out of American Indians and not allow them to have some self-determination and allow their own potentialities to develop as I am sure they could.

They have great character and great strength which I think it is a pity to suppress.

Senator FANNIN. Well, I think we have some fine leaders in the Bureau of Indian Affairs, in the educational program and all other departments. At the same time, I am concerned that we have not emphasized that these people can go forward. They have ability if we give them the opportunity. And I think there has been a reluctance to give them that opportunity and to have the privileges that the non-Indians have in their school systems and I am very much in favor of amending the educational programs, school board members, parents coming to the school as you have described in the demonstration school. I think we should promote this to a much greater extent.

Dr. MENNINGER. I do, too.

Senator MONDALE. Doctor, what in your opinion should be done about the large elementary boarding schools on the Navajo Reservation? Are there alternatives? Why have not these alternatives been implemented, and any other observations you might wish to make in that general area of inquiry.

Dr. Menninger. Well, I do not think it would be fair of me to say why they have not been implemented. I just—I think there was a time when that was thought to be the most expedient and perhaps economical way of educating a lot of people I think we know now that it is a very uneconomical way because it makes for so much mental ill health.

Now, if you get a little more education and a great deal more mental ill health, I think you have lost the bargain, lost the deal. I do not think that the large boarding school to which children are forcibly taken is a good idea at all and I do not think anybody else does really, any more. But some say, well, we have got these places on our hands, we have to use them.

I think that most strenuous effort should be directed toward correcting that in whatever way it can be done. I am not in that work, so I do not know just how it can be done but it is a bad system at present, in my opinion.

Senator Fannin. Dr. Menninger, for years we have been attempting to get community centers—surrounding a school. In other words, that we would hope that we would have, say, a service station, a little general store and a health center all combined, but this is not practical until we get roads. So, we must start with a road program and we have been trying to get this underway for years.

Dr. Menninger. I know you have.

Senator Fannin. And it has been very slow.

Dr. Menninger. You are working on it, Senator.

Senator Fannin. I really feel that that is our first step and I think a very important step even if we still continued the schools as they are now. I notice from some statistics that were given to us that most of the students are within 25 miles of the school that they are attending. This is, of course, important to the parents and the students. If we had roads, then we would not have that barrier. The children could still live at home, attend school and be bused in from that distance. We would overcome this barrier of being away from their parents and also parents participation in the school program.

Dr. Menninger. I agree completely, but I cannot help but add that I think it is important that the Indians themselves help to plan where those roads should go because if a certain very wise and powerful group of engineers should decide it, I think you might do much more harm than good. They would decide it would be much better here and the Indians would say we do not want it there. I remember Dr. Roessel saying to me that he differed with the board of education at the Rough Rock School only in three instances over the years and in every instance it was proved afterward that he was wrong and the Indians were right. They had arguments that they could not marshal verbally but they were proved correct in their opinion.

Senator Fannin. The Indian people have entered into the planning program for the roads. The Indians would want a road to go to a certain point because of the history surrounding that particular area and they look for advice as to what they can do in the future, for instance, as far as their livestock is concerned, as far as their opportunities and many interests, so naturally we feel it is very important that their counseling be taken into consideration.

Dr. Menninger. We have been speaking just of the Navajo. The problems on each reservation are somewhat different.

Senator **Fannin**. But the Navajo Reservation is so large that the problem perhaps is of greater magnitude than most of the reservations, although when I said that one time at one of our meetings, I was challenged by some of the leaders from other reservations who said, although our reservation is small we still have the Indian problems.

Dr. **Menninger**. I think the dreariness and misery on some of them is even worse because of different personality types among the Indians, and then I think some of the—some problems that really I must say are beyond my—I do not know what to think about. The Hopis, for example, with whom I have been friendly for a long time, have never had any water, as you know, except on the third mesa. It seems obvious that the second mesa should have water when it is known to exist there. It would take a relatively small amount of money and yet this was as you know, opposed by some members of the tribe for a long time because they felt it would so seriously disarrange the way of life that the people had had for 1,000 years. And I am impressed by that kind of traditionalism.

Nevertheless, no doubt the Senator knows that the grant has recently been arranged, I believe, or am I wrong?

For a cultural center and a well at the second mesa?

Senator **Fannin**. I think it is going to be a very difficult situation. We are hoping it will be successful.

Dr. **Menninger**. So do I. I thought we could raise it by private funds but I think it is much better that the tribe has finally decided to commit some of their own funds. I think that is much better and I am so happy about it.

Senator **Mondale**. Dr. Menninger's suggestion that the Navajos have some role over the placement of roads, to develop some communication, is a far more ambitious undertaking than just trying to create understanding between Indian culture and white culture. I have tried for several years to develop an understanding with highway engineers and I have decided it is impossible.

Senator **Fannin**. The Hopis, as you remember, Doctor, were adamant in their opposition to the way in which the roads were first planned on their reservation because of the burial grounds and, of course, they did make some concessions, not with complete satisfaction to the Hopis, but at least they were able to overcome some of the objections. It is difficult but I think we must be realistic. At the same time, we absolutely must take into consideration their desires brought about from years and years of history. But I think that properly handled, receiving guidance from these Indian leaders, will help them materially.

Dr. **Menninger**. That concept of the governed, it seems to me, is one of the most important social factors in a basis for mental health, the feeling that the so-called—the governed, have some voice in the operation of their administration.

Senator **Fannin**. Well, as you know we visited the reservation just a few months ago. On the Hopi Reservation, they have traditionalists and progressives, the two groups. The traditionalists follow the medicine man and the progressives follow their tribal elected leaders although there is always this discussion back and forth, a controversy really, regarding who should furnish the leadership.

Dr. **Menninger**. Right. However, the evil of factionalism is not limited to the American Indians.

Senator FANNIN. I agree.

Dr. MENNINGER. It even afflicts some white social organizations.

Senator MONDALE. Dr. Menninger, would you consider that the Rough Rock Demonstration School approach should be extended to Indian school education generally?

Dr. MENNINGER. You know, to generalize from one example is a dangerous game. I think it might be wonderful. I would think it would be wonderful but I do not think I, my voice alone—I mean, I would like to know what the Indians think.

For example, you mean let us consider applying this to the Seminoles or to the Winnebagos? I do not know. The Winnebagos may not like that. I should think they would, but take the Winnebagos, for example, it might be that the Winnebago language is already so nearly lost that they could not do it.

Now, I am sure the Hopis could. I am sure the Mohaves could. The Colorado River tribes could do it. The eastern Cherokee—many of the tribes which still have a strong sense of tribal unity and strength, I think, could.

Senator FANNIN. In the schools with predominantly Indian children but then when you get into the integrated schools then it would be very difficult.

Dr. MENNINGER. I suppose so. I suppose so, yes.

Senator FANNIN. I mean where the Indian students are a small part—of the total number.

Dr. MENNINGER. Yes. That would be very difficult. But I think also the more Indian teachers they have the better, too.

Senator FANNIN. Dr. Menninger, what we were trying to do is encourage and have the children encouraged to go into educational programs, in other words, be teachers, and, of course, we are trying to get them to go into profesisons. We are trying to devise a plan that would bring this about.

Dr. MENNINGER. Wonderful.

Senator FANNIN. Scholarships, whatever might induce them to go forward in the professions and the teaching profession is very important. Naturally, we would like to see them be doctors, lawyers, veterinarians, and all because they are needed on the reservation, needed not only on the reservation but off the reservation. Senator Kennedy often talked to students about going into the teaching profession.

Dr. MENNINGER. That is a wonderful idea, of course. I do not want to pose as an expert in this field. I got started in it because the Government said, go out there and tell us why there are so many suicides.

And what I found was that while the suicides are the dramatic aspect of it, the chronic, slow death of many people's spirit is worse. The occasional suicide is an alarm signal. It is a call for help for the whole tribe.

And from that I went on to looking at the schools and looking at the other things in the cultural life. And I commend to the Senator some articles written by Prof. Eric Ericson of Harvard, who many years ago began to call the attention of myself and my colleagues to this Indian mental health problem. He went and lived on the reservation and detected the great discrepancy between the ideals that we believe we are maintaining and the mistreatment that we were imposing. Senator—Do you happen to know the articles?

Senator MONDALE. No, I do not.

Dr. **Menninger**. I am sure Mr. Parmeter could get them for you.

Senator **Mondale**. I would like to ask a question that refers back to a statement that Senator Fannin made about the need for roads and I gathered from that some decentralization of some of the schools.

Doctor, do you have any opinion about the impact of long arduous bus rides upon the learning capabilities of younsters? The parents, some of them on the Indian reservations, complained to me about how early the children have to get up and how long they have to ride. We had one small group of Chippewa Indians at Grand Portage who ride an hour and 15 minutes to school and it gets rather cold in the winter, sometimes 40 or 50 below. Those poor kids get up really before dawn to ride down there and then they are supposed to get an education.

Do you have an opinion on that?

Dr. **Menninger**. Yes, I have the same opinion that you have, Senator. I agree with you. I think that is no way to treat a child.

Senator **Fannin**. If we had the community centers we could eliminate that to a great extent.

Dr. **Menninger**. I think you could. That is right. Smaller and more numerous. You have many experiences in public life. How do you combat the public illusion that if you get it big enough you can do it cheaper?

We used to do that with hospitals, you know. State hospitals for the mentally ill were built with 5,000 to 10,000 beds. We know now that no hospital ought to be bigger than 250 beds, but look how much money we have wasted finding that out. Government money, everything else. And we still have some monsters on our hands, you know.

Senator **Fannin**. Dr. Menninger, the best hospital in the world is not of any benefit if you cannot get to it.

Dr. **Menninger**. That is also true.

Senator **Fannin**. That is what happened, the problem last year on the Indian reservations with the snowstorms and all, the cold. If we could have had just a community center or have a school with health facilities, I do not mean you have to build a community around it but a center where there is nursing care, treatment, emergency treatment, perhaps, and that is what we needed because we had these people freezing to death. But if they could have gotten to a center this would have been resolved.

Dr. **Menninger**. Right.

Senator **Fannin**. But they could not get to a hospital, for instance, in Winslow, miles and miles away.

Dr. **Menninger**. Right.

Senator **Mondale**. Thank you very much, Dr. Menninger, for your most useful testimony.

Dr. **Menninger**. Senators, may I just insert for the record, commendation of the improvement in the Indian hospital situation under the Public Health Service. I have seen some of these hospitals now and I have seen some of the hospitals in the old days and I think that is one thing we can be a little happy about.

Senator **Mondale**. Thank you very much, Dr. Menninger.

Our next witnesses are Dr. Robert Leon and with him, Dr. Harry W. Martin. Dr. Leon is chairman of the department of psychiatry, University of Texas Medical School, and Dr. Martin is a professor of sociology at the same institution. We are delighted to have you here this morning.

I would ask that the background data sheets be included at this point in the record. Please proceed as you wish.

(The material referred to follows:)

BIOGRAPHY OF HARRY W. MARTIN, PH. D

Harry W. Martin, Professor, Department of Psychiatry (Sociology), the University of Texas, Medical School at San Antonio, San Antonio, Texas.

OTHER ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

Associate Member of the Graduate Faculty, the University of Texas, Austin, Texas.

Adjunct Professor of Sociology and Member of Graduate Faculty, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas.

Born October 22, 1916, Phenix City, Alabama; married, two children; Presbyterian.

EDUCATION

A.B., University of Georgia, 1949; M.A., University of Georgia, 1950; Summer School, Department of Social Relations, Harvard University, 1951; Ph. D. University of North Carolina, 1957.

AREAS OF INTEREST AND CONCENTRATION

Social organization, sociology of the family, industrial sociology, medical sociology.

EXPERIENCE AND EMPLOYMENT

From 1959 to September 1968: Department of Psychiatry, the University of Texas Southwestern Medical School at Dallas, Texas; 1956 to September 1959: Co-ordinator and Principal Investigator of Social Science and Psychiatry Project, University of North Carolina School of Nursing. A multi-disciplinary project designed to relate the social and psychiatric science to nursing education; 1955 to January, 1956: Research Fellow, Social Science Research Section, Division of Health Affairs and Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina; principal duty: Project Coordinator of a survey of psychiatric nursing in North Carolina; 1952 to 1955: Research Assistant (one-third time) in the two organizations listed immediately above, and graduate student in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of North Carolina; 1950 to 1952: Instructor, Department of Sociology, Salem College, Winston-Salem, North Carolina; 1942 to 1946: United States Army: field artillery, one year, rank—private, corporal, staff sergeant; chemical warfare service, three years, discharged at rank of captain; 1937 to 1942: Assistant manager, Elebash Jewelry Company; Columbus, Georgia.

THESIS AND DISSERTATION

Master's Thesis: An Analysis of Syphilis Mortality by Age, Sex, and Race, Georgia, 1939–1941. Department of Sociology, University of Georgia, 1950; Ph. D. Dissertation: Physician Role Conflict in Community Participation, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of North Carolina, 1957.

MEMBERSHIP IN PROFESSIONAL SOCIETIES

American Sociological Association (Fellow).
Southern Sociological Society.
Southwestern Sociological Society.
American Association for the Advancement of Science.
American Association of University Professors.
Texas Society on Aging.
Society for Applied Anthropology.

Consultant to USPHS Hospital, Fort Worth, Texas; Terrell State Hospital, Terrell, Texas; Mental Health Service, Region VII, DHEW, USPHS, NIMH.

BOARD MEMBERSHIP

Mental Health Association of Dallas County; Dallas United Community Centers; Hope Cottage—Children's Bureau; Texas Society on Aging.

OTHER

Formerly Associate Editor, *Sociological Inquiry;* Regional Advisory Committee, Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education (Mental Retardation); Professional Advisory Committee, Dallas County Mental Health and Mental Retardation Center; Community Health Services Advisory Committee, North Texas; Planning Council for Hospitals and Related Health Facilities; Regional Health Advisory Committee, Region VII, USPHS (Office of Comprehensive Health Planning); Professional Advisory Council, Easter Seal Society for Crippled Children and Adults of Texas.

PUBLICATIONS

1. C. A. McMahan and Harry W. Martin, "Population and the Southeastern Market," *Georgia Business*, 10: 1 (October 1950), 4–11.
2. Harry W. Martin, "The Effect of Syphilis on Nonwhite Longevity as Reflected in Mortality Data, Georgia, 1939–41," *Journal of Venereal Disease Information*, 32: 3 (March 1951), 57–60.
3. ——— and C. A. McMahan, "Land Distribution by Lottery in Georgia," *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, 33: 1 (June 1952), 44–51.
4. Sanford Winston and Harry W. Martin, "Substandard Housing in Five North Carolina Cities," *Public Welfare News*, 15: 2 (June 1952), 6–8.
5. Harry W. Martin, "Physician Role Conflict in Community Participation," *Research Previews*, 5: (March 1957), 14–19. (Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.)
6. ———, "Patterns of Psychiatric Nursing in North Carolina," *Research Previews*, 3: (October 1955), 13–17.
7. ——— and Ida Harper Simpson, *Patterns of Psychiatric Nursing*. New York: American Nurses' Foundation, Inc., 1956 (Monograph).
8. ———, "Physicians: Their Community Participation and Extra-Professional Role." Paper read at the Southern Sociological Society Meeting, 1957.
9. Miriam M. Johnson and Harry W. Martin, "A Sociological Analysis of the Nurse Role," *American Journal of Nursing*, 58:3 (March 1958), 373–7.
10. ———, "The Behavioral Sciences and Nursing Education: Some Problems and Prospects," *Social Forces*, 37: 1 (October 1958), 61–67.
11. ———, "Education and Service: Division and Unity," *Nursing Outlook*, 7: (November 1959), 650–53.
12. ——— and Fred E. Katz, "The Professional School as a Molder of Motivations," *Journal of Health and Human Behavior*, 2: (Summer 1961), 106–12.
13. ——— and Arthur J. Prange, Jr., "Human Adaptation: A Conceptual Approach to Understanding Patients," *The Canadian Nurse*, 58: 3 (March 1962), 234–43.
14. ——— and Arthur J. Prange, Jr., "The Stages of Illness: a Psychosocial Approach," *Nursing Outlook*, 10: 3 (March 1962), 168–71.
15. Arthur J. Prange, Jr., and Harry W. Martin, "Aids to Understanding Patients," *American Journal of Nursing*, 62: 7 (July 1962), 98–100.
16. Harry W. Martin, "Structural Sources of Strain in a Small Psychiatric Hospital," *Psychiatry*, 25: 4 (November 1962), 347–53.
17. Fred E. Katz and Harry W. Martin, "Career Choice Processes," *Social Forces*, 41: 2 (December 1962), 149–154.
18. Harry W. Martin, R. L. Leon, J. H. Gladfelter and S. B. May, "Use of the Cornell Index in Screening Socially Inadequate Men," *Texas State Journal of Medicine*, 59: 2 (February 1963), 93–5.
19. J. H. Gladfelter, H. W. Martin, R. L. Leon and S. B. May, "The Cornell Index and Social Dependency," *Texas Reports on Biology and Medicine*, 21: 1 (Spring 1963), 12–15.
20. Hiram J. Friedsam and Harry W. Martin, "A Comparison of Self and Physicians' Health Ratings in an Older Population," *Journal of Health and Human Behavior*, 4: (Fall, 1963), 179–83.
21. Hiram J. Friedsam and Harry W. Martin, "Age, Sex, and Anomia: An Exploratory Study". Paper read at the 17th Annual Scientific Meeting of the Gerontological Society, 1964.

22. Harry W. Martin, "Correlates of Adjustment among American Indians in an Urban Environment," *Human Organization*, 23: 4 (Winter 1964), 290-295.
23. Charles M. Bonjean, Richard J. Hill and Harry W. Martin, "Reactions to the Assassination in Dallas," in B. S. Greenberg and E. B. aPrker (eds.), *The Kennedy Assassination and the American Public: Social Communication in Crisis* (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1965).
24. Cervando Martinez and Harry W. Martin, "Folk Diseases among Urban Mexican-Americans: Etiology, Symptoms, and Treatment," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 196: (April 11, 1966), 161–164.
25. R. L. Leon, Harry W. Martin and J. H. Gladfelter, "An Emotional and Educational Experience for Urban Migrants," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 124: 3 (September, 1967), 381–4.
26. Harry W. Martin, R. L. Leon, S. S. Sutker, and William Hales, "Mental Health of Eastern Oklahoma Indians: An Exploration Employing the Cornell Index (N2)," *Human Organization* (to be published).

Biography of Robert L. Leon, M.D.

Name: Robert Leonard Leon, M.D.

Date and Place of Birth: January 18, 1925; Denver, Colorado.

Office Address: 715 Stadium Drive; San Antonio, Texas 78212.

Home Address: 831 Fire Fly Drive; San Antonio, Texas 78216.

Marital Status: Married: September 14, 1947.

Wife: Willena (Lee) Leon, *Born:* April 18, 1926.

Children: Alexis Kay, born August 21, 1948; Mark Robert, born April 21, 1951; Jeffrey Clayton, born January 6, 1964; Stacy Lee, born November 28, 1965.

Education: College: University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado: 1942–1944; Major: Pre-Medical; Medical School: University of Colorado School of Medicine, Denver, Colorado, 1944–1948; Degree: M.D., June, 1948.

Training: Rotating Internship: University Hospital, Ann Arbor, Michigan; July, 1948 to July, 1949.

Psychiatric Residency: Colorado Psychopathic Hospital, University of Colorado Medical Center; July, 1949 to July, 1952. This includes one year A.A.P.C.C. approved training in Child Psychiatry.

Board Certification: Certified in Psychiatry by the American Board of Psychiatry and Neurology, Inc., 1956.

Experience: Clinical Psychiatrist—Full time (Child Psychiatrist), Bureau of Mental Hygiene, Connecticut State Department of Health, July 1, 1952, to November 7, 1953.

Assistant Psychiatrist, Student Health Service, Yale University, September, 1952 to July, 1953, one day per week.

Assistant Director and Acting Director (July 1, 1954) of Child Psychiatry, full time, Greater Kansas City Mental Health Foundation; December 1, 1953 to October 1, 1954.

Chief, Mental Health Services, United States Public Health Service, Region VI, October 1, 1954, to September 1, 1957. At time of discharge, held temporary rank of Senior Surgeon (Lieutenant Colonel) (Reserve) U.S.P.H.S.

Instructor in Psychiatry, University of Kansas School of Medicine, March 1, 1956 to September, 1957.

Chief, Psychiatric Clinics, University of Texas Southwestern Medical School, September 1, 1957 to June 30, 1963.

Assistant Professor of Psychiatry (Full time), September 1, 1957 to September 1, 1961.

Associate Professor of Psychiatry (Full time), September 1, 1961 to November 1, 1965.

Professor of Psychiatry, November 1, 1965 to September 1, 1967 (Full time), University of Texas Southwestern Medical School, Dallas, Texas.

Professor and Chairman, Department of Psychiatry (Full time), University of Texas Medical School at San Antonio, September 1, 1967 to present.

Consultations and special projects

Consultant, Hartford Juvenile Court, September 1952 to November, 1952, one-half day per week.

Special Consultant, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Employment Assistance Branch Central Office, Washington, D.C., and Field Employment Assistance Office, Dallas, Texas. Study of Alaskan natives relocated to urban areas in lower 48 States. 1962 to present.

Veterans' Administration Hospital, 1957 to present.

Denton State School, 1962 to 1964.

Psychiatric Consultant, Social Security Administration, Bureau of Hearings and Appeals, 1963 to present.

Psychiatric Consultant, Mental Health Section, U.S. Public Health Service, Region VII, Dallas, Texas, 1958 *to present.*

Psychiatric Consultant, Wilford Hall USAF Hospital; Lackland Air Force Base, Texas.

Committees and offices

American Academy of Child Psychiatry, Chairman, Committee on Mental Health Planning, 1963 to present

American Orthopsychiatric Association, Member, Committee on Minority Group Problems, 1962 to present; Chairman, Nominating Committee, 1967–1968.

American Psychiatric Association, Member, Public Health Committee, 1962 to 1965.

American Public Health Association, Program Area Committee on Mental Health and Mental Retardation, 1964 to present.

National Institute of Mental Health, Member, Training Committee Subcommittee on Inservice Training, Training and Manpower Resources Branch, 1963. Member, Policy and Planning Panel, Training and Manpower Resources Branch, 1965.

Dallas Neuropsychiatric Society, Secretary-Treasurer, 1963 to 1965, President-Elect, 1965–1966, President, 1966–1967.

Mental Health Association of Dallas County, Member, Board of Directors, 1963 to 1967.

Hogg Foundation, Special Consultant and Member of Medical Advisory Committee, 1965.

Statewide Citizens Committee for Mental Health Planning (Texas), Chairman, Subcommittee on Epidemiology, 1963 to 1965.

Member, State Advisory Council for Construction of Community Mental Health and Mental Retardation Facilities, 1967.

Societies, national:

American Academy of Child Psychiatry.
American Association for the Advancement of Science.
American Medical Association.
American Orthopsychiatric Association (Fellow).
American Psychiatric Association (Fellow).
American Public Health Association (Fellow).

Societies, State:

Texas District Branch American Psychiatric Association.
Texas Medical Association.
Texas Neuropsychiatric Association.
Texas Society of Child Psychiatry.

Societies, local:

Dallas County Medical Society.
Dallas Neuropsychiatric Society.
Bexar County Medical Society.
Bexar County Psychiatric Society.

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PUBLICATIONS

1. "The Connecticut Juvenile Court as a Mental Hygiene Agency," Leon, Robert L., *Connecticut Health Bulletin*, Vol. 67, No. 9, May, 1953.
2. "Mental Health of Indian Boarding School Children and Mental Health of Considerations in the Indian Boarding School Program", Leon, Robert L., in *Emotional Problems of the Indian Students in Boarding Schools and Related Public Schools.* Published: New Mexico Department of Public Health. 13–17, April 11, 12, and 13, 1960.
3. "A Participant-Directed Experience as a Method of Psychiatric Teaching and Consultation", Leon, Robert L., *Mental Hygiene*, Vol. 44, No. 3: 375–381, July, 1960.

4. "Areas in the Social System which have Mental Health Implications Significant to Program-Planning and Evaluation", Leon, Robert L., Mimeograph Material: *Use of Mental Health Concepts in Providing Patient Care.* Published: The Hawaiian State Department of Health Division of Mental Health. 33–51, November 30, December 2, 1960.
5. "Alcohol as a Discriminative Stimulus: A Preliminary Report", Korman, Maurice; Knopf, Irwin J.; and Leon, Robert L., *Texas Reports on Biology and Medicine.* Vol 20, No. 1: 61–63, Spring, 1962.
6. "Method of Orienting Medical Students in Community Social Services", Leon, Robert L.; Friedman, Jane P., B.S., MSW, *Public Health Reports.* Vol. 77, No. 9: 752–754, September, 1962.
7. "Use of the Cornell Index in Screening for Socially Inadequate Men", Leon, Robert L.; Martin, Harry W.; Gladfelter, John H.; and May, Sophia Belle, *Texas State Journal of Medicine.* 59: 93–95, February, 1963.
8. "The Cornell Index and Social Dependency", Gladfelter, John H.; Martin, Harry W.; Leon, Robert L.; and May, Sophia Belle, *Texas Reports on Biology and Medicine.* Vol. 21, No. 1: 12–15, Spring, 1963.
9. "Dyscultural Anxiety Reaction: A Case Study", Leon, Robert L., *Psychiatric Quarterly.* Vol. 38, No. 2: 271–277, April, 1964.
10. *Planning Psychiatric Services for Children in the Community Mental Health Program,* Prugh, Dane G., Executive Editor; and Leon, Robert L., Co-Executive Editor, American Psychiatric Association, December, 1964.
11. "Maladaptive Interaction Between Bureau of Indian Affairs Staff and Indian Clients", Leon, Robert L., *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry,* Vol. XXXV, No. 4, July, 1965.
12. "Community Psychiatry Starts with the Patients' Needs", Leon, Robert L., *Hospital and Community Psychiatry,* Vol. 17, No. 3, March, 1966.
13. "An Emotional and Educational Experience for Urban Migrants", Leon, Robert L., Martin, Harry W., and Gladfelter, J. H., *American Journal of Psychiatry,* Vol. 124:3, September, 1967.

PAPERS PRESENTED

1. "A Study of Fathers of Intact Families Receiving Aid to Dependent Children", Leon, Robert L.; Gladfelter, John H.; Martin, Harry W.; and May, Sophia Belle. Presented at the annual meeting of the American Public Health Association. October 18, 1962.
2. "The Navajo Relocated to the City", Leon, Robert L.; Martin, Harry W.; and Hargis, Carol L. Presented at the 1963 Annual Meeting of the American Orthopsychiatric Association.
3. "Maladaptive Interaction Between Client and Agency", Leon, Robert L., presented at the First International Congress of Social Psychiatry, London, England, 1964.
4. "An Emotional and Educational Experience for Urban Migrants", Leon, Robert L.; Martin, Harry W.; and Gladfelter, John H. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Psychiatric Association, May, 1966.
5. "American Indian Self-Identification: Role of the School", Leon, Robert L., presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Orthopsychiatric Association, March, 1967.
6. "Some Implications for a Preventive Program for American Indians", Leon, Robert L., presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Psychiatric Association, May, 1967.

BOOK REVIEWS

Review of the book *The Legacy of Neglect,* by Charles A. Ferguson, et al. Fort Worth, Texas, Industrial Mental Health Associates, 1965. Review appeared in *American Journal of Public Health,* Vol. 56, No. 1, January, 1966, pp. 138–139.

Review of the book, *Mentatl Health with Limited Resources,* by Hans R. Huessey, New York, New York: Grune & Stratton, 1966. Review appeared in *American Journal of Public Health,* Vol. 57, No. 4, April, 1967, pp. 715–716.

STATEMENT OF ROBERT L. LEON, M.D., PROFESSOR AND CHAIRMAN OF THE DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHIATRY, UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS MEDICAL SCHOOL AT SAN ANTONIO, TEX., ACCOMPANIED BY HARRY W. MARTIN, PH. D., PROFESSOR OF PSYCHIATRY (SOCIOLOGY), UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS

Dr. LEON. Thank you, Senator, and I will say that I am honored to be asked to appear before you here. Your statement at the beginning was excellent and has said many of the things that I would like to say or plan to say. Dr. Menninger also has said many of the things that I wanted to say with far more experience than I have had.

I have prepared a statement and if you do not mind, I would read from it.

One of the great problems of our age is human development—not so much as a resource but to allow people to comfortably and happily reap the benefits of modern technology in 20th-century society. Can this be done without sacrificing integrity of human beings? I believe it can and should be done in such a way as to allow people to reach their full potential and that the Federal Government has an opportunity to demonstrate this through its work and partnership with the American Indian. The facts and figures which document the plight of the American Indian are available to you here. I have reviewed the excellent material that Mr. Parmeter sent to me.

I propose to outline some of the problems in a general way and then proceed to some principles underlying programs to attack the problems. We have discussed how the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the beginning started out as an authoritarian, repressive agency, in an attempt to do away with "the Indian problem," and the Indian boarding schools by and large, have had difficulty struggling out from the handicaps imposed by the original purposes which were set up. That is, "to free the children from the language and habits of their untutored and ofttime savage parents."

In 1883 the Secretary of the Interior stated, "If a sufficient number of manual labor schools can be established to give each youth the advantages of 3 to 5 years of schooling, the next generation will hear nothing of this difficult problem, and we may leave the Indian to himself." [1]

It is unfortunate that in the 1960's the boarding schools are just beginning to disengage themselves from this attitude that Indian education should be limited to manual and vocational training. Even in public schools Indians tend to be more encouraged to pursue vocational training rather than careers which lead to professional and executive positions. Vocational training is desirable and necessary, but even vocational training facilities are often inadequate, and the training may very well lag behind the training that is necessary to equip Indian students to work in modern industry.

New Indian secondary schools are being built, and modern vocational and academic programs are being instituted. Yet, in these schools, many of which are in or near large cities, the Indian students find themselves isolated from the larger community. This is partly a psychological problem within the Indian students. They find it difficult to find their place in a modern city. The fact that this psychological problem exists speaks for the need for additional mental health services to the Indian boarding schools. Many of the educators are aware of this and would welcome additional funds to institute mental health programs.

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[1] The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. American Indians and American Life. George E. Simpson and J. Milton Yinger, eds. vol. 311, May 1957.

Some of the effects of Indian boarding schools are demonstrated by the very people who are now working in the boarding schools. Many Indian employees, most of whom are guidance personnel, are themselves a product of the Indian boarding school. I have found that some of these people have great difficulty in discussing their own experience as Indian students. Many of them show, what I would call, a blunting of their emotional responses. This, I would attribute to the separation from the parents and the oppressive atmosphere of the boarding school. It is difficult for an individual to admit that his own life experience has been less than adequate, so that these Indian employees are very defensive and will not admit to themselves that they have had bad experiences. If one can get the trust and confidence of these Indian employees and allow them to feel comfortable in discussing their past experience, some of them will begin to admit the difficulties they had in going through the boarding schools and will for the first time, and to their own great surprise, express much hostility and resentment about the treatment they received. This example is used to illustrate two things—one is the ultimate effects of the boarding school experience but the second is that it illustrates very well how the system has become self-perpetuating because of the necessary self-denial among the Indian employees.

The statement that I just made easily lends itself to misinterpretation. I am not singling out Indian employees as culprits, just as I am not laying blame at the feet of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Rather, I am attempting to place before you an objective picture of the malignant interaction which has developed between Indians and the Federal Government using examples to illustrate this interaction. Indians who are products of the boarding school system and who are now a part in the operation of that system present one of the best examples of this malignant interaction. He who place blame on these Indian employees has missed the point entirely. One does not blame a father for not reading books to his children simply because the father grew up in a migrant farm family and had to pick berries or thin sugar beets instead of going to school. We need outside resources to interrupt all malignant cycles such as these.

I have mentioned in a paper which I presented for the record, what I consider to be some of the effects of the boarding school experience. One vivid example keeps coming back to my mind. While touring one of the Indian boarding schools I asked one of the dormitory matrons if the children expressed any feeling at the beginning of the school year when they first arrived at the boarding school. She said, "I many times stay up late at night holding a girl's head on my lap while she is crying, but when you have 100 students in a dormitory it is impossible to comfort all those who need comforting."

Children in any setting need an advocate and should never totally be placed at the mercy of the individuals within a closed system. Nor should anyone for that matter, but children are less able to defend themselves than adults. The closed system of the boarding schools developed out of the philosophy to break the will of the Indian child and for this reason the schools, of course, discourage any parent participation, with the exception of the Rough Rock School which was mentioned, obviously. This leaves children at the mercy of the system.

Any institution which cares for children discourages parental visitation unless they have been enlightened by some of the newer facts discovered by child psychiatry. Following parental visits children are often more upset. They cry more, and they are more difficult to manage. We now know through various studies that it is much better for a child to express his feelings. It is only through expressing these feelings of anger, fear and grief that a child can learn to mange these in relationship to the outside world. If he is in an oppressive atmosphere, he must repress these feelings. When such intense feelings remain bottled up inside a child or an adult they find expression in more subtle ways and in ways in which the individual himself is not aware. As I have described in a paper, this is part of what produces the passive-aggressive response that Indians have to the Bureau of Indian Affairs. This is part of the reason for the self-destructive behavior since the intense hostility later on is turned in against the Indian himself. This may be one of the reasons why we see such a high suicide rate in adolescents. I do not want to belabor these psychiatric principles but rather to use them to illustrate how the Indian boarding school system has not yet caught up with 20th century knowledge.

Since school tends to alienate parents from children when the children learn a different cultural orientation in the school from that they have learned from their parents, the Indian schools should make efforts and programs available to involve parents of the children and in this way aid in the continuity of the family. And I have stated here that to my knowledge, there were none available and again the Rough Rock is an exception. There may be others. I am not entirely familiar with the current situation.

Boarding schools for elementary age children present a problem. In my opinion there should be no Indian boarding schools for children in the elementary grades. I say this without qualification. These schools do more harm than good. They do not educate, they alienate. Those children who have families should remain with their families, and those children who are so unfortunate as to not have families should be placed in adequate foster homes. I am fully aware that in some locales, particularly the Navajo Reservation, the education of children who are geographically isolated does present a problem but modern technology should and must be used to solve this problem. Human suffering should have no price, but indeed the price for its prevention would be relatively small. If good roads and modern buses are necessary, they can be obtained. If distances are too great for busing, teams of educators or groups of children could be transported at regular intervals to central locations by airplane or by helicopter. A child does not have to be in school 6 hours every day to learn what is necessary. Several decades ago no one thought of wrenching the children of rural farm families from their parents to give them schooling. The one-room schoolhouse may be outmoded for a rural America.

Something like the one-room schoolhouse may not be outmoded for the Navajo Indian Reservation.

A mental health program for Indian schools. A mental health program appended to BIA schools in their present form will not likely fail even if the mental health program is well funded, and I want to emphasize this. I say this because now the authority for the education, counseling, and dormitory programs rests with school administrations. This gives administration complete control over the life of an Indian child while he is in school—control over educational methods and content, control over whatever guidance and counseling programs exists, and in the case of boarding schools control over all activities permitted outside the classroom. A mental health program added to this structure can do nothing but attempt to repair the shattered psyche and the disrupted identity of the Indian child. Repair is needed but has limited impact.

A mental health program to be truly effective should have prevention as its aim. The program should be broad in scope and relate to health and welfare as well as education. I will limit my comments here to education.

It is necessary that all schools that Indian children attend develop modern educational methods adapted to the special needs of Indian children. Schools must find ways to encourage self-expression, creativity and ways to help Indian children find their identity in two cultures. These programs not only require special skills, but they also require special personnel to carry them out. The finest program can be subverted by rigid, fearful, unimaginative people.

I, therefore, recommend that if a comprehensive mental health program is instituted in schools for Indians, the total system be overhauled and mental health personnel be placed at high administrative levels in Washington, in area offices and in the schools themselves. Mental health personnel should share with those in education the responsibility for program content and methods and the responsibility for personnel selection. In my opinion this is the only way mental health can make any impact on the closed system of BIA education.

In short, mental health personnel must have authority and power within the system. There have been pilot projects and studies in boarding schools. Flandreau is an example. The Flandreau project had no lasting impact because it was not accepted by the system. If mental health is part of the system and has power within the system, it may then show some lasting results.

I am sure that you have heard testimony to the effect that Indian boarding schools contain children who have a relatively high percentage of emotional and social problems. This has been documented with studies both at the Albuquerque Indian Boarding School and the Flandreau Indian Boarding School.[1]

Senator MONDALE. We have several guests standing. Please take chairs there around the table if you would like to be seated.

We are pleased that joining us just now is Senator Yarborough of Texas.

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[1] 3d Annual Report of the Mental Health Clinic at the Flandreau Indian Vocational High School: Flandreau, S. Dak. Bureau of Indian Affairs—Branch of Education and U.S. Public Health Service—Division of Indian Health. July 1958–June 1959.

Senator Yarborough. I want to express my regrets to my constituents that I am late but I arrived from Texas this morning at 5:15 on what is locally called the Red Eye Special.

Senator Mondale. Dr. Leon, you may proceed.

Dr. Leon. Educators at the Indian schools now exist only to receive children who have such severe social and emotional problems that they cannot remain in public schools. These are children whom the community cannot contain because they have no families, or unstable families, and no one to care for them; or they are maladjusted for any of the number of reasons and have continual conflicts with authority causing them to be labeled delinquent; or they have severe emotional problems with resulting crippling fears or bizarre behavior; or they have a combination of any or all of these.

In spite of the fact that it is well known that such children predominate in many of the Indian boarding schools, these schools have no programs with which to alleviate the problems. These schools must be given the professional and technical capability to cope with the children who come. I proposed to you that funds be made available from the Congress to convert many of the Indian boarding schools into residential treatment centers for emotionally disturbed children.

The schools which are converted into residential treatment centers should be administered by mental health personnel. The program should be planned and developed jointly by mental health and educational personnel. All educational and dormitory personnel should have training in the care and treatment of emotionally disturbed and socially deprived children.

In the area of human development, the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the American Indians have been for years locked into a destructive interactional system. Indian education has destroyed the Indian's identity and Indians in turn have destroyed Bureau programs. I have elsewhere written of this in some detail. This interactional pattern, I believe, stems from the inability of Indians to actively rebel against paternalistic attitudes of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. This is a two-way interaction and simply changing one party or the other will not remedy the situation. We find Indians reacting in passive-aggressive, self-destructive ways to their anger over Bureau domination. Even when Bureau officials reverse this attitude as they have in some places and encourage participation by Indians, Indians still tend to react in old patterns of passive-aggressive responses. To break up this malignant interaction we recommend the use of behavioral science theories, principles and techniques to help free Indians of longstanding emotional and cultural blocks to full participation in their own development The Seattle Orientation Center is an example of the application of behavioral science to the planning and operation of programs.

The Seattle Orientation Center is a program to aid Alaskan natives relocating to cities in the Lower 48 States under programs of the Employment Assistance Branch of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.[1]

In the center clients learn new skills necessary to urban living, but more importantly clients begin to deal with the emotional reactions related to migration. Emotional reactions are explored within the context of a therapeutic community using a modification of group therapy.

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[1] "The Seattle Orientation Center: An Assessment of its Operation," Martin, Harry W., Leon, Robert L. and Gladfelter, John H., A Report to: The Employment Assistance Branch, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior, January 1965.

The atmosphere necessary to the expression of feeling is the most difficult to maintain. To maintain this atmosphere requires constant battle with those who refuse to admit their own feelings and are consequently fearful of the expression of feelings in others. This is why I recommend that behavioral scientists be placed at high administrative levels. The necessary climate was maintained in the Seattle Orientation Center by an untrained person who received limited, intensive instruction from a behavioral scientist team for a limited period of time prior to assuming duties as administrator of the program. Thereafter consultation was given by professionals. In this way the program was maintained for a period of time in spite of inability of some administrators to understand the basic principles.

Many visitors from government and industry came to the center, but not all perceived or understood the atmosphere and the mode of encouraging self-expression. I have given a summary at the end of this of my recommendations which I will leave for you, and I think I will close at this point. Dr. Martin and I had planned to share this testimony, Mr. Chairman.

Senator **Mondale**. Does Dr. Martin have testimony of his own or is this a joint——

Dr. **Martin**. Yes. I have testimony here.

Senator **Mondale**. The summary of the points that you have made is included in your testimony. We will include it as though read.

Summary of recommendations:

1. All boarding schools for elementary age children should be abolished.

2. A comprehensive mental health program should be instituted for all Indian children including those attending public schools.

For this mental health program to be effective mental health personnel must have authority to modify the educational stystem.

3. All schools dealing with Indian children should develop programs to allow parents to participate in the education of their children and in the planning of educational programs for their children.

4. Selected boarding schools should be converted into treatment centers for disturbed children and staffed appropriately.

5. Behavioral scientists should be involved in all levels of planning and operation of programs dealing with Indian people.

The Indians' relationship to the Federal Government is unique. Indians are the only group of people in the United States for which the Federal Government has such direct responsibility. In the past this responsibility has appeared to many as a liability. I propose rather that this be viewed as an opportunity to demonstrate to the citizens of this country and to the citizens of the world how the use of behavioral science knowledge by the Federal Government in a democratic society can truly enable a technologically backward group of people to find satisfaction and fulfillment in a modern industrial society.

Senator **Mondale**. Senator Fannin, do you have any questions at this point?

Dr. **Fannin**. Dr. Leon, I would just like to comment on one part of your statement. It is an excellent statement. I hope we can attain the objectives that you have set forth.

When you talk about the elementary grades and would like to see more of the children in foster homes, I wholeheartedly agree. When we think about the masses, the great number of children involved, especially those who live in isolated areas, I cannot see how we can achieve this objective for some time in the future. I am afraid that it would be impractical to try to set forth a program at this time that would really obtain that objective.

Until that time, we must, of course, have those schools, well, perhaps to a great extent the same way in which they are operating.

We, of course, want to improve those schools. But, I am just wondering what your thoughts would be as far as the earlier grades. You say you would like to see the children stay at home and up to what grade would you say?

Dr. LEON. Well, I certainly understand that one cannot change a system such as this immediately. I am a psychiatrist rather than an educator and it is a little difficult to put a number on this, but it would seem to me that it certainly might be better for the younger children, even if they had no school available to them, to remain at home for a longer period during the year than they are now.

I am not sure I can answer your question specifically.

Senator FANNIN. Would this be a problem for them, when they try to go on to school—in other words, say they stayed at home until they are 7 or 8 years old, then they are two or three grades behind the other students. So that creates a problem. They are larger and they are more aware of it and they are frustrated, and I am just wondering what could be done. I wish that we could take care of these children at home and not have them attend these boarding schools. But I am just lost as to what we can do about this until we can have what we are talking about, community centers and schools near the homes, but this is some time in the future.

I am wondering what you would recommend that we do in the meantime?

Dr. LEON. I think some of these younger kids that go to boarding schools are so anxious and so fearful and so upset that they may not learn very much anyway in these younger age groups, and so I certainly would say—that the ones at 5, 6, 7, 8, would be much better off staying at home with any kind of partial program, anything that could be brought to them or they be brought in for a few weeks, a limited period of time, but not this long 9-month period of time. This is what I would object to. And I would think that the objectives of education could very well be met in a partial schooling for certain children until they are old enough to comfortably leave their parents.

Senator FANNIN. But we still have the problem of boarding school in this instance, too. That is why I am probing into your suggestion. I agree that we need an answer to this problem. It is one of the most difficult problems to solve. These youngsters are frustrated.

I have visited schools. I know how frustrated children are at those early ages. We are all seeking a solution but I do not know that we could follow any program which would take care of the masses.

I agree this foster home program has been extremely helpful in many instances. The Mormon Church has been very active. I am not a Mormon but I just want to commend them for what they have been doing because they have been fostering this program which has been very successful but that takes care of a very small percentage of the children and I am hopeful we can come up with some system of handling this problem that would take care of the masses. That is why I was asking the question.

Senator **Mondale**. Senator Yarborough?

Senator **Yarborough**. Some 10 years ago we had this problem in Texas of children of the migratory farmworkers and Mexican-Americans. They start from south Texas, Rio Grande Valley. I was told one fall about 10 years ago they got to Georgetown, Tex., north of Austin. The Department of Labor agents came there to arrest the families because of working children that were not in school. The Mexican-Americans in the old jalopies and pickup trucks fled during the night without getting any pay. The farmers did not want them to leave without payment but they fled rather than have their children put in school and cut off this source of income. The Labor Department agents pursued them and found them near Waco, Lubbock, near the high plains, and they fled half the time losing half their pay from picking cotton.

I got the agents in and the agents of the Texas Department of Education said why cannot you set up mobile schools and follow these migrant workers? Impossible. It could not be done. Well, it is being done now. It is just where the people have the will to do anything. And it might cost some money. That is more expensive, of course, than putting them in one schoolhouse and keeping them there but they had a problem. The family made enough money to subsist during this few months of the harvest in the fall, then they would go back when the cold weather hit the Rio Grande Valley cities and wait until the farmwork started the next spring. That was their subsistence margin.

Of course, it is bad that the children were not in school but the families had no subsistence. The families in Starr County, Rio Grande, even last year had a family income less than $300 a year, the whole family, put in the common pot, in Starr County at the time they were having the disruption over the cantaloup crop.

So, I think we are on the way with the Bilingual Education Act to solving that for Mexican-Americans. It will take years.

The distinguished Senator from Arizona was with us in these hearings, took part in these hearings.

I will not take further time now, Mr. Chairman, but I have been a member of this committee since its formation and I am very much interested in this subject. I think that Dr. Leon's testimony was very valuable.

Senator **Fannin**. Mr. Chairman, I understand the BIA has worked on a home boarding program in Alaska whereby especially in the junior high school and, of course, the senior high school, too, they board the children in private homes and the Government pays for this boarding. I realize we could overcome some of our problems if we could obtain the funds for the State school system to assume the responsibility of Indian education.

Now, in many instances, with Public Law 815 funds, we do, but at the same time, we have a program now where the BIA is pulling away from its obligation and they want the State to take over a greater part of it, whereas, of course, the children coming off the reservation are coming from homes where the State says they are not paying taxes and the Federal Government should continue this obligation.

Just because they go from boarding school to public school does not relieve the Federal Government from the obligation of payment for this education program. Would you agree with that?

Dr. **Leon**. Yes. I would say in addition, too, to what you have said, these children coming into these public schools need special help.

Senator **Fannin**. Yes.

Dr. **Leon**. And this is going to cost more money than what it costs for the general middle-class schoolchild in these public schools.

Senator **Fannin**. And still we see the BIA pulling away from this obligation. In other words, they are saying, well, let the State take over this program.

I agree with you that what we should do is place more money in the program so we can take care of these special problems, and I hope that we can through our recommendations, achieve that objective.

Dr. **Leon**. This prevention is going to be so much cheaper in the long run than picking up the pieces at the other end of the line.

Senator **Fannin**. Thank you.

Senator **Mondale**. Doctor, I am impressed by the strength with which you assert one of your conclusions, as I understand it, that the psychological destruction of the Indian child in many of these schools is so bad that the damage done is worse than any contribution the schools make, and on a net balance the child would be better off if he stayed at home. This brings you to a suggestion not only that radical restructuring is required in which professional mental health specialists are given authority but also at one point in your testimony you are suggesting that the old one-room rural school may be a better alternative despite the fact that it is generally rejected by most of the educational specialists.

I find that recommendation and that finding of the psychological damage in the present school structure to be a compelling one, one which I think if correct, and I believe it to be, creates a radical situation.

We are concerned with these children and we need to find effective alternatives.

As I gather, you made one observation of a commendatory nature toward the new programs or particularly the effort in Seattle, the Seattle Orientation Center, where at least an initial plan was developed to institute a program which brought to bear modern knowledge relating to treatment of mental health problems as these people from Alaska sought to adjust to an urban environment. And yet, apparently that program, despite its original planning, did not work out as well as was hoped I gather, because the professional talent required was not obtained. Would that be accurate?

Dr. **Leon**. Yes. We have not reviewed this program for, I would imagine, a couple of years now. So, I cannot really state the situation currently. The director that had some part in what we would call a crash training program left the program and to my knowledge, a person with the adequate training to operate a program like this was not put in her place.

Now, I think these programs have to have skilled people, not necessarily that you need a whole staff of mental health professionals, but you have to have somebody in the top position operating them.

Senator **Mondale**. Why? Was it a budgetary problem? Was there a shortage of available professional personnel or was it something else that led to the failure to follow through on the original plan?

Dr. **Leon**. I am really not sure what it was since I have not been up there recently. I really do not feel qualified to say how much the original plan has not been followed through right at the present time.

Senator **Mondale**. Well, we cited figures, that there was only one psychologist and three social workers in the entire BIA school system. And here you have a social orientation center which is supposed to deal with emotional problems of these new entrances into urban society, and no professional personnel in the mental health field were hired and maintained to assist in the program.

Would you say that there is some evidence of a failure to appreciate the importance of the mental health component?

Dr. **Leon**. Yes; I think there is evidence of this, and the failure is to really understand the kind of atmosphere that needs to be set up to encourage the expressions of feelings, working through the grief and depression on leaving Alaska. Unless you have somebody who has had training in this, they frequently do not appreciate the nuances necessary to maintain such a program. I think this is the problem.

Senator **Mondale**. There are a number of these relocation centers that have been established. Is the Seattle effort the only one of which you are aware that tried at least initially to initiate the mental health effort to do what you have made reference to?

Dr. **Leon**. Dr. Martin has visited one of the other centers. I am personally not familiar with any of the others.

Senator **Mondale**. Senator Yarborough.

Senator **Yarborough**. I have just a few questions.

Dr. Leon, are you familiar with the experiences of the Klamath Indians? Have you made any study of the termination of the reservation in Oregon?

Dr. **Leon**. What is the question, Senator?

Senator **Yarborough**. The Klamath Indians in Oregon. Briefly, in the hearing of this subcommittee in May of this year in Portland, Oreg., there was some testimony about the Klamath Indians. Their reservation was terminated, supposedly in 1955, but there was stout resistance and it took 7 years to terminate it, the lands sold and money distributed. And now in the survey, somewhat less than 10 years later, the number who finished high school is very small compared to the number who finished high school when they had the reservation.

Suicides have increased—this is among the adults—at a terrific rate, drunkenness at a terrific rate, and criminal records are a serious problem. I recommend that you include in your studies when you find time the effects of termination of reservations.

Dr. **Leon**. I am not familiar with this situation, but I would be glad to learn about it.

Senator **Yarborough**. We will send that printed record to you.

Senator **Mondale**. Dr. Martin?

Dr. Martin. Senator Mondale, Senator Yarborough, Senator Fannin, I should like to say, first, I am most honored to be here and I would like to preface my written testimony with an introductory remark.

I am not going to deal specifically with mental health in the boarding schools. I think the problem is a much broader and much deeper one than that. I do not disagree with the point that we need tremendous effort in the area of mental health in Indian boarding schools, but I am very strongly of the opinion that if we deal only with the mental health problem of our Indian citizens, we are simply putting a band-aid on the very large sore of the posterior of our society.

It seems to me we have to learn to go first to the source of the difficulties. By the time these children have grown up to 4, 5, 6 years of age to enter school on some of the reservations, serious damage has been done. So my remarks are somewhat broader and do not deal specifically with the problem of mental health within the Indian boarding schools.

A brief review of Indian affairs history of the United States raises serious doubt as to whether we are able to correct the deplorable life condition among our Indian citizens. There is evidence suggesting that the more Congress legislates on Indian affairs, the more conditions worsen among Indians. The Dawes or General Allotment Act of 1887, says Theodore Haas, created a vacuum by weakening tribal governments. Authority of Federal administrators over Indians expanded into the vacuum as evidenced by increasing legislation. Indian statutes had exceeded 4,000 by 1949 and moved toward 6,000 by 1957.

In spite of increased legislation, repeated studies by task forces and commissions, and welfare, health, and educational programs costing hundreds of millions, the general state of life conditions among Indians has not appreciably improved. By now, this committee and its staff have amassed considerable data and testimony documenting our failure. I think your excellent opening statement, Senator Mondale, verifies this.

What are the reasons for the failure? Its roots, I think, are fed from several sources: the society at large; the Congress; the Bureau of Indian Affairs; and by Indians themselves.

The underlying attitude of the society cannot be ignored. This attitude, rarely verbalized, was made explicit in 1881 by Senator Pendleton, of Ohio. He said, "They [Indians] must either change their mode of life or they must die. We may regret, we may wish it were otherwise, our sentiments of humanity may be shocked by the alternative * * * ."

Pendleton was a poor prophet—there are about twice as many Indians in the country now as there were when he spoke. He underrated the tenacity of the Indians, and he failed to see a third alternative or third course: that is, our inability to follow either of his alternatives. We have fallen handsomely between the horns of his dilemma.

Our humanity was more than adequate to prevent extermination, but insufficient for helping Indians join us as full participants in the fruits of the society.

Congress supposedly reflects the wishes of the body politic which now, by legislative ritual, includes Indians.

I think that was established finally by 1924. The Bureau of Indian Affairs which implements laws and programs authorized by Congress is caught between Congress and Indians, to say nothing of sharpshooters on the sidelines. I have a strong impression that the Bureau spends as much or more time in defending itself against attacks from these quarters as it does on its assigned tasks. This statement is not meant to defend the Bureau, but to suggest an imperative need for a candid and objective review of the Congress-BIA-Indian relationship. Such a review may be more profitable than further investigation of conditions among Indians. I do not mean to be impertinent, but one can ask, "Why add depressing fact to depressing fact when the facts are well known?"

The Bureau of Indian Affairs needs no further criticism. Indeed, it appears essentially impervious to criticism, no matter what the source. One fact is clear, however, it has failed to do the job. But this failure is a collective one, not solely that of the Bureau. I should like to emphasize that it is a collective failure and I do not intend to criticize individuals in the Bureau. It is the system which I am trying to direct my remarks to. And the system includes more than just the Bureau.

The time has come, however, to question the ability of BIA to do the job. It is a large and complex system, bound by bureaucratic norms and protocol and fiscal and regulatory rules which inhibit creative action on the part of Bureau staff. The Bureau, defensive about its own survival, puts much emphasis upon correct bureaucratic means and procedures. All too often this emphasis is most important for survival and advancement with the Bureau. An overriding sense of necessity to operate programs and services strictly within legal and regulatory limits appears to sustain a means-over-ends emphasis. Such reversals usually stem from anxiety and/or uncertainty about goals and ends. There is a reward and punishment system within the Bureau including "Siberian" assignments for troublemakers and nonconformists; that is, persons who try to put ends before means.

The entire structure and function of all elements of the Bureau need careful examination. The review should include interrelationships of all programs and services, and careful attention should be paid to formal and extraformal consequences of the civil service on staff recruitment and personnel policies. Abolishment or radical reform is needed. Although the Bureau appears to be the chief present-day enemy of Indians, abolishment of the Bureau might produce an uprising, but perhaps that is needed. In any event, some sort of Indian affairs agency will be required to implement the wishes of Congress; however, unless Congress provides a totally new or a radically new concept of goals and operations, and freedom to operate in terms of this mandate, any new agency will likely soon be entrapped in the same pitfalls.

Experimentation is required for finding more effective ways of doing the job. For example, small but comprehensive programs offering a unified approach are in order; piecemeal, fractionated approaches are simpler, but less effective. I think we had an excellent example mentioned several times here this morning, the Rough Rock School. All too often we wait too long. We take action only after some catastrophe or national embarrassment. Programs are then hastily enacted and engaged with funds which cannot be wisely or effectively expended.

Funding should be long term, gradually escalated as need develops, and gradually deescalated, unless conditions indicate faster termination. Programs could be proposed and conducted by business organizations, nonprofit voluntary organizations, universities or various joint undertakings between such organizations. Cooperative ventures between any of these and agencies of the various governmental levels—local, State, National—could be tried. Adequate funds for monitoring and evaluating programs are a must. I say they must be provided if we are to know what we are doing and where we are going. Personnel of all such programs, and I want to emphasize this point, should undergo at least 3 months of intensive training in how to work with people. Such training is a basic need within the Bureau. All personnel, new and existing, and regardless of whether they are in teaching, land management, law enforcement, or whatever, should take part. Such training should begin first with people in supervisory and administrative positions—from the top down. Training a staff does little or no good unless supervisors understand and support new ways of working with people.

A few comments should be made regarding Indians and their relationship to the Bureau. Dr. Leon has pointed out the passive-aggressive nature of the relationship. This is extremely important. We have rather forced Indians into modeling their life attempts at self-government after our own. I am rather convinced that those parts of our political system which they have most effectively incorporated are among the least desirable; that is, low-level ward politics and practices to obtain votes, to gain special privileges, to fight the BIA, and, I might add, to fight or to frustrate Congress. Relatively few statesmenlike leaders appear to have arisen among Indians at the tribal and intertribal level. Cooptation of better educated Indians by BIA has siphoned off many potential leaders—both men and women. This is a dilemma. Joining the BIA is and has been a major avenue of social mobility for Indians; however, working for the Bureau limits leadership action and identifies these people as joining the enemy. They lose, as far as leadership is concerned, their influence among their own people.

A major problem of our society is the fact that our welfare programs health, education, and welfare—at all levels of government are tied in with politics. Invariably, the politics of welfare is for the welfare of politics. It is perhaps too much to ask that politics be removed from the field of welfare. Politics, however, force us into two avenues of ineffectiveness; either too little provided too late in a fashion which demeans and cripples, or too much too fast to be effectively absorbed. It remains to be seen whether we are willing and sufficiently creative to find solutions to problems of poverty amidst unprecedented affluence.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you, Dr. Martin.

Senator Yarborough?

Senator YARBOROUGH. No questions.

Thank you very much for your stimulating remarks.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you, Dr. Martin, for your contribution. One point that you made was, Why add depressing fact to depressing fact when the facts are well known?

That statement struck me because in reading much of the literature by outside professionals in the mental health field and elsewhere, education field, there is a rather common theme running through all of them of amazement regarding the absence of data or data that is usable or consistent.

Do you know, for example, of a single good mental health survey of a particular reservation or community?

Dr. MARTIN. On reservations; no. I actually know of really only one survey. Dr. Leon and I, with two other colleagues, attempted a study in Oklahoma about 3 years ago. A report will be published shortly in "Human Organization." The findings of this limited study suggests that the mental health status of Indians is no worse than that of whites and Negroes of comparable socio-economic circumstances. In general, the problem of many Indians may be more than classical types of psychiatric illness. The major problem may more nearly be what Dr. Leon has referred to as socially inadequate personality.

Senator MONDALE. Perhaps Dr. Leon would comment on this data problem.

Dr. LEON. Yes. I think that is a very good question. You are right. We do not have the scientific data, the provable data. I would assume that one of the things Dr. Martin was referring to was the conditions that we can all observe when we go out onto the reservation. We do need evaluation studies of these programs. We desperately need evaluation studies of all of the programs to determine whether or not we are spending our money wisely.

We do not have the answer to the problem. We have to try various ways. And so we need to follow up our efforts.

Senator MONDALE. I think that this problem runs through all of our social programs. Dr. Martin referred to the need to evaluate ongoing programs. It is remarkable with Federal programs, and I think State programs, how little if any, money is allocated to judge the effectiveness of programs. Mr. Gardner once said we have a time-honored way of backing into the future and that is really one of our big problems here. We hit on a theory and it goes on for several years. We spend on the basis of it. We enact all of this legislation. And nobody bothers to check to see if it is doing more harm than good.

Then, someone happens to stumble onto a reservation who is a mental health specialist and he finds out that many of the kids are mentally ill. Suicides and the rest. And then, we start asking questions but this is years after thousands of children have suffiered from this problem.

I proposed the creation of a Council of Social Advisers like the Council of Economic Advisers a few years ago to be properly staffed and to try to force an ongoing evaluation of programs and try to bring to the highest levels of government some reasoned judgment about what programs would be better. Otherwise, the Senator Pendletons of our time will continue to have this attitude and be wrong. And the poor Bureau and all these agencies, I am sure they are entitled to these criticisms, but I think the Congress performs at about the same level. They are damned if they do and they are damned if they do not and I think we are given to authorizing great dreams and appropriating peanuts.

Mr. Gardner also said that American politics is now preoccupied with politicians calling for big programs, no price tags at all, and hopefully out of these hearings will come a range of suggestions coupled with the kinds of appropriations that bring about some hope for their realization. Of course, we have to have the right concepts as well and I suspect this failure to really see the mental health aspects of what we are doing is a long overdue realization of disastrous implications stemming from bad public policies.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Mr. Chairman, I have one question for Dr. Martin.

Dr. Martin, you stated that Congress supposedly reflects the wishes of the body of politic which now by legislative ritual includes Indians.

I think that is a wise statement, legislative ritual includes Indians by saying they are a part of the body politic. Last year I was talking with a non-Indian citizen from Arizona who is rather active in politics and asked him about the Navajos. He said the Navajos in their tribal politics and election of the members of their tribal council had an intense interest and a very high adult participation, that 90 percent of them voted for members of the tribal council, at least 90 percent, but when you got into the other politics of electing county and State officers, it is very difficult to get them to participate, a very small percent.

Now, the tribal council has important functions. They hire agents who lease their uranium and mineral lands and hired attorneys, and they fired an attorney who worked for years on their claims before the Indian Claims Commission. They might fire another one. They handle meetings that mean millions of dollars to the tribe but he said you could not get them over into the white man's politics and many whites frankly do not want them over there because they are in the majority in certain counties.

On the last page of your statement you state that the Bureau of Indian affairs "forced the Indians into modeling their attempts at self-government after our own system. I am rather convinced that those parts of our system which they have most effectively incorporated are among the least desirable. That is, low-level ward politics and practices to obtain votes, to gain special privileges and to fight the BIA."

In your statement, were you referring to the Indians' participation in outside politics like county or State or national or were you referring to intertribal politics?

Dr. MARTIN. I partly had both in mind, but basically on tribal politics on the reservations.

Senator Yarborough. You were relating basically to that?

Dr. MARTIN. That is right, but so far as the BIA and the Congress is concerned, some of these people, I do not know how many, are very adept at threatening the Bureau of Indian Affairs. It is a profoundly illuminating and rather shocking experience to be sitting in an office of a rather high-level BIA official and have a call come in from a Senator or Congressman inquiring about the complaint of some Indian constituent. This causes tremendous anxiety and tremors throughout the organization.

Senator YARBOROUGH. What organization? Indian organization or BIA?

Dr. MARTIN. BIA. And this is why I think we need to look very carefully at the Congress, BIA and the Indian relationship. This is stated explicitly in the testimony. Many times—and this is not true only of BIA—many Federal agencies spend tremendous amounts of time responding to telephone calls from Congressmen inquiring about some complaint. Now, this call may be very routine, and the member of the Congres is only duly fulfilling his role by making the telephone call. But what is routine for the Congressman is one terrible crisis, you know, on the other side of town.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Well, that may be a little—sounds a little bit relieving to Members of Congress because from our experience we had the idea that they filed them in waste basket 13 and we never got a response.

Dr. MARTIN. That happens also.

Senator YARBOROUGH. That is the most encouraging testimony I have heard in the 11 years I have been trying to get some Bureau to listen to some complaints. [Laughter.]

Dr. MARTIN. I think it calls for something to be done. The procedure should not create excessive anxiety; it should not take people off the job at hand to send them scurrying off trying to collect information out of data systems which are not always organized to provide information such as that requested.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Bureaucracy is so regimented my experience is if an average citizen writes and complains he gets a brushoff; he gets nothing. It takes an elective representative depending on votes of the people to spark them into responding. That is one reason many people are mad at the Federal Government today. If they go into a post office they are treated courteously because the postmaster has to get appointed by the politician but we have people tell us that is the only Federal office where we get good treatment.

Dr. MARTIN. I could not agree more.

Senator YARBOROUGH. They build their own cocoon and say nobody can pierce this exterior.

Dr. MARTIN. I could not agree more. But with programs which are trying to correct errors and damage of several generations—at least 100 years or more, raises serious questions in my mind as to whether an organization operated by bureaucratic principles can do an effective job of working with people. Working with things, perhaps, yes. It seems to me that our creativity is being tested here, that is, can we set up governmental programs freed of shackling bureaucratic protocol and regulations? Whether we can or not, I think we must try, but I agree that political representation, is an absolute must.

Senator MONDALE. I can give you many examples of this where a politician interfered with bureaucracy. We had an awful time getting public housing on the reservations of Minnesota. By all standards in the Public Housing Act they should have been built first on Minnesota Indian reservations but the public housing authority and the BIA regional office for some reason that never satisfied me, could never get around to approving housing. It just could not be done. And we held meetings for over a year asking questions and I am sure creating flurries and finally we had a big summit conference in Minneapolis and the same bureaucrats who had not been working stood up and started asking a bunch of questions, the same ones we asked them a year ago and I just, to put it mildly, just raised a little hell and that made bad publicity—but since then we have had $8 million for the housing. The health of those Indians is much better. The doctor tells me the best thing you can do for a family living on a dirt floor, and the temperature goes at least 30 or 40 below sometimes, is to get them decent housing. This was a case where inertia and built-in rigidities and some unanalyzed reluctance to extend long existing Federal programs to the American Indians in my State could only be broken by some outsider who was willing to just kick the bureaucracy all around the room.

Now, they are very proud of it and I had some underground help in the agency that had slipped me information. One of them was threatened because they found out where I was getting my data.

Now, it is untidy, it is tragic, and I think the main point, if I understood your testimony, is that it would be far better if through restructuring of government the Indians were better able to speak and care for themselves because in a sense, their welfare depends on having a Senator who is responsive. Once again, a dependency that they should not have to have. They ought to be able to speak for themselves and then it does not make as much difference who happens to be their sponsor in some remote public office.

I think that should be the point and I think it is exceedingly well taken.

I would like to ask——

Senator Yarborough. May I insert—pardon the interruption, but I am due in an executive committee meeting at 11:30, trying to vote out bills, and I am forced to leave. I just want to say, Doctor, that my experience here parallels that of the distinguished Senator from Minnesota. One phone call may cause a flurry of papers and shuffling but you have got to follow through with about a year's work and maybe a public hearing before a congressional committee before you really move anybody down there to do anything. I fear that excitement is surface. I feel the papers are shuffled on the surface. I do not think one phone call from Congress gets through.

Senator Mondale. I would like to say before you leave, Senator Yarborough, a very important American just came into the room, the new State chairman of the Mississippi Democratic Party, Dr. Aaron Henry, really one of the courageous men in our time.

Senator Yarborough. I am glad to join the chairman in welcoming you here. I leave, gentlemen, not through lack of interest but we have an executive committee meeting to try to vote bills out. That requires a live quorum. I must go.

Thank you very much. I am very much interested in this subject.

Senator Mondale. Thank you. I am going to ask one question, not now, but for the record, on your experience in the Madeira Residential Center which I understand you worked with. We will send the question to you by mail and if you can respond we will appreciate it.

Dr. Martin. I'll be glad to.

Senator Mondale. It is a general area of inquiry, and, of course, to all the witnesses we would appreciate any other comments you think you should make for the record. We will include them at that point.

Thank you very, very much for your testimony.

Dr. Leon. Thank you.

Senator Mondale. Our next witness—we have another team of witnesses, William Byler, executive director of the Association on American Indian Affairs, and Dr. Daniel J. O'Connell, psychiatrist and member of the faculty of the Harvard School of Public Health and executive secretary of the National Committee on Indian Health.

You may proceed in any way you wish, Mr. Byler.

STATEMENT OF WILLIAM BYLER, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE ASSOCIATION ON AMERICAN INDIAN AFFAIRS, NEW YORK CITY, ACCOMPANIED BY DANIEL J. O'CONNELL, M.D., PSYCHIATRIST AND MEMBER OF THE FACULTY OF THE HARVARD SCHOOL OF PUBLIC HEALTH, AND EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON INDIAN HEALTH OF THE ASSOCIATION ON AMERICAN INDIAN AFFAIRS, NEW YORK CITY

Mr. BYLER. I have a very brief statement. My name is William Byler. I am executive director of the Association on American Indian Affairs, a nonprofit citizens' organization of some 30,000 members. I am accompained by Dr. Daniel J. O'Connell, psychiatrist, who is the executive secretary of the Association's National Committee on Indian Health.

After a few introductory remarks by me, Dr. O'Connell will discuss some aspects of contemporary Indian experience which relate to the mental health of Indian people today.

The Association on American Indian Affairs shares with Indian tribes across the country sorrow at the loss of Robert Kennedy. Dr. O'Connell and I would like to urge that the tasks he began here with you be continued in the next Congress and that the mandate of the subcommittee be renewed.

We would like to suggest that the work not just end in a report because we have had reports before—witness the Merriam report—but that it result in legislation that can help Indian people realize the goal they seek to achieve and that is an exemplary school system.

When the appointment of this subcommittee was announced a year ago we looked forward to its entry into the field of Indian affairs with great enthusiasm. The association welcomed the opportunity to testify before it, and Iliff McKay and Dr. O'Connell appeared on our behalf at the initial hearing held on December 13, 1967.

We followed with great interest the subcommittee's progress across the Nation as it sought out the ideas of the Indian people themselves about what they want their schools and the lives of their children to be like.

These hearings have made it clear that Indian communities want their children to have an educational experience that is more humane and more relevant to Indian life and Indian values than any that exists today. Many Indian tribes have expressed an eagerness to assume responsibility for community control of their own schools with continued Federal funding.

We believe that these hearings have already had an important impact on the course of Indian affairs. The issues that have been raised are reflected in the President's special message to Congress on Indian affairs and in the BIA's greater responsiveness to the aspirations of Indian people and in the events that take place on the reservations

There are some that say the problems of Indian communities should not be exposed to public scrutiny, that reference to alcoholism, suicide rates, broken homes, foster care, somehow damages the very people we are all interested in working with. We do not subscribe to that view.

The American Indian reservations are communities in crisis and there is evidence to suggest that our present educational program contributes to the disintegration of the community and of the family and to the social maladjustment of many of the children. Conversely, the environment in which the children live often places severe handicaps on their ability to learn in school.

We hope that the subcommittee will not neglect to examine the problems of Indian education in the broader perspective of child welfare.

HEW Secretary Wilbur Cohen has recently authorized a study into the problems of Indian child welfare and we can all learn from its findings and recommendations.

It is from this broader perspective that Dr. O'Connell will discuss the mental health implications of Indian education today.

Thank you.

Senator **Mondale**. Dr. O'Connell.

Dr. **O'Connell**. Thank you very much, Senator. I am very honored to be asked to appear this morning and I would make the further demand on your patience to allow me to read a very brief opening statement.

Senator **Mondale**. By all means.

Dr. **O'Connell**. In December of 1967 we first had the opportunity to appear before this subcommittee when it launched its investigation to problems in Indian education. At that time we pointed to the situation of early separation from the family setting which is the usual accompaniment of the educational process for so many Indian children; 83 percent of Navajo children, ages 6 through 9, for example, live at boarding schools or off-reservation boarding dormitories. At that time we lay emphasis on the psychological hazards which may well result from premature separation from the family setting, and urged that a major effort be made in the direction of phasing out of boarding school placement for Indian children in the primary years and that one objective of this subcommittee be to explore means of providing local schooling for the very young.

We also called attention at the time to the serious mental health problem existing at the boarding high schools. Indeed, the term "boarding school" is something of a misnomer for many of these schools, since at least in the East, it tends to be associated with an optimal rather than an inferior educational experience. Many of the boarding schools, particularly at the high school level, have come to serve as residential placement centers, to which youngsters are sent because of familial, social, behavioral, or emotional problems. Placement away from the home or community setting is employed as a means of resolving or relieving these problems. The schools, themselves, however, lack the orientation or facilities to provide the kind of rehabilitative-therapeutic services which would be needed to aid the youngster in coping with the personal or familial crisis which led to his placement at the boarding facility in the first place. The schools are thus forced into the role of holding institutions, where the goals of the formal educational process are thwarted by the unresolved problems which led to institutionalization in the first place. Here I would applaud Dr. Leon's recommendation that we call a spade a spade and accept the boarding schools for what they are, institutions to which disturbed individuals are sent for one reason or another, and cease to consider them primarily educational institutions but rather to transform them into therapeutic institutions.

Senator MONDALE. Right now from your description they can be likened to a juvenile detention center of a custodial nature where no or little rehabilitation occurs. They are removed from their families and their society and to a distant point, and I would guess that like many of our juvenile detention centers around the country in the same condition, they actually produce a lot more trouble than they solve.

Dr. O'CONNELL. I think that is certainly true. I think that it would be unfair to say that in any one school you would have all juvenile behavioral problems. You have quite a variety of reasons for placement but certainly juvenile behavioral disorders would be one, and for the range of problems there is little facility for applying therapeutic interventions, rehabilitation, psychological counseling, et cetera.

I think Dr. Leon's suggestion is a truly creative one and it would, of course require providing adequate resources to make it possible, in terms of money, personnel, the kinds of professional staffing that Dr. Leon was suggesting.

The Association on American Indian Affairs has indeed been gratified by the effective efforts of this subcommittee in elucidating the many problems of Indian education and, in particular, in highlighting the mental health aspect of these problems through its reaching out to clarify and to understand the impact on individual Indian children of the educational systems to which they must relate.

We would like now to place emphasis on certain general considerations of Indian education and certain aspects of contemporary Indian life which relate to the problem of Indian education. If Indian education has been a failure, it has not been because of lack of effort or dedication on the part of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. While at some stages in the history of Indian education in our country, de-Indianization and complete cultural assimilation have been the stated policy, at other times, and particularly recently, there has been a genuine attempt on the part of some segments of the BIA educational system to identify and foster tribal culture and values as an aid to positive psychological development. This latter approach, unfortunately, has never enjoyed wide application in Indian education, but it is by no means new to it, and there are current attempts within the Bureau to extend its efforts in this direction. In considering the dilemma of Indian education, it is not sufficient to focus attention solely on the administrative and teaching functions—nor is it fair to place the sole responsibility for its failures on the teachers and administrators.

To understand the failures and to suggest remedies, we must look beyond these functions to the entire context of contemporary Indian life to which they must relate. Here we would place emphasis on the need to view environment in its total reality. Indian education has failed to bear fruit because it has not offered an experience which could be integrated within the expectable life pattern of most Indians; because the school system itself (like other administrative interventions into the lives of Indian people) adds to the psychological and social disruption which the Indian child endures; because the conditions of economic deprivation and psychosocial disintegration prevalent in many Indian communities place these communities beyond the grasp of a standard modern American educational enterprise, based as it is on certain values, assumptions, expectations, and motivations which are part of the input of family, pupil, teacher, administrator and of the entire community in a middle-class American school system.

Without now attempting to review once again the entire range of problems in Indian education and the sorry toll taken among the Indian people themselves by the monumental environmental problems which they face, we would prefer this morning to highlight a few general aspects of Indian administration bearing on the soundness of Indian societal life and the task of Indian education. Hoping not to appear glib or smug, we would suggest that in our administrative attempts to alleviate problems, we have, in no small measure, intensified these problems. First of all, the schools themselves must be included in any cataloging of the potentially damaging experiences faced by Indian children. This is not because of malevolence or misfeasance on the part of school administrators or teachers, but stems rather from the often unrecognized conflict between the larger contemporary American culture of which the school is the apostle and interpreter and native culture which has been the definitive developmental influence upon the child in his preschool years. Dr. Harry Saslow, who is already known to this subcommittee since he also appeared before it in December of 1967, is one of many investigators who has indentified this problem. He states:

> The culture shock of having to renounce, with the beginning of school, much of what has been learned before school undoes the pattern of trust and personal worth developed up to that time.

Another authority in the field, Dr. Bernard Spilka at the University of Denver, sees the problem in a similar light. He writes:

> The school system contributes toward the feelings of alienation by virtue of the abruptness of change in culture that it presents and by its concentration upon the defense of that culture.

Both of these observations by the way, appear in Dr. Saslow's report included in the symposium on the Mental Health of the American Indian sponsored by the Association on American Indian Affairs which was held at the annual meeting of the American Psychiatric Association in May of 1967 and was published in the American Journal of Psychiatry in August of this year. I am submitting a reprint of this symposium which I would hope could be included in the record of these proceedings. Dr. Leon was also a participant in that symposium.

Senator **Mondale**. They are already included.

Dr. **O'Connell**. Whatever the scope of the problem of cultural shock inherent in the situation of an Indian youngster entering school, the damage will be magnified a hundredfold when he is removed totally from the home and community and placed in a boarding school. Furthermore, when a child is removed from his home for social reasons, and many boarding school placements are made for social reasons, the problems within the family may well be intensified by the administrative solution effected. Let us say, for example, that one or both parents have a drinking problem. In order to protect the children from a situation in which they may suffer neglect or even abuse, we remove them from the home and place them in a boarding school or in a foster home. We have then taken a family on the verge of disintegration and pushed it over the brink. The removal of the children removes the motivation to overcome the problem. The impact of the loss of the children only aggravates the emotional problems of which the excess drinking was symptomatic, and we may well have set into motion a downward spiral from which this family may not recover.

I have mentioned foster care placement in addition to boarding school placement. Both loom large in any consideration of the experience of the Indian community today and we would submit that a detailed consideration of the problems of child welfare is germane to any inquiry in depth into the dilemma of Indian education.

In our earlier testimony we related some facts and figures on the extent of boarding school placement. I would offer here a few figures on foster care and adoptive placements to illustrate the extent of administrative disruption of Indian family life, however well meaning.

In the States of North and South Dakota approximately 17 times as many Indian children as white children are in foster-home placement. In Montana Indian children are placed in foster homes at 10 times the national foster home placement rate. In your own State of Minnesota, Senator Mondale, the rate of placement of Indian children in foster homes is 24 times the national rate, and one out of every 67 Indian children is adopted in Minnesota as compared with one out of every 1,111 children for the country as a whole.

Senator **Mondale**. You mean adopted as adopted children in another family or adopted for foster home care purposes?

Dr. **O'Connell**. No. The first figure represented foster home placement. The second one represents permanent adoptive placement.

Senator **Mondale**. Is that a Minnesota figure?

Dr. **O'Connell**. Minnesota; yes.

Senator **Mondale**. So that one Indian child out of every 67 is adopted in Minnesota.

Dr. **O'Connell**. Yes.

Senator **Mondale**. Compared to a national average of one out of every 1,111 children.

Dr. **O'Connell**. That is right.

These figures are cited, not to impute malevolent intent to those administering services to Indian families in crises, but to illustrate the scope of the problem of family breakdown and to suggest that in our well-meaning efforts to serve these families, we only intensify the pace of their disintegration.

Senator **Mondale**. Can we go back to those figures? Do we have any figures on how many of these children placed in foster homes are with Indian families as distinguished from white families?

Dr. **O'Connell**. I do not think we have that for Minnesota.

Senator **Mondale**. I would assume foster home placement with Indian families with the same culture might be less disruptive than a non-Indian family.

Dr. **O'Connell**. In general most foster home placements of Indian children are not with Indian families. They are to non-Indian families, most frequently off the reservation.

Senator **Mondale**. Are those figures available on white-Indian breakdown in foster homes?

Mr. **Byler**. The Bureau of Indian Affairs has not in any central place these figures, but by contacting each area office, the area office can often supply information as to whether or not these were in Indian or non-Indian homes.

Senator MONDALE. Are you in a position where you can get some figures for that and submit them for the record?

Mr. BYLER. Yes.

Dr. O'CONNELL. We certainly can; yes.

Senator MONDALE Very well.

Dr. O'CONNELL. In viewing the problem of Indian education, Indian welfare, and Indian life in general, we would call for a basic shift in perspective. Rather than the administrative model which seeks to resolve a family crisis through removal of the most vulnerable members, we would suggest a medical-epidemiological model. First, there is a need to identify the extent and the particulars of the psychosocial breakdown which we would attempt to modify. Then, viewing the particular community or the particular family as the object of our intervention, we would seek to apply a therapeutic-rehabilitative intervention, the object of which would be to assist this particular family or this particular community toward reintegration.

When we speak in terms as broad as these, naturally we will touch on aspects of Indian life broader than the scope and function of the school system. Such an approach calls for congruent planning, which would include economic and community development as well as educational, welfare, legal and health services.

But for these other aspects, as well as in education, there will be certain common features. There is, first of all, the need to recognize the very great differences among Indian tribes and communities, with respect to cultural determinants, degree of cultural survival and status of psychosocial integration, that is, the "health" of the community as a viable social unit. For some Indian communities a primary task will be to preserve the heritage of the past and the cohesive social forces which that heritage fosters, while at the same time effecting a social and economic transition which will prepare the tribe for the opportunities and challenges of a technological age. For other tribes a major task will be to reintegrate the disintegrated social elements in their community. No single approach is going to be applicable to all Indian tribes and communities.

There is as well a need for maximum involvement of the Indian people to be served in the decisionmaking process which is to affect their lives so radically either in educational or other programmatic interventions.

We would suggest that Indian education needs to be considered in the larger context of Indian child welfare in general. It is the total environment of the child that the educator must address himself to if he is to understand the children he would educate and be successful in reaching them. We would support the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in its contemplated investigation of problems in Indian child welfare, and would hope that any such investigation would attempt to delineate the problem in relation to the quite distinct environments of the different tribes and localities, that approaches to providing remedies be based on the model of providing rehabilitative services to families and communities in crisis rather than extending the baleful practice of the wholesale separating of Indian children from their home or community environment.

Finally, we do not wish to cast ourselves in the role of presenting new thoughts or unique insights which purport to hold the solution to the dilemmas of Indian education. I would quote from a report commissioned by the Interior Department itself, the substance of which is echoed in our remarks this morning:

> The first and foremost need in Indian education is a change in point of view. Whatever may have been the official governmental attitude, education for the Indian in the past has proceeded largely on the theory that it is necesary to remove the Indian child as far as possible from his home environment; whereas the modern point of view in education and social work lays stress on upbringing in the natural setting of home and family life. The Indian educational enterprise is peculiarly in need of the kind of approach that recognizes this principle; that is less concerned with a conventional school system and more with the understanding of human beings.
>
> The methods must be adapted to individual abilities, interests, and needs. Indian tribes and individual Indians within the tribes vary so greatly that a standard content and method of education no matter how carefully they might be prepared, would be worse than futile.

As may well have been recognized, the source from which I am quoting is the Merriam report, entitled "The Problem of Indian Administration" submitted to the Secretary of the Interior in 1928, a document which has lost little of its timeliness in spite of diligent attempts over the past 40 years to administer away the problems which it so lucidly identifies.

Senator MONDALE. In your testimony you seem to take the essential criticism that we have heard from others and then broadened your remedy from one which includes changes in school administration or decentralization, the mechanics and the philosophy of teaching in the school, to include the total environment approach to all the influences that bear on a child and his standing in the community. And you make these recommendations in a very general sense.

Do you have any specific recommendations by way of implementing this general approach?

Dr. O'CONNELL. Well, I think that there needs to be a way of applying—of developing and applying a number of individual plans. I would stress that one has to view each Indian tribe or community in its present-day context, to go there, to work with the tribal leadership in identifying the aspirations and needs of the tribe in terms of its economic situation and potential, in terms of the form of education which would be pertinent, given that particular situation, in terms of the degree of social and emotional breakdown in that community.

I think that we need to develop a series of individual plans applicable to the individual locality. And again, I would say there is not any one answer. There is not any one program. It has been an attempt to apply a single program across the board, I think, that has gotten us into some of the difficulty that we are in.

Senator MONDALE. If we take the position that these schools should be therapeutic, in your judgment, which agency should administer it, the BIA or the Division of Indian Health?

Dr. O'CONNELL. I think in line with the recommendations that Dr. Leon has made that administratively to implement these recommendations one would have to remove the boarding schools from the Bureau of Indian Affairs entirely and assign responsibility for them as therapeutic institutions to the Division of Indian Health, at the same time putting at the disposition of the Division of Indian Health the kind of resources that it will need to make these effective. But, I do not think that the Bureau of Indian Affairs is set up to administer the kind of services which are essentially medical services, medical-psychiatric services. So, I would think that it would be better to take them out of the control of the Bureau and give them to the Division of Indian Health.

I would say further along the lines of your earlier question as to practical things that could be done, and in an attempt not to split up the functions of education and welfare, that if the Congress decides that Indian education would be better administered by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare—and I am not submitting that as a recommendation, I think ultimately the Indian people themselves should have something to say about that, but if it is decided that that is the best way to achieve the goals of education for the Indian people—then, too, the welfare function should not be left in the Bureau of Indian Affairs, in the Department of the Interior, separate from the educational function. So that if one is transferred, I think the two should be transferred.

Senator **Mondale**. I sometimes despair about undertaking what I would call an objective oriented approach rather than a specific approach, even though I am convinced that is the way it must be done.

For a while I served on the Space Committee. We decided we wanted to go to the moon. We did not say, well, we will buy so many feet of wire and so much aluminum and train six astronauts and see if they can get to the moon. We said, we will do whatever is necessary to get to the moon. And as I recall the initial bid for most of the Apollo work came out to $65 million. We are now approaching $20 billion and we are still moving.

And while there have been some complaint about the program, there have not been any complaints about the way we have approached it. In other words, you have to do everything that is necessary to reach the objective.

Somehow when you deal with social problems, we are willing to talk loosely about the objectives but content ourselves in disputes over specific aspects. Do we have enough schools? Are they well heated? Do we have enough textbooks? Are buses modern? Do we have roads?

We are willing to be drawn away from the question of whether we are achieving that objective into quibbling over details and I think at a great cost because it is only in the former approach that we realize how desperately short we are of our objective, namely, healthy Americans pursuing their own sense of self-fulfillment.

And yet, when you propose legislation around here you cannot just say, well, here is a bill for the better life; all sums necessary, therefore, shall be appropriated. You have to have a spectrum and an array of specifics with which one must deal.

Dr. **O'Connell**. Well, Dr. Leon in his recommendations talks of the need to involve mental health professionals at the planning level, the need to give them the power to implement the rehabilitative thrust of programs for Indian welfare and education. I think this is a very clear suggestion. I think it is in line with what we are advocating, that is, a shift in perspective, that we view Indian families and Indian communities in a situation of crisis in which we can make certain interventions, and who can make the interventions? Well, social scientists, psychiatrists, psychiatric social workers will have something to contribute in this area. Community psychiatrists in particular have elaborated a way of looking at these problems that I think has not been taken into account and not been made part of planning. While we are not here outlining a program, we are in fact, preparing model programs at the present time in some of these areas, child welfare, psychiatric services, et cetera.

But, I do not know that this is really what you want of us at this moment, to present specific programs, because again we are left with the problem that these cannot be considered applicable across the board, and the situation must be individualized.

When you talked about space I thought you were going to talk about cost, and I would like to carry a bit further a remark that Dr. Menninger made earlier when he said that we have to view the cost in terms of emotional damage that we have done and thwarting the fulfillment that we would hope for, and I would suggest that, whereas the cost of providing the kind of individualized localized services that we advocate might be very great indeed, in the long run I think the economic cost is much less than the economic loss to result from the failure of the damaged child to enter into the economic life of the country and the need for all kinds of holding services that result, whether this be jail or hospitalization or welfare or whatever.

So, I think the overall cost is much greater by not providing these services, even though the cost of providing the kind of thing that we are advocating is great indeed.

Senator **Mondale**. So, it is tragic that the social accountants are unable to give us a figure instead of guessing.

Mr. **Byler**. Our calling this problem of change in perspective to the attention of the committee at this time was a very limited objective, certainly, but we would hope that the committee would invite the association, Bureau of Indian Affairs, HEW, and other agencies that have appeared or will appear before it to submit some specific detailed plans and the costing out of these plans. Clearly you cannot get to the moon just with perspective and the Bureau of Indian Affairs—I know there is a lot of thinking over there and in HEW about programs they would like to see, but I do not think they have felt that the Congress would welcome funding the kind of massive programs required to do the job.

Senator **Mondale**. The point is very well taken. Anything further?

Dr. **O'Connell**. No. We did work out some figures, although I do not have them with me, on the cost of keeping a person in an institution for 20 or 30 years, the loss in income had he been working, et cetera, comparing these with the cost of programs of Indian education, and the difference is really astronomical. We will be happy to submit some calculations along this line for the subcommittee's consideration.

Senator **Mondale**. Well, we would most appreciate that.

A few years ago I saw a study conducted by the Michigan School of Social Research in a three- or four-county area in the Upper Peninsula of an effort to establish an optium correctional program where they got the ideal correctional officers fully trained and the ratio of officers to persons on probation or parole, and they established the system and studied it. Then, they made an accounting of the net gain or loss without regard to human values, but just dollars and cents, the cost to the taxpayer. And it amounted to a million or $2 million dollars a year in terms of much dramatically reduced service rate, the sharp reduction in cost of incarceration, the reduced welfare cost because the heads of family were back working and the increased taxes from people who were being productive and I do not know how many human problems are subject to that kind of quantification and necessarily it is vague, but I wish that we would use that approach more often.

Thank you very much.

At this point in the record I order printed all statements of people who could not appear to testify and other pertinent material ordered printed in the record or submitted for the record.

(The material referred to follows:)

SUICIDE AMONG THE CHEYENNE INDIANS

(By Larry Dizmang, M.D., Special Assistant, Center for Studies of Suicide Prevention, National Institute of Mental Health)

This is an initial follow-up report regarding my recent involvement with the Northern Cheyenne Indians and the problem of suicide in their tribe. The initial "cry for help" was made at the Los Angeles Suicide Prevention Center in June, 1966, when a social worker at the Crow Agency Hospital in Montana called, asking for help and advice. The first call was prompted by three highly lethal suicide attempts which occurred in a period of five days just prior to his call. The three adolescent boys had all used guns and in each case only accidentally survived. The first boy put a gun to his head but he survived as the bullet hit his skull and glanced off. The other two boys also had similar kinds of very narrow misses. The initial recommendation to the Crow Agency was that they attempt to talk with these boys and get as much information about what was going on as possible. It was at this point I found out about the problem and three weeks later I was able to visit the reservation.

Before we examine the present situation it is important to have a certain amount of historical perspective. This will enable us to better understand the process that has resulted in the current reality with which these people are trying to adapt.

The Northern Cheyenne Indians can be traced back to the lake country in Michigan many hundreds of years ago. They were basically an agricultural people living in small scattered camps. They did not have horses and did very little hunting which for them was only a secondary means of obtaining food. Around 1760 the horse was first introduced and over the next generation they rapidly modified their agrarian way of life and became a migrant people. Their new mobility allowed them to follow the buffalo herds, they became nomadic and over a period of the next 100 years, they finally wound up in Montana and the Dakotas. During their early agricultural history, they were known to be a very peaceful people. Their new-found mobility, however, began to create many territorial disputes with other tribes and they quickly developed fighting skills.

As the white man moved West, the various tribes attempted to defend themselves and their territory but one by one they were defeated, the Cheyenne being one of the last such tribes. Their greatest battle was with Custer in 1876; they and the Sioux were attacked and Custer and his men were totally wiped out. There wasn't one white man left to tell about this battle and the Indians returned home hoping that the white man would finally leave them alone. Twenty years later, however, the white man did return and the Cheyenne were defeated and taken captive. At this point they were transported to Oklahoma and there assigned to a reservation. This was not their country, however, and a small band decided they would rather die trying to escape back to their own country than to live in Oklahoma. Some of them did manage to escape and it took a year to get from Oklahoma back to their home land. Their history tells us of overwhelming numbers of soldiers who at various times almost managed to trap them; they went through a terrible winter and finally arrived a year after starting with half of their original number still alive but sick and weak and it was then the army finally caught up with them. The Indians refused to go back with the ultimatum, that they would die of starvation or fighting before they would return. Congress finally agreed to give them some land and a reservation was created in Montana.

The Cheyenne were given 445,000 acres of land, much of which was bare and desolate. It was about 65 miles south and east of what is presently Billings, Montana. By this time the buffalo were gone; the Cheyenne had since lost their agricultural skills and thus they had no source of food. With no other alternatives available to them, they became welfare recipients. The government began providing food and the vicious cycle of dependency began.

In their child rearing practices the Cheyenne were very concerned about what Konrad Lorentz terms intra-specific aggression. The Cheyenne child learned very early that the expression of aggression towards another Cheyenne was forbidden. Punishment for violating this rule did not in turn involve physical rebuff but verbal shaming. Thus by the time the Cheyenne had reached adulthood he had a very strong inhibition to the expression of aggression to any member of his own people. One of the "approved" ways for the Cheyenne child to deal with his aggression was to become involved in mock battles with the "enemy" or to enact a buffalo hunt.

The Cheyenne were well known for their bravery and skill as hunters and warriors and their childhood games were well suited to preparation for adulthood. Aggression towards another Cheyenne was seen as an act against the tribe and was punished severely. Murder of another Cheyenne was a blight against all the people and it required a long and complicated ritual of "cleansing of the arrows" to undo the bad luck that would otherwise befall them. The punishment for murder was complete banishment from the tribe for a period of four years. If one could survive that, he could be reassimilated into the tribe, exonerated. Most persons never returned from such banishment, however, not because they were not able to physically survive but because the psychological trauma was usually unbearable.

Suicide among the Northern Cheyenne males was rare in their early history. If a man became depressed or lost face for some reason he usually organized a war party and either performed some feat of bravery during the ensuing battle, which would relieve his depression, or he got himself killed. This is similar to what we now refer to as provoked homicide. There were certain kinds of events that would often result in such behavior. For example, it was the brother's role to arrange for his sister's marriage. If a brother arranged a marriage and she refused, the brother was terribly offended and usually organized a war party immediately and often did not return, having died in battle. Suicide among the females was known in the early history of the tribe although it was not common. The situations in which suicide occurred were usually related to an unhappy, cruel or childless marriage. In most females, suicide was accomplished by hanging.

Suicide was treated as if it were a homicide and the elaborate "purification of the arrows" was necessary in order to relieve the trible of the stigma. On the other hand, there was not the taboo against killing one's self as there was in killing another Cheyenne. They seemed to have the attitude that if a man killed himself, he probably had good reason for his act.

Another interesting facet of the suicide-homicide problem is that if one individual clearly provoked another into the act of suicide, it was considered a homicide and the provoking individual was punished accordingly. An example would be a mother who severely shamed her daughter as a punishment for some misdeed. If the daughter in turn suicided because of her mother's severe punishment, the tribe treated the event as if it were a homicide by the mother.

One of the major rituals in addition to the "cleansing of the arrows" was the Sun Dance. This dance was not unique to the Cheyenne but it had been modified over the years and it was generally an annual occasion. The aspect of this ritual I want to bring attention to is that part which involves self-mutilative behavior. It was of course highly regarded to have carried out brave and life endangering acts during battle, but another and at least as important way for a man to demonstrate his bravery and renew or add to his self esteem was to participate in the self-torture part of the Sun Dance.

The motives behind Cheyenne war parties are very interesting. They apparently were not primarily designed to kill for the sake of killing and unless there was a very specific reason to seek out revenge on a particular group their war parties were not to kill but to count coups. Counting coups coincides with what we presently call one-upsmanship. It was like a game and the goal was to see how many coups one could count in a particular raid. One of the best ways to make points was to sneak into an enemy camp when it was raining and steal as many horses as your party could handle without getting caught. The sound of the rain on the tepees muffled the sounds of the intruders, but if you were discovered a battle obviously ensued. In battle the best kind of coup was to be able to get in close enough to the enemy to touch him without having to kill him or get killed in the process. If you had to kill the enemy, it still counted but not as much. Part of this "war game" even in the face of a massacre was to allow at least one man on the enemy side to survive so that he could go back and describe in great detail what had happened. These various battles would then be recounted over and over again and the heroic deeds of each warrior would be carefully elaborated.

My main point is that the Cheyenne had evolved very specific taboos on intra-specific aggression and very specific and elaborate ways to express aggression either towards other tribes or towards themselves in some of their rituals.

All of this information is a baseline from which we can see the kinds of change that have evolved up to the present time. It is in the context of the kinds of changes that have taken place that some of the clues to the present suicidal problems exist. You will notice that much of what I have focussed upon has been the culturally derived ways of dealing with aggression and of means by which one could demonstrate to the tribe as well as oneself his prowess and bravery as a man and thus derive his self-esteem. The amount of self-esteem held by an individual or group often determines whether the aggression in that individual or group will be directed inward or outward, and so the cultural ways of developing, maintaining or renewing self-esteem are quite important to understand.

I would like to return now to the point of final defeat of the Cheyenne by the white man. At the time the reservation was set aside for them in Montana, the buffalo as a source of food was gone, and they had lost their agricultural skills. Thus the government had no alternative but to ship in food to sustain the Indians and a long and painful history of the development of a welfare dependency evolved. The Indian quickly lost his self-respect and pride as the white man proceeded to "civilize these primitive people." The Indians were forbidden to hold their Sun Dance or carry out any other "primitive and barbaric rituals." In a program to improve health conditions, the men were gradually forced to cut their long hair which was a prized symbol of their strength. Without elaborating further the Northern Cheyenne were systematically stripped of their identity as a proud and strong people and their culturally evolved ways of dealing with aggression were abruptly interrupted.

This very abridged history I have given serves as an appropriate background for a closer look at what is happening now, particularly as it relates to suicide, and more broadly, the mental health problems of these people. Two of the major symptoms of the present cultural turmoil are the tremendous rate of alcoholism and the very high incidence of suicide. I think it is basically the loss of self-esteem and the loss of institutional ways of handling aggression and maintaining a vital group cohesiveness that have led the Cheyenne as a people to feeling hopelessly helpless. This kind of feeling is intolerable and forces a reflex escape reaction. Escape can come in the form of intoxication, the development of a state of depressed uninvolvement with one's self and the world, or suicide. The constructive route of escape from a hopeless, helpless position is to leave the situation and move towards a more workable solution. For the Cheyenne this might be to leave the reservation and enter the white man's world, or to evolve a new "subculture" on the reservation or elsewhere. For the Northern Cheyenne neither of these has been a workable alternative. The reasons for the failure of these last alternatives are complex but I feel are the keys to unlocking this hopeless helpless position in which they find themselves.

In a very brief way some of the major obstacles blocking the Cheyenne from psychologically being able to synthesize his rich heritage with the present day world are discussed in the following paragraphs.

Cheyenne is still the primary language and English remains the secondary language. Cheyenne is very difficult and complex and was even used during World War II because it was practically impossible for the Japanese to translate. Thus the Cheyenne still basically "think" in Cheyenne; they read English and speak English but do not "understand" or think in the same way we do. In reality, complex abstract communication with a Cheyenne is very difficult even when both parties speak the same language.

As the child is growing up, learning Cheyenne, he is simultaneously saturated with Cheyenneness—that is, the old Cheyenne legends and customs and the way of life of the Great Cheyenne are instilled into the child. As the child gains in awareness he begins to find that his greatness is no more. The legends and stories of heroic deeds are only memories now, and he himself feels the defeat. As the child reaches adolescence, much of his rebelliousness is directed towards the white man while the Cheyenne simultaneously feels contempt for his own people at having been defeated. The school and mass media only compound the problem as the boy learns what the outside *and* white world is like. At some point the white world usually becomes tempting and as the psychological or physical move is made to leave the reservation the first real crisis occurs, for along with murder, one of the worst crimes a Cheyenne can commit against his people is to desert them and this boy has a *Cheyenne* conscience. There is a tremendous push to leave the reservation but almost always a greater pull to stay. For those who do manage to leave, it is almost always temporary, for the guilt of having left is very powerful. The white man's world is not that well understood and the built-in feeling of inferiority *plus* the guilt topple many who manage the initial "desertion." The third major problem of those who leave is that they have "no place to go." When a Negro breaks away from the South, for example, he almost always has a Negro community to which he can go as an initial stepping-stone before he eventually finds his own place in the larger community. This "stepping-stone effect" of a friendly community within a larger "unknown" or "hostile" community is almost a necessity for an immigrant of any kind .There are no Cheyenne "communities" outside the reservation as a stepping-stone for the few who are able to make the initial break.

On the basis of what I have presented, there still remain the questions "What can be done now to alleviate or interrupt the near epidemic of suicide and suicide attempts?" and "What can be done on a longer-range basis to resolve some of the underlying "social disruption" that is creating a cultural dead end for these people?"

To the first question, the problem is one of identifying particular individuals in trouble early enough to be able to offer them a more constructive alternative. Since there are practically no telephones on the reservation, the present model of an emergency mental health service or suicide prevention program with a 24-hour telephone answering service is inappropriate. The next step is to ask who are the "gatekeepers" of this community, who would most likely come into contact with potentially suicidal persons or, conversely, who would most likely be sought out by a Cheyenne when he is in psychological trouble? From many conversations with the Public Health Service staff, the president and members of the tribal council, clergy, the tribal judge, and the VISTA workers, it became clear that there are several key groups that presently carry the major gatekeeping responsibility for this community. Two of the three adolescents I mentioned in the beginning "cried for help" to two different VISTA workers, and they, in addition to the clergy and a group called the Community Health Workers, appear to be the major gatekeepers for this particular community. The Community Health Workers are Cheyenne who have received special training primarily in public health practices, practical nursing procedures, etc., who are beginning to be seen by their people as "where you go for help."

One way to deal with the immediate problem of suicide and attempted suicide in this particular community is to take the three primary gatekeeping groups—namely, the clergy, VISTA, and the Community Health Workers and begin to sensitize them to listen much more carefully for cries for help and to offer them ways in which they might respond to these cries. It would be important to help them distinguish the situations which need referral or consultation and it would be terribly important for them to have a strong backup "team" to deal with the crisis as the gatekeeper finds such individuals. In this particular community the backup personnel would be the Public Health Service hospital staff. There would be nothing more destructive than to set up a sensitive front line defense and then not to have readily available backup resources.

A series of training seminars could be set up for the VISTA workers, the clergy and the Community Health Workers, and, simultaneously, another series of seminars geared at a professional level would be offered to the hospital staff. There are two psychiatrists 60 miles away at the VA Hospital in Sheridan, Wyoming, who have already established a consultative relationship with the hospital staff and they would be included in the professional training seminars. With this theoretical plan, then, one would have a series of three teams: (1) the "gatekeepers" of the community who would do much of the primary case finding; (2) the Public Health Service hospital staff who would take referrals of individuals needing intensive medical or psychological help and who would consult with the community workers on other cases that could be managed with support in the community; (3) the psychiatrists at the VA Hospital who would be the backup team for the Public Health Service hospital staff for special management problems, continuing education, etc.

In considering the overall long-range problems that confront the Indians, it would seem to me that a historical understanding of them as a people and the process that led to their cultural dead-end holds the most promise to help them find their own way out. If a Cheyenne wants to leave the reservation, he needs the tools to function in the white man's world. Most specifically, he needs to develop a concept of the white man's working habits which are contrary to his basic way of life. Presently, a Neighborhood Youth Corps program is being started for the adolescents and the response has been overwhelmingly positive. This is a story in itself, and it is unfortunately an extremely rare example of a program where the adolescents can learn regular work habits, spend their time improving *their* reservation and receive money and satisfaction, and most important, approval of the tribe for their efforts.

If the Cheyenne chooses to stay on the reservation and not integrate with the outside world, the alternatives open to him for a way to support his family other than by welfare are almost nonexistent. The outlets for expenditures of his leisure time, if he could find a job, again, are not available—so alcohol becomes a close friend and ally. Some efforts are being made to create jobs on the reservation and for some leisure time outlets, but the efforts are so small, or are being thrust upon the Indians in such a way that they provoke rejection and are relatively ineffective.

The larger problem is basically one of "community organization" in a broad sense. These terribly "beaten" people still hold on to a core of pride and self-respect, they are still basically an industrious and intelligent people and if these latent but dying internal resources could be tapped, the cultural pattern of self-renewal rather than self-destruction could be reinstated.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF R. MAX WHITTIER, ATTORNEY AT LAW, POCATELLO, IDAHO,

RE SHOSHONE-BANNOCK TRIBES, OF FORT HALL INDIAN RESERVATION, FORT HALL, IDAHO

I am R. M. Whittier, Attorney at Law, Pocatello, Idaho, former Tribal Attorney of the Shoshone-Bannock Tribes, Fort Hall, Idaho. I have been asked to give my impressions as to what some of the basic problems are relating to the health and welfare of the Fort Hall Indian Reservation and the Shoshone-Bannock Tribes and following are some of the basic thoughts which I have had running through my mind since having the privilege of serving as Tribal Attorney:

I find, generally, that the people as a whole residing on the Fort Hall Indian Reservation have a feeling of despair. They all seem to feel that the Bureau of Indian Affairs has not only destroyed all desires within them for doing something for themselves, but has become a power wherein they feel that the Indians should not be permitted to do anything for themselves. A few particular examples have been where various members of the Tribal organization and the members of the Tribe have had problems wherein there should be a judicial determination of their rights relating to disputes between the individual Tribal members and the individual Tribal members and the Tribal Council. Each and every occasion when aid and assistance of the Superintendent was sought there has been some sort of a procrastinating action taken, a delay is sought and the matter past elections have been held wherein clear evidence existed where there has been interference with the various Tribal members in the exercise of their legal voting rights.

Complaints have been made to the Superintendent and the Tribal Court and on each occasion the complaints have bone unheeded. It appears that the ruling body always has control of the Courts and the Courts will never take issue with any action of the ruling body so as to afford the individual members any relief. Attempts have been made to compel the Tribal Court to hear the various complaints of the Tribal members by way of Writ of Mandates in State Courts and Federal Courts but on each occasion the Federal Bureal has stated it has no jurisdiction to tell the Tribal Court what it can do and the State Court, although reviewing the action of the Tribal Court, sent it back to the Tribal Court for further action and the Tribal Court then declines to hear the matter further. The Tribal members with whom I have dealt have such a feeling of despair relative to the Tribal Court system that if they are arrested for any particular offense, whether they are guilty or not, they plead guilty as a matter of course because they know that there is no appellate procedures or courts available to them to review the case and that the Tribal Courts and Tribal Judges run so hand-in-hand with the police and the Tribal group controlling faction of the Tribal Council that the Tribal Courts judges merely act as an enforcing arm of the governing unit without any regard being given to the Constitution and By-Laws governing the various functions, Tribal functions, in the, or under the Port Bridger Treaty.

I have personally gone before the Sub-Committee on Civil Rights of the United States Senate—Senator Ervin was then the Chairman of the Subcommittee—and made some of these complaints to the Committee, personally. It appears that the complaints were referred to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, they in turn reviewed the matters with the Superintendent of the Reservation and no report was made as to the outcome of the investigation and the same was permitted to die unattended to. I have had individual Tribal members come to me concerning gross violations of their civil rights relative to search, seizures, arrests and accusations of misconduct which do not fall within the purview of the criminal laws. The Tribal Courts have forbid me to appear personally on behalf of these individuals because the By-Laws governing the operations of the Tribal Courts forbids any member to appear through an attorney, and I know of some instances where members have been sentenced to terms of imprisonment merely because of a good faith disagreement within a duly organized meeting.

It is felt that there will never be any progress made in the reorganization of the Tribal Courts until some arm of the Government besides the Bureau of Indian Affairs begins to investigate the functions and the problems within the Tribe and within the Tribal organizations and the Courts. The law books are replete with appeals from various persons not of Indian origin going to the Supreme Court of the United States and obtaining a release because of very, very minor violation of Constitutional rights of the subjects, but in the case of an Indian being accused on an Indian Reservation he has but one judge that he can go before, the judge acts as the prosecutor and the adjudicator and once he has spoken there is no appeal. The Constitution and By-laws of the Shoshone-Bannock Tribes residing on Fort Hall Indian Reservation calls for the formation of a Tribal Appellate Court. None has ever been formed. I personnally have called this to the attention of the Superintendent and asked that he take some action to see that this Apellate Court is formed by appointing, if necessary, qualified individuals to examine the lower Court procedures. His response has always been, "Well, it is up to the Tribe to do it itself," and there has been no action taken, and the Indians of the Fort Hall Indian Reservation go without any assurance that they have had their day in Court or any of their constitutional rights have been protected.

I have been shown letters from Senator Church, from Congressman Hansen, from Senator Sam Ervin wherein each and every one of them state "We are investigating these conditions" and after five years of being associated with the Indians of the Fort Hall Indian Reservation, I have not yet to see one affirmative step taken to see that the constitutional rights of the Indians on Fort Hall Indian Reservation are being protected.

I have many files in my office that should any individual or group desire to review some of these abuses of the law and order code on the Fort Hall Indian Reservation which I would be happy to discuss, subject to the approval of my clients, to further illustrate the abuses that are taking place in the Tribal Courts of this Reservation. I might further say that a true Tribal Attorney should be hired for the benefit of these Indians. Under the present state the Tribal Attorney is merely hired to advise the Council, the Tribal Council, but the individual Indians have no one to turn to except if they should have the financial resources to hire one on their own. The Tribal Counsel's services are not available to the individual Indians as their rights might be affected by the Law and Order Code or the Charter governing the Shoshone-Bannock Tribes of Fort Hall Indian Reservation. It would appear to me that if the welfare of the Indians were truly the purpose of the Bureau of Indian Affairs that they should make available to the Indians a full-time legal advisor on good authority to take positive and affirmative action when such need is dictated when the welfare of the various Tribal members are concerned.

U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C., October 21, 1968.

Mr. Raymond Nakai,
Chairman, Navajo Tribal Council,
Window Rock, Ariz.

Dear Mr. Nakai: I am writing in response to your recent telegram and the brief coverage of our Subcommittee hearings in the Navajo Times. It is obviously of great importance to the Navajo Tribe that the background, purpose and record of these hearings be accurately reported and receive every opportunity for thorough and constructive discussion. With this purpose in mind, I would recommend that you make this letter available to local area newspapers and the Navajo Times.

The central focus of concern of the Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education has been the welfare of the Indian child, respect for the integrity of the Indian family and the cultural background of the Tribe. A substantial public record has now been established (nine field trips/hearings; more 40 Indian witnesses have formally testified) which indicates that both in the past and the present, the cultural background of Indian tribes has been either neglected or abused, the integrity of the Indian family has been overlooked or rejected, and the consequences have been devastating for the welfare of the Indian child.

The first Subcommittee hearings were held in Washington, D.C. on December 14 and 15, 1967. At that time, Mr. William Byler, Executive Director of the Association on American Indian Affairs and Dr. Dan O'Connell, a psychiatrist from the Harvard School of Public Health and staff member of the Association, testified to the following effect:

1. There are approximately 9,000 Indian children 9 years of age and under in boarding schools.

2. Almost 8,000 of these children are Navajo children.

3. That to a large extent this is due to a lack of roads on the reservation, and a crash building program in the 1950's to get the children into school (there was not school space for approximately 50% of the Navajo children as late as 1950).

4. That "there is almost universal agreement in the field of developmental psychology that early separation of the child from the family unit is a destructive influence."

5. That Navajo parents do not necessarily oppose boarding schools for their children but really have no choice when they do feel the schools are an unsatisfactory satisfactory substitute for Navajo family life.

6. That family relationships are more complex and more important to an Indian child than in white society, and crucial to his development of a sense of identity. Thus separation from the family is potentially even more traumatic and destructive for the Indian child.

That boarding schools as they presently exist are totally inadequate as a substitute for parents and family—and even with very substantial improvements can never be an adequate substitute for the home and family.

The conclusion reached by the Association on American Indian Affairs after field investigation, a national conference, discussions and consultation with many behavioral scientists was that constructive alternatives to the present system of boarding schools for elementary-school-age Navajos must be found. As a member of its Board of Directors, Mr. Nakai, I am certain that the official position of this Organization has been known to you for some time.

During the December hearings, the Bureau of Indian Affairs was asked by Senator Paul Fannin to provide the Subcommittee with complete information on the present location of roads on the reservation, the locations of the families of the children attending each school, a projection of road construction on the reservation, and well thought out alternatives to the practice of boarding schools for elementary-school-age children. A response to date from the Bureau of Indian Affairs has been incomplete and rather disappointing. The Bureau of Indian Affairs has provided us with very little indication that they are capable or willing to develop constructive alternatives. Their position seems to be that it would be too expensive to change; the problem is really not all that serious; and that after all, big boarding schools can provide better education than smaller day schools. The Subcommittee considers this position to be unacceptable.

Four highly qualified and experienced behavioral scientists were asked to appear before the Subcommittee this Fall and testify in regard to this matter. They were:

Dr. Karl Menninger, M.D., Chairman of the Board, Menninger Foundation, Senior Consultant, Stone-Brandall Center, Chicago, Illinois.

Dr. Robert Leon, M.D., Professor and Chairman, Department of Psychiatry, University of Texas Medical School, San Antonio, Texas.

Dr. Harry Martin, Ph. D., Professor of Psychology (Sociology), University of Texas Medical School, San Antonio, Texas.

Dr. Daniel O'Connell, M.D., Psychiatrist and member of the faculty of the Harvard School of Public Health; Executive Secretary of the National Committee on Indian Health of the Association on American Indian Affairs.

In summary there was strong concurrence with the Subcommittee on the part of each of the witnesses that testified in our recent hearings. As soon as this testimony is printed and available I will send you a copy so that you can have the benefit of all the testimony at your disposal.

I am writing to Mr. Wilbur Cohen, Secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and Mr. Stewart Udall, Secretary of the Department of Interior requesting their support in carrying out a detailed examination of this problem to include a thorough on-site evaluation by mental health experts. We would appreciate your support for our request. In addition, the Subcommittee intends to visit the reservation with consultants later this Fall to thoroughly explore all constructive alternatives to the present system.

I look forward to meeting with you and other members of the Tribal Council to discuss this matter at greater length later this Fall. The Subcommittee appreciates your concern and welcome your good counsel.

Sincerely,

WAYNE MORSE, *Chairman.*

CHAIRMAN, SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON INDIAN EDUCATION,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

According to reports in national newspapers, testimony before your committee by Senator Mondale and Dr. Carl Menninger has shown the Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding schools in an unfavorable light. The Navajo people are quite concerned about this matter. Will you please advise us what evidence, if any, was submitted in proof of this adverse testimony.

To our knowledge no study has ever been made of the results of attendance of Indians in public schools in the United States versus the BIA boarding schools on the Navajo Reservation.

BIA boarding schools on the Navajo reservation were built and are operated through the close cooperation of the Navajo Tribe, the parents of Indian children, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. If there is a better way to educate children, we think it should be discussed with the Navajo Tribe and the Navajo people. Until that time it is the request of the Navajo people that the boarding school program on the Navajo Reservation be expanded by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, working closely with the Navajo Tribe and the Navajo people, and we request that this be continued until concrete evidence is submitted and that no precipitous action be taken without complete information.

RAYMOND NAKAI,
Chairman, Navajo Tribal Council.

U.S. SENATE, SUBCOMMITTEE ON INDIAN EDUCATION,
September 25, 1968.

DR. KARL MENNINGER,
Stone-Brandall Center,
Chicago, Ill.

DEAR DR. MENNINGER: We appreciate your willingness to testify before the Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education on October 1, 1968. The hearing will begin at 9:00 a.m. and will be held in Room 4232 of the New Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

I would like to briefly outline some of the major concerns of the Subcommittee and some of the information that has already been established in previous hearings. It has been rather well established that the basic policy of the federal government toward Indian tribes since the Allotment Act of 1887 has been one of coercive assimilation. This appears to at least have been the dominant policy dictated by Congress although there have been some variations in the actual administration of Indian Affairs. The Allotment Act of 1887 did tremendous damage, not only to the land base of Indian tribes, but also to the social and psychological viability of their way of life. By the 1920's the American Indian had not only lost 100 million acres of land but the hostile dependency syndrome had become well established on most reservations. Additional testimony has indicated that despite the reform movements of the 30's the general pressure of the dominant society on Indian cultures has been destructive. Discrimination and hostility appears to be a common phenomena in towns bordering most reservations. On the reservation, government paternalism is emasculating and oppressive. Ilif McKay has described this graphically:

"The reservation Indian feels like he is under a microscope looking up at the white man's hairy eyeball staring down at him."

The Subcommittee has had some difficulty understanding what is happening on Indian reservations that we have visited. There appears to be a considerable amount of social disorganization and a general process of cultural disintegration. Alcoholism appears to be widespread and a serious problem among every Indian group we have visited. Broken families also appear to be a fairly common problem. In addition, we have found high suicide, homocide and accident rates on many reservations. Many times it would appear that accidents, particularly car accidents, are masked suicides. To cite a few examples of the suicide problem which appears to be particularly pronounced during the adolescent years: The Busby Boarding School in Montana, the Fort Hall Reservation in Idaho, the Quinault Reservation in Washington (in a 5 year period 20 adolescent suicide attempts, 10 of which were successful), the Umatilla Reservation in Oregon, and the San Carlos and White Mountain Apache Reservations in Arizona. In addition to all of these problems we have also found very high unemployment rates on most reservations. I have included a paper by Dr. William Kelly which suggests that much of this unemployment is a function of psychological maladjustment and is really not "unemployment at all, but rather something that could be better called "idleness". The termination and relocation policies of the 1950's are still with us in the 1960's and rather than alleviate the problems they aggravate and reinforce them.

As early as our first hearings in December of last year, the Subcommittee was deeply concerned about the mental health problems of BIA Boarding Schools. This problem divides itself into two parts as indicated by Senator Kennedy's speech at Window Rock, Arizona which I have included in the package. The Association of American Indian Affairs made a very strong case in our initial hearings that the Boarding Schools for elementary school-age Indian children were highly questionable. Senator Kennedy on a number of occasions called them "barbaric." I have included a copy of a letter received from a teacher at the boarding school at Tuba City, Arizona. It has been included in our hearing record and appears to be a graphic description of what is presently happening to the 8,000 plus Navajo children that can be found in these schools scattered across the reservation. I have also enclosed a copy of an article by Dr. John Collier, Jr. describing practices in one of these boarding schools which most people thought had been abolished 40 years ago. I have also enclosed a copy of the testimony presented by Dr. Bergman, the PHS Psychiatrist who serves the whole Navajo reservation. Senator Fannin has specifically asked that the BIA consider alternatives to the present program on the Navajo reservation. To date BIA has provided us with very little indication that they are capable of developing alternatives. Their position seems to be that it would be too expensive to change; the problem is really not all that serious; and that after all, big boarding schools can provide a better education than smaller days schools. The Subcommittee considers this position to be totally unacceptable and would like to marshal every possible resource to force a change. Testimony to this effect is desired.

A second problem area that was established in our initial hearings by Dr. Harry Saslow, was the serious inadequacies and menal health problems of the off-reservation boarding schools. A number of witnesses have testified regarding this problem from various parts of the country. Some of the problems identified are as follows: A large majority of the students have serious emotional or social problems before they ever come to school. Some of the schools such as T. Roosevelt Boarding School in Arizona are only masquerading as schools. They are really juvenile detention centers with no provision for rehabilitation. Dr. Saslow pointed out that there is no screening process for identifying the problems of these students when they come to the school. Even if there were, there is little or no provision for treatment. There simply is not any mental health staffing in any of the off-reservation boarding schools that we know of. Even the programs started by Dr. Krush at the two boarding schools in South Dakota have been completely washed out. The problems of many of these youngsters appear to get worse rather than better in the boarding school environment. In addition, very little academic progress is made by many of these students. The atmosphere of the school is usually authoritarian and repressive. Dormitories are often barracks and horribly understaffed. Guidance counselors are rarely professionals, usually disciplinarians. The quality of administration of both on and off reservation boarding schools is very bad. The tendency appears to be for the good teachers to get disgusted and leave while mediocre and bad teachers stay on, some eventually becoming administrators. There is also a tremendous amount of shifting of students from school to school which testimny would indicate is damaging. There is not one boarding school in the whole BIA system which even approaches providing a model program or a "therapeutic community." Obviously the Subcommittee is seeking additional testimony to substantiate the seriousness of the problem and the need for a major overhaul. To be perfectly frank, the Subcommittee feels, and number of witnesses will be testifying to the effect, that the necessary transformation cannot take place as long as the schools remain under the Bureau of Indian Affairs. We would appreciate your comments about this, either formally or informally.

Testimony has also established that many public schools are failing Indian children as badly as the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Dropout rates of many public schools run from 40% to as high as 100% (e.g. Alliance, Nebraska). Research conducted by Dr. Bryde and Dr. Spilka demonstrates the profound effect of cultural alienation in the adolescent years. Dr. Mindell at Pine Ridge has interviewed a number of Indian students and found a striking amount of repressed self-hatred. These phenomena appear to be common in a number of different student populations.

The Subcommittee is also concerned about the BIA and state welfare practices in terms of the placement of considerable numbers of Indian children in foster homes, with adopted parents or in boarding schools. Serious questions have been raised about the proceduers used and the general wisdom of such welfare practices. Another era of concern is the BIA relocation program where there would appear to be serious mental health hazards which have been given inadequate attention and (along with the four new family residential centers which have been contracted out to private industry) there has rarely been meaningful indepent evaluation or any provision for mental health staff. We would appreciate testimony substantiating these problems.

It is our intention to place the Special Section on "The Mental Health of the American Indian" in the August, 1968 issue of *The American Journal of Psychiatry*, in the official hearing record. We would appreciate any additional documents which supplement your testimony. We would also appreciate, if you are not bringing prepared written testimony, having available several copies of a two to three page summary of your testimony for newspaper reporters.

We consider these hearings to be of considerable importance to the Subcommittee and look forward to seeing you on October 1.

Sincerely,

ADRIAN L. PARMETER,
Staff Director.

INDIAN EDUCATION*

We are all indebted to Philleo Nash for starting off this Conference where it should begin, in the real history of American Indian education. But this history, starting with General Pratt and Carlisle Indian Boarding School, I fear is not the consistent trail to enlightenment that Dr. Nash's account suggests.

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*This is a commentary on the *Proceedings of The National Research Conference of American Indian Education* by John Collier Jr. I felt that Professor Collier's ideas are so much a part of the *Proceedings* that it should be distributed to all those who participated.

Certainly the Meriam Report was a very enlightening and progressive report, yet I do not agree that it had the educating effects that it intended. Change has come very slowly in Indian schools, and with disastrous set-backs. To be sure, *change has also* come slowly in American education at large and for similar reasons. Nothing is more bound by culture than schools. We make lightning developments in radionics, but not in the value-laden territory of the schools. Schools as institutions are cultures unto themselves. No educational system has a more resilient culture than BIA.

Indian Service education began in two directions, first by General Pratt of the United States Army and then by missionaries. Both school systems shared in common the concept that Indian culture stood in the way of Americanization and therefore of progress. The scholastically excellent Presbyterian mission school at Ganado, Arizona, displayed above its main gate until just a few years ago, a large sign "*Tradition Is The Enemy of Progress.*" As recently, a field worker recorded in the Methodist boarding school at Farmington this prayer:—"Dear Lord, help me not hate my mother and father." The assumption that the Meriam Report corrected such educational beliefs is untrue. In fact today I have an account from a boarding school on the Navajo that philosophically matches the practices of the Carlisle Boarding School. For example, children are beaten, pervasive attacks are made against their cultural beliefs, classes start with the Lord's Prayer, and teachers advocate the free labor of Navajo girls in their homes, doing laundry, scrubbing floors etc. etc. all done on students' after school time, "to teach them the American way of housekeeping." Likely this does no serious damage to Indian students, but it does reveal that BIA teacher-school culture does not always change as it should.

We should not talk of history without reviewing how the BIA at one point DID try to follow the advice of the Meriam Report. No educational history is more revealing than that of the Day School program that was initiated on the Navajo about a decade after the Meriam Report was released. No one in our Conference mentioned this dramatic failure in ideal solutions. Indeed—this was the Meriam Report in action.

At the crisis of stock reduction on the Navajo, the need for grass-roots education was paramount. Visionaires considered that the Navajo must be completely re-educated in land use and conservation. Among other goals, an accelerated Community Day School program was going to fulfil this adult orientation as well as the education of children. The Day School program was to be a valiant fling in the opposite direction from the menace of the boarding school. The crisis atmosphere of the New Deal sent white teachers in Navajo skirts into rservation schools—"to bring education to the community." In the remotest sections of the reservations day schools were constructed rapidly of locally quarried sandstone. These buildings stand today, like the hogan-shaped structures at Navajo Mountain, or the abandoned schoolplants of Moenavi near Taba and Birnams, South of Fruitland. Laundries, blacksmith shops and sewing rooms were designed into the plants to bring the adults into the schools. Texts were written in Navajo and English about Navajo life, illustrated by Indian artists. Similar bi-lingual or native-oriented texts were produced for other Indian groups, even for the Eskimo in Alaska. The New Day of education seemed to have come to the American Indian.

In practice it had not. Twenty or thirty years after THIS revolution, forty years after the Meriam Report, Indian education has too often eased back into its familiar shape, despite the small evolutions, which have been many.

How could such an ideal approach as the Navajo Community Day School Program fail? It failed because BIA and American values at large could not change as fast as school design. It was the BIA who administered these "ideal" schools, and it was the formidable bureaucracy, the public culture of politicians and the private culture of BIA personnel, and above all the white Christian middle-class of all America that doomed this new horizon of education to failure. Historians can correctly point out that the Second World War interrupted the program, but the point is when it stopped *it never started again*—until Navajos out of their own intelligence conceived the spirit and substance of culturally determined community involved education.

How Indian is the Problem of American Indian Education?

Many wise observers at this Conference have raised this question. Possibly it has been the consideration of the Indian situation as an isolated problem that has been cause of much of its misunderstanding. If we have reached a turning point toward progress it is, I believe, the new landscape, in which we see the

Indian "problem" as being only one part of a national and world necessity of liberating and giving energies to unrecognized and often exploited peoples who are different and often antagonistic to our schemes, whose destinies are evolving on other planes of history than our own. In the past we have looked down upon them as lesser, indeed inferior, people. Thankfully, we no longer refer to master and follower races (because the national and world conflicts over our righteousness no longer can be isolated to any such distinct groups). As one of our Conference fellows pointed out, the Amish are suffering the same educational difficulties as the American Indian.

When we involve ourselves with the American Indian problem, or the Afro-American problem, what indeed are we dealing with? Bluntly, we are dealing with civilized destiny that certainly is our own. The Indian problem of self determined survival, is our own individual survival. As Jack Forbes pointed out, "Indian problems are generated by white men, unsolved without the changes in white men. The white man cannot pretend to be the doctor; *he is the sickness.*"

I believe our sophistication about culture and personality has gone far enough to view the developmental needs of an Indian child or a Mexican American child in the same way we would view the needs of our own children. The structural failure so common in the minority personality can happen anywhere now under our faceless mechanistic system. Much of the Indian child's problem, or the struggle for adjustment of the relocated Indian in Los Angeles, is critically just the struggle for existence of the individual, ANY individual in this dangerously alienated world we live in.

In another breath, as we observe our anxieties about native people yielding their culture to "progress", what we are anxious about is that they might become as vapid, shapeless, and alienated as WE. Our rush to preserve culture has nothing much to do with the exotics of difference. *It is people we wish to save*, their special sensitivities, their intelligence, their courage and independence. I believe this is what is deeply buried in bilingualism, and cultural pluralism. Anthropologists know the difference between the lithe, coordinated, and astute native from his brother who has left the forest for the colonial existence of white man's society. Many times in this Conference, speakers have referred to the statistics that Indian children can succeed well until the fourth grade and then their record plunges till they drop out. Ninety percent of California Indians dropped out of high school fifteen years ago. Now the record has been paralleled by the Negroes, who also do well through the fourth grade. What happens after the fourth grade and eighth year of life? Here the resilience of the native personality of the child begins to crumble; the Indian child or Mexican American, Negro, or indeed Anglo-Saxon who suffers the similar circumstance of coming to the realization that the life style of his family or group is despised. The failure in Indian education is not an Indian failure. Rather it is the failure of any child exposed to the same kind of personality damage.

Bernard Spilka feels that the commonality of the Indian failure is simply poverty. Indeed this is shared among all our depressed groups. But we must examine with caution just what is in poverty that is so debilitating. Regardless of the scheme of poverty, be it exploitation or nutrition, the debilitating factor is primarily psychological. John Reyna, Taos Indian, made the statement to Vice President Humphrey at a conference on the war on poverty "The administrators should know about the poverty of the spirit which for the Indian is far more terrible than the poverty of materialism." Reyna insisted that it was the poverty of the spirit that must be overcome in the war on poverty or the program would fail to relieve the oppression of the American Indian. Again, this affliction of poverty, the hunger of the spirit, is no isolated Indian hunger. Indeed this IS poverty no matter by what road you arrive at such deprivation.

The exciting opportunity of working with Indian educaton is that the solutions that have been suggested by this Conference are directly relevant to the education or marginal people anywhere. Applied anthropology in particular should take great interest in this problem for I believe some of the principles that have come out of work such as the Peru Cornell Project in Vicos and many aspects of Peace Corps experience throw direct light on the dilemma of Indian schools. I feel if solutions are achieved in such demonstration schools as Rough Rock, they will be applicable to the problem of education for the Mexican American, the migrants pouring in from Hong Kong, the Afro-Americans and certainly the Amish communities of Pennsylvania and elsewhere.

The Failure of Indian Education

Precisely how does the Indian student fail? Simply by not finishing school? There is really only one issue in Indian education, or any education for that matter, and that is nurturing effectability, or if you please, intelligence! The failure is that American Indians have been losing effectability ever since the BIA attempted their education. Paul Goodman refers to this process as "compulsory mis-education"—school experience that is demoting rather than additive. . . .

Indian school failures (after all the students don't ALL fail) present themselves as individuals with limited or injured intelligence. They exhibit what appears as retardation. Actually this is personality or psychic damage that operates to keep the individual on an unachieving unperceptive and unmotivated level. In some cases, with Indian students who have pushed into college, the results may take highly neurotic forms and may appear as a variety of schizophrenia. Students say of this Indian friend, "He's just a mixed up kid . . ."

The compulsory mis-education of the Indian child performs to arrest his emotional development and breaks the continuity of his intelligence. What can happen is no mystery. By the time he is six or eight he already has fifty percent of his intelligence. You may call this native intelligence, if you like. We assume that intelligence has been developed through language and cultural circumstance, and this intelligence can only be fluently expressed through a special linguistic system, and a variety of cultural determined situations plus values. In other words, his first intelligence has been formed to cope with specialized environment, of culture plus ecology.

Now, change all these circumstances, forbid him the linguistic expression of his intelligence, and rapidly you have a very repressed and unresponsive child. Rapid change has knocked out his communications system. The new cultural cues signal no intelligent response. Now the teacher assumes "these California Indians just aren't very smart." With this perspective it is easy to see why an Indian child so often simply sits at the back of the room.

Along with compulsory mis-education, comes a barrage attack on the self-image. This image is of course culturally endowed. And if this image cracks, out leaks all the energy, and you have an unmotivated low-achieving student.

All this describes not only Indian education but most efforts of education across culture. The damage to the Navajo child may be no greater than the damage to the Mexican-American child, or any child for that matter whose effectability and self image have been smashed.

The general solutions offered by interdisciplinarian thinking at this Conference all point to preventing the personality damage. So many of us at this Conference recognize that the fault of the Indian school, or the missionary school is their negative effect on the functioning personality of the child. We know this can happen in any school.

Basically the problem of Indian education is as simple or as monolithic as the clash between American or Western values and intelligence and all other non-Western systems of good living and intelligence. Our solutions must rest in the common dominators of all cultures as the basic sources of intelligence. We continue the development of the native child by reapplying his intelligence with little alteration to new problems; this is dynamic acculturation. When the Eskimo masters his diesel engine or adjusts his radio compass without special training, he is applying directly his full native intelligence to a totally strange technology in order to survive! We ask no more or less of Indian education. Let us get all of a child's intelligence into schooling.

Solutions to Indian Education

After first listening to the push and pull of ideas at the Conference and then reading in great detail each of the panelist's views, I am convinced more than ever that our Conference has embraced the problem of identity and alienation in our whole society.

From the floor there was much talk about research. How many Indians? And what IS an Indian? The question we are really dealing with was presented subtly in the remarks of Brewton Berry about the emerging Indian peoples of Delaware and North Carolina. After listening to this drama of Lumbis, one wonders whether being an Indian has any genetic significance at all. It begins to appear that you are as Indian as you wish to be—or as you need to be. The significant act is to HAVE AN IDENTITY, to know who you are, and serious problems begin when you fail to be able to acomplish this.

Dr. Berry points out the fact that there are far more Indians in America than we were led to believe. In 1950 there were no Indians in Delaware. In 1960 there were 600. In 1950 the Indian population was 3,000 in North Carolina and by 1960 it was 40,000. We must conclude that in America at large people are keenly hungry for identity, or from where else would have come all these Indians? This need has risen to crisis proportion. The fulfillment of the need appears far more important than any definition of who is an Indian. It follows then that the new crisis in Indian education, that has arisen out of their articulate needs, is to supply an education *that strengthens rather than weakens identity.* This seems equally true in Mexican-American and Afro-American schooling. This IS revolutionary and lays down the ground rules for education across the board for all peoples, and certainly the American Indian.

It may be difficult to think in terms of solutions if we are not clear in our own minds about goals. Most of us have rejected Indian education's first goal, to get the Indian to leave his own cultural heritage and become completely part of the Christian white man's culture. This was not an unreasonable solution when it realistically appeared that the Indians were vanishing. Now that we know there are more Indians in the Americas than when Columbus landed, we know the Indians are not vanishing any more than the Afro-Americans are vanishing. Ethnically different groups in America are increasing rapidly, not vanishing, and so we must conceive of solutions with this reality in mind.

If we consider the Indians adjustment is no more critical than that of the Mexican-American's, we have a very clear statement of solution in the voice of a Texan of Mexican descent.

"We want equal opportunities for jobs and equal pay for equal work. We want to share the material benefits of American technology. We also want the right to be different from the Anglos. We want to maintain the Mexican family, the dignity of the individual, and the beauty of the Spanish language. I would never trade Latin dignity for Anglo boisterousness. I don't want to be like my Anglo neighbors. I want to be John Salazar, a Mexican-American. This country should be big enough to allow us the freedom to be different without being repressed."

I beieve this is what Sol Tax was considering when he made his statements outlining his view, research goals, and procedures. "I am concerned with the large number who feel it necessary to live in terms of Indian values and retain special relations with their kinfolk and other Indians . . . I feel an obligation to help them adjust in their own human way to our impersonal economy . . . if they had wanted to become like me they would not now be the subject of programs and conferences."

Edward Spicer adds a further dimension to Sol Tax's words, and that is that Indian cultures like most social systems are in a state of evolution. Spicer feels research on contemporary Indian values, as suggested in reports like *The Hopi Way*, describes Indian cultures ". . . monolithic entities of some kind in an unchanging equilibrium." Many of us feel, I am sure, that this view obscures the problem. Spicer points out, "One may assume that since Indian societies have not disappeared, there is an aspect of Indian education which has to do with children finding ways to relate themselves to Indian societies. Such an alternative approach might be regarded as resting on the assumption that Indians are involved in processes of mutual adaptation of culturally different societies."

This decision of Indians to remain within their cultural valleys has led to further deprivation, simply because their education never suggested to them that they could be both Indians and productive members of American society. Samuel Stanley points out how severe this situation can be. "The important point is that when an Indian leaves an Indian community there is a loss in that Indian community *of much more than a brain.* Now what has been lost, if you like, is a part of one's self. And the reason that this occurred is because (the Indian) has been defining self, in terms of (his) community . . . I think (this) helps to explain why it is that many Indians choose—and I like to think it is a matter of choice—to remain poor and in situ, instead of getting up and hustling off to the cities. I don't think I am saying that Indians like to be poor. Of course they don't. But when the alternative is to leave the community and raise their standards of living or to remain in the community and tolerate a lower standard of living, I think the answer is before your eyes. *Many Indians choose to remain in the community even though this means a lower standard of living.*" When we accept this reality, and the poverty that is forced on the Indian by this need, we can appreciate that our solutions must be a two level solution in education, so that Indians do not have to live in poverty to retain the sense of an Indian "self."

The experiments of education in the Rough Rock Demonstration School certainly stress this two level education. In Rough Rock, Navajos say, "We want our children to be first rate Navajos. You have to be first rate on the reservation or you will be second rate when you get to San Francisco." Or in Stanley's view, you will end up poverty stricken on the reservation unless education deals both with the Indian as an individual and the community as an Indian world, that must function successfully within the surrounding white American society. Secondly, the Indian as an individual who can function successfully—anywhere in the modern patterns.

Before passing from this issue of cultural pluralism as one basis of educational planning we could well consider Herbert Aurbach's editorial summation that: "American society is moving its emphasis on hard work and competitive spirit, into a technological future with more leisure to appreciate and to emulate the life styles of the traditional Indian. By the time this evolution is completed we may find ourselves to have assimilated to a greater degree to the American Indian culture than the American Indian to our culture. Therefore educational plans for the Indian populations should carefully take into account the value of the *traditional* Indian with emphasis on helping to preserve these values."

One great value of schooling Indians in their culture may be so that they can survive to be *our* teachers. If an ideal solution is achieved in the Indian school, the student should be in a position not only to educate each other but even as importantly to educate their teachers too. This is the dynamic two-way process of education.

High among solutions considered is the shape of the Indian child's classroom and who will be the teachers? If we accept that Indian education is not a remote problem, but one shared in common with the Mexican-American school, or ghetto schools in our great cities, then we can go where the action is, where really dangerous issues lie among our urban minority peoples. There are solutions for the Indians among the Mennonites. There are also solutions for them in the great American slums, which have yielded less to the millions spent on education than have the American Indians living in what many call our rural slums.

Unslumming and reeducating poverty's children at once offers us parallel solutions. In the eyes of such researchers as Jane Jacobs (*The Life and Death of Great American Cities*), unslumming *must* be from within. Students of the New Deal know that all outside initiated rehabilitation projects failed. Education and unslumming or redeveloping are functionally the same inside job. Each must educate within the same school room: The community.* A share of the teachers of renewal and redevelopment must come from the community or education never begins. The only solution yet for the poverty area school is to involve the whole community in education. Only this approach will hold together the functioning unit of children, adults, and family. This is essential to any significant social change. Here we bow to the reality that we must deal with an equilibrious whole, but we consider this scheme a dynamic one rather than an unchanging model.

The number one killer in Indian education is the separation that has been demanded between the child, family, and community. This one practice is enough to negate the whole educational process. Day schools are not nearly enough. The issue is *participation*, not location that makes the difference. Only the concept of the community school allows for this holistic accomplishment. (Ideally, middle class white parents demand this of their children's schools. Why not Indians' parents?).

What is the essential relationship between community and school? The community must feel it too is educating the child, and to accept this transmission there must be both bilingualism and cultural pluralism.

Many members of the panel have stressed the importance of teaching English as a second language, though none has directly stated why this is so essential in Indian schools. Most leave the issue as simply a process of more rapidly and intelligently learning English.

If we stop at this, we are by-passing the critical value of English as a second language. We return to the initial concept of this writing, effectability and intelligence. When we mute a child's first language we are destroying the system by which the Indian child thinks and expresses his intelligence. In the mixed cross cultural classroom this image is absurd. The Indian child and the white child are supposed to compete in learning. The white child churns ahead in an undisturbed cognitive linguistic system. The Indian child must hold up significant cognition until he learns the master communication system, English. Learning English is comparable to a white child's learning French, just ONE of the significant learning opportunities. There is no reason why an Indian child can't learn mathematics in Navajo, and learn them equally well and just as fast as white students learning in HIS native English.

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*In this view, any enclave of value-related people functions as a community source.

The public schools of San Antonio, Texas have faced this. The issue is educate the Mexican child. After three generations of effort this had not been satisfactorily accomplished. So finally the schools have given up the struggle of fighting Spanish. Instead they are beginning to swing with it. "If the Mexican child insists (and because he insists he critically needs) to speak Spanish, then teach him fluent Spanish. Start education in Spanish, find the principles in the first language, and maybe learning English will not be such a hurdle." Sixty classrooms in San Antonio are now bilingual and culturally plural in hopes of breaking the educational stalemate. I see no reason why an Indian or a Mexican can't continue to think beautifully and effectively in his first language for the rest of his life.

There is still a further value in the native tongue and that is that it keeps the personality in a functioning whole and possibly allows for more internalization and educational reasoning. In this case we consider language as culture. Miles Zintz contributed this very significant note, "Mrs. Lenore Wolf, Director of the Head Start program at Laguna, reports that young children from Pajuate know the mother tongue quite well and they learn English concepts faster than the New Laguna children who know very little of the mother tongue.

James Officer's BIA experiences have revealed singular achievements in both areas of bilingualism and biculturism. Speaking of the Alaska Indian community of Metlakatla—"All the Indians there speak fluent Tsimshian; they also speak fluent English. They are high achievers in school—above average for Alaska in their scores on standard achievement tests. Why? What is there about the Annetta Island situation that is unique?" Here is a circumstance that parallels Laguna in the Southwest. "We talk of problems of biculturalism." Officer again notes. "Among the best achievers—if that's not a nasty term in this crowd—in BIA schools are the Hopi children. Is there a problem of biculturism with respect to the Hopi? I think we would agree that the Hopis have retained a great deal of their pre-contact culture . . . at least relative to other tribes."

As we examine the record more and more evidence turns up that quite functionally the child with a whole culture has a greater chance of retaining a whole personality than a child from a lost or fractured culture, and we all agree, that the effective person operates out of a highly organized sense of self. All of us, Indian or white, black or brown, can learn from these observations. Culture IS the functioning framework of the individual. As Ruth Benedict reported the proverb of the California Indians. "In the beginning God gave to every people a cup of clay, and from this cup they drink their life. Our cups are broken, and my people will now pass away."

I end this writing with words of Miles Zintz. He speaks as a practical teacher, dedicated in his efforts to education. His words from an Indian student speak of the critical issue of this Conference, and surely sum up the frustration of Indian education. "I love you for the help you gave me—which I really needed—when I was in the University. And I hate you because you tried to take the Indian out of me." Zintz concludes, "I knew I had tried to help him but I didn't even know he thought I tried to take anything away. I was certainly not aware that I'd tried to reduce his Indianness."

MENTAL HEALTH ACTIVITIES IN THE INDIAN HEALTH PROGRAM

(By Marion Andrews, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Public Health Service, Division of Indian Health)

Foreword

This pamphlet has been prepared in response to numerous requests from within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, for information about activities in the mental health field among American Indians and Alaska Natives.

Although comprehensive mental health planning is still in a developing stage, psychiatric services to these Americans have increased in each of the past few years. This booklet deals with mental health activities past and present, and with trends in mental health planning for the future.

Mental Health Services to Reservation Indians

I. *Background*

Developments in the understanding and treatment of mental illness among American Indians and Alaska Natives has paralleled developments in this field among other Americans, and for many years mentally ill Indians received services of more or less the same quality and kind as those generally available to the rest of the population. Indians with symptoms of emotional or mental illness were diagnosed by general practitioners in Indian facilities or through contract arrangements and were institutionalized in off-reservation facilities, mostly state hospitals. Only one institution was devoted exclusively to the case of mentally ill Indians: an asylum in Canton, S. Dak., which was destroyed by fire in 1934. The Canton patients were transferred to St. Elizabeths Hospital, Washington, D.C., where hospitalization of disturbed or mentally retarded Indians whose families could not manage them was continued until recent years.

Federal health services for Indians began under War Department auspices in the early 1800's. In 1849 the responsibility was transferred to the newly created Department of the Interior where the scope of services was gradually expanded. On July 1, 1955, the Congress transferred the responsibility to the Public Health Service, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and in the following decade the pattern of diagnosis and service began to change. The Division established in 1955 a policy of treating patients as close to their home states as possible and made plans accordingly for the transfer of 83 Indian patients then living in St. Elizabeths. Today only four aged Indian patients remain at St. Elizabeths. One is too ill to be moved and plans are being explored to return the other three to special care facilities in their home states.

II. *Developments from 1955–1965*

Between 1955 and 1965, the services generally available to emotionally disturbed Indians continued to be mostly diagnostic evaluations and institutional care. With rare exceptions, in-patient care was still in state hospitals, when the jurisdictional confusion permitted.[1]

The chief exception to utilizing only state hospitals for therapeutic purposes was the program developed in one of the Division's hosptials. Phoenix Medical Center, where therapy was provided two days a week in family clinics by contract psychiatrists and hospital social workers. In addition, this Area which includes parts of Arizona, California, Nevada and Utah, began to purchase short term hospital care from a private institution in Phoenix for patients with a favorable prognosis. For long-term patients, the Phoenix Area used the State hospitals, as did the other Areas.

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[1] Jurisdictional problems affecting mentally ill Indians are reported solved in most Areas except Red Lake, Minnesota and in three counties of South Dakota where the county judges disavow any jurisdictional responsibility for reservation Indians.

About the same time, the Alaska Medical Center in Anchorage also began purchasing some evaluative and consultative services from private psychiatrists to supplement the services available from the State Menetal Health Program. Long-term therapy in institutions was provided first under territorial, and later under state auspices. The Division of Indian Health social workers in the Anchorage Hospital and later at Mt. Edgecumbe collaborated with the Alaska mental health social workers and public health nurses to obtain social data and to prepare patients for treatment. Credit should also go to the Bureau of Indian Affairs which provided much background information through the records of its Welfare and Law and Order Branches.

Other general hospitals which began developing regularly scheduled outpatient psychiatric services before 1965 were the Indian facilities at Crow, Montana; Shiprock, New Mexico; Ft. Defiance, Arizona; and Tahlequah, Oklahoma. In addition to the psychiatric services provided on a regular basis to patients with emotional problems at 32 of the Division's hospitals. Services were provided also by the Bureau of Indian Affairs social workers who served unmarried mothers, neglected or unwanted children, and maladjusted Indians not being seen at Division of Indian Health factilities.

The report of the President's Commission on Mental Illness, released in 1961, emphasized the need for comprehensive community mental health programs which included outpatient care and inpatient care near the home community, 24-hour emergency service, psychiatric consultation and training of staff, consultation to community agencies, rehabilitation services and after care in the home community, educational activities, and research and evaluation programs.

With the impetus of the national mental health movement, the Division of Indian Health gradually shifted from concentrating on clinical services to planning and implementing a comprehensive program in which mental health concepts were integrated into the daily operation of the staff and were shared with the community.

The first break away from a completely clinically oriented approach to mental health came at the Flandreau Boarding School in the Aberdeen Area even before the 1960's. As early as 1956, it became evident to the Area directors of the Division of Indian Health and of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Aberdeen, South Dakota that the aggressive behavior of some pupils at the Bureau of Indian Affairs Boarding School at Flandreau necessitated an overview of the emotional health of all the boarding school students. At the request of the Division of Indian Health, Dr. Robert Leon, then Psychiatric Consultant of the Public Health Service Regional Office at Kansas City, Kansas was instrumental in interesting a psychiatrist from Nebraska, Dr. Thaddeus Krush, in this challenging situation.

Dr. Krush, who had had experience with such youngsters in Massachusetts, was employed by the Division on a part-time basis to make monthly visits to the Flandreau School to diagnose and treat some of the more troubled students, to hold educational classes for academic, administrative, and maintenance personnel of the school, and to provide consultation to the superintendent, to the psychiatric worker and to the nurses.

He also started an operational research project financed by the National Institute of Mental Health which employed the services of psychologists, anthropologists and three additional social workers. To get a large enough base for the study, he included in the program the students of two other boarding schools as well as Flandreau: Pierre and Wahpeton. The study findings were (a) that frequent changes in the placement of children were likely to contribute to the formation of personality disorders; (b) off-reservation boarding school youngsters presented a more disturbed picture than on-reservation children; (c) the psychopathology of these students was so similar to non-Indian children that special psychological tests were not required; and (d) value orientations of Northern Indian groups were much like those of low income non-Indian populations.

III. *Developments Since 1965*

The organizational pattern through which the Division of Indian Health conducts its activities consists of eight area offices and 83 service units located in 24 states with Federal Indian reservations or with Indian populations that bear a special relationship to the Federal government. In March 1967, these 83 service units reported through their respective Area offices current mental health programs and activities which are geared to meet the needs of the reservation Indians. The following report is a summary of the data submitted by the 8 area offices.

A. *Schools*

Although there are variations between schools, cursory surveys have shown that at least 30% of the children reporting to "sick call" at the boarding school clinics have diagnoses with mental health implications. This is not surprising considering that in some Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding schools more than 90% of the students are there for "social reasons." This means they cannot attend the nearest public school because they lack suitable living conditions or supervision in the home community. The Bureau of Indian Affairs requires that children placed in boarding schools for social reasons should be studied by Bureau social worker prior to admission. With the intermittent exception of Chemawa, Oregon, and Mt. Edgecumbe, Alaska, there are no provisions for regular Bureau of Indian Affairs social service coverage once the children are in these boarding schools.

After initiation of a school-centered mental health program at Flandreau, interest in the mental health problems of boarding school students spread rapidly. In 1967, regularly scheduled psychiatric consultations were being held, or being developed by the Division of Indian Health in at least 12 of the larger boarding schools: Albuquerque, Crownpoint, and Shiprock, N. Mex., Haskell, Kans., Intermountain, Utah, Busby, Mont. Pine Ridge, S.D., Sequoyah, Okla., Phoenix, Ariz., Sherman, Calif., Stewart, Nev., and Chemawa, Oreg. Most of the psychiatrists serving these schools are employed under contract to provide diagnostic evaluations and recommendations for students in trouble, and case consultation and training for medical and paramedical personnel. Psychiatrists hold group discussions and educational seminars for the school counselors, the teachers and the school administrative staff, including dormitory aides. They participate in multi-agency meetings to promote coordinated program plans and effective community involvement. The amount of time devoted to school activities by the contract mental health consultants varies from 8 hours a month in the smaller schools to 75 hours a month at Phoenix.

In some areas it is possible to contract for mental health services from the nearest mental hygiene group which may consist of a complete team of specialists, or only a clinical psychologist and a psychiatric social worker, as at Flandreau, S.D., Pierre, S.D., Jones Academy, and Chilocco, Okla., and other schools. The Division utilizes all well staffed multidiscipline mental health clinics when they are located in communities near the boarding schools or the reservations.

When isolated schools like Mt. Edgecumbe, Alaska, are hard to reach by mental health consultants, the responsibility of counseling disturbed students and their upset teachers devolves on the full time psychiatric social worker employed at the nearby Division of Indian Health hospital.

As the Division of Indian Health social workers, can, they provide consultation in medical social work and in mental health concepts to the administrators, counselors, teachers and school nurses who are troubled by the deviant behavior of some students. They perform casework or group work in some complex situations, prepare social studies and pertinent data when a student's problems are to be studied by a mental health team, and they make arrangements for supportive services in the home community when a student known to them leaves the boarding school. Theoretically there is medical social work coverage for each boarding school because some Division of Indian Health social worker has been assigned the responsibility of providing social services on request, as time and other priorities permit Unfortunately, the staff is too small to meet more than one-third of all legitimate requests and referrals.

B. *General Hospitals and Field Health Centers*

1. Pine Ridge, South Dakota

As far back as 1956, Indian Tribal representatives began addressing personal and tribal requests to the Division of Indian Health for mental health programs for the reservation population. One of the clearest and most positive requests came from Pine Ridge, South Dakota where the Lakota Tuberculosis Committee converted itself in 1963 into the Lakota Tuberculosis and Mental Health Committee.

In 1964, plans were developed for the Pine Ridge reservation pilot mental health project. At the request of the Division, Dr. Mabel Ross, child psychiatrist and mental health consultant from the National Institute of Mental Health, made two site visits to the Pine Ridge Reservation with other headquarters staff to explore the problems of socialization and daily living, as they were seen and reported by representative groups of the 10,000 residents of Pine Ridge. On the basis of this interest, a pilot project was developed and a budget request was submitted to Congress early in 1965. The appropriation passed in the fall of 1965, and the program was implemented soon thereafter.

The mental health program at Pine Ridge is an integral part of the Division of Indian Health operations in the Pine Ridge hospital and its field clinics. Mental health staff attend medical and general staff meetings, serve on administrative committees, and live on the reservation the same as the rest of the Division of Indian Health staff.

In June 1967, the staff consisted of a child psychiatrist, a mental health nurse, a mental health social worker, an anthropologist, and supportive clerical staff. On the general staff of the hospital there were seven other full time doctors, two additional social workers, a nutritionist and the usual complement of hospital and field health staff. There were also two community health aides supported by The Office of Economic Opportunity, who made home nursing visits under the supervision of a public health nurse working very closely with the mental health team.

The psychiatrist on the mental health team has been providing some clinical evaluations and some therapy to inpatients and outpatients, but most of his time is spent on consultative services to schools and on educational aims in relation to community agencies. He has also been serving as mental health consultant to the Sioux Sanatorium, Rapid City, South Dakota. The chief responsibility of the anthropologist is to direct the team's effort to obtain, study and analyze basic demographic and mental health data and to evaluate the progress of the program. Responsibility for liaison with community agencies and schools is divided between the nurse and the social worker, who provide both consultation and direct services.

Regular workshops are planned and held in which leaders in the field of mental health lead seminars at Pine Ridge where they discuss subjects of interest to the Indians, to the hospital staff, to the community agencies, the schools, the churches, the courts, and business groups. These are usually one day workshops that are repeated on the second day for the benefit of the medical and nursing personnel who could not be present on the first day.

The mental health aspects of the Pine Ridge operation are coordinated at the Area level by a psychiatric social worker under the supervision of the Indian Health Area Director.

Although office space for the Pine Ridge mental health staff has been separate from the rest of the staff, it is planned to locate them in the hospital when the Pine Ridge Hospital is enlarged. Also, tentative plans have been discussed to remodel three hospital patient rooms in such a way that they can be used for manageable psychiatric patients when the need arises. One room may be used for males, one for females, and one can serve as recreation center for them.

2. *Anchorage, Alaska*

When the Pine Ridge mental health project was in operation for about a year, the Division of Indian Health initiated a mental health program in Alaska, which is supplementary to the Alaska State mental health program. The Division of Indian Health program in Alaska arose from the inadequacy of state psychiatric consultation and of direct services in the north and west sections of the state that have the heaviest concentration of Eskimos. A psychiatrist, a psychologist, and a mental health social worker were added to the Anchorage Area Division of Indian Health staff in 1966. They have provided patient-centered consultation to the general practitioners in the satellite hospitals and to the teachers in Bureau of Indian Affairs schools. The have also assisted with coordination of community services with the psychiatric care and other related services provided to disturbed patients in Anchorage. The mental health team has also provided valuable consultation to the general rehabilitation program of the Anchorage Medical Center and to the Area program staff in their efforts to improve family centered services.

The Alaska Psychiatric Institute (State Hospital) is located in Anchorage. There are also in Anchorage three private psychiatrists who serve as contract consultants to the Anchorage Medical Center. Generally Natives who show signs of emotional disturbance are discussed by the doctors at the satellite hospitals with the Area mental health consultant who may authorize their referral to the Anchorage Medical Center for diagnosis and evaluation. There they may be kept for treatment purposes if they can be handled in a general hospital, or they may be transferred to the Alaska Psychiatric Institute. Close collaboration and coordination is required between the Medical Center staff, the Anchorage Area mental health team, the State mental health field staff, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the staff of the Alaska Psychiatric Institute, and the field staff of the Alaska Health and Welfare Department.

In the first six months of operation the Anchorage Area mental health team made one visit to each of six satellite hospitals and planned and conducted in Anchorage a very successful workshop in Community Mental Health under the leadership of a well known psychiatrist from Boston. General practitioners in the satellite hospitals reported that with this team's help, they felt better able to manage recovering patients who were on trial home visits and to provide better medical care to patients whose physical illnesses had psychiatric implications. Fewer disturbed patients were sent away from their home community for care. At the end of the first year of operation, the number of Native patients admitted to the Alaska Psychiatric Institute from Bethel was down to 50% and from Kotzebue to 15% of the previous year's admissions.

As stated above, the Indian health program is intended to supplement services provided by Alaska State Mental Health Division. The state program has been operational only intermittently because of staff shortages, inadequate funds, illnesses and difficulties in travel and communication. With so much uncertainty, it has been difficult to develop long term plans for comprehensive mental health services for the Alaska Native people.

3. Window Rock, Arizona

The third psychiatrist employed by the Division on a full-time basis was added to the office at Window Rock, Ariz., in July, 1966. The Navajo Area Office supervises medical and health services for 100,000 Navajos living in villages and isolated groups scattered through northern Arizona, western New Mexico, and southern Utah. There are six Division of Indian Health hospitals, three large health centers and 50 Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding schools located on the reservation.

The Division of Indian Health consultant has been holding regular clinics at two large health centers and at five out of six Division of Indian Health hospitals in the Area, and has been providing consultation to the medical officers of all six hospitals. Additionally, he has been holding training sessions for nursing personnel who have the skill and interest to conduct group therapy sessions at the Crownpoint Boarding School and for those who usually give follow-up services to patients in their homes at Kayenta and Tuba City. His educational activities include leading discussion meetings with teachers and dormitory staff at the Gallup, Ft. Defiance and Tuba City schools to teach them how to evaluate and manage behavior problems.

His research activities have been directed toward preparing a paper on Navajo attitudes toward alcoholism.

Although in the beginning this psychiatrist had no immediate supporting staff, Division of Indian Health social workers and public health nurses, and welfare workers from both the Bureau of Indian Affairs and from the Navajo tribe collaborated closely with him. They shared his interest in arranging for treatment of disturbed Navajo patients as close to their familiar surroundings as possible. The professional leadership of the Window Rock psychiatrist was complemented with the part-time services of eight private psychiatric consultants from Albuquerque, Farmington, and Phoenix who accepted referrals of Navajo patients, and of the mental health field staff from the New Mexico State Mental Health Program. With this help from mental health specialists, the number of Navajo admissions to state hospitals dropped from 111 in 1966 to about 30 in 1967.

IV. *Other Developments*

A. *Increase in Services*

The progress of the Division's mental health program has been accompanied by three other noticeable developments: (1) a growing acceptance of Indian referrals by state supported mental health clinics; (2) the provision by them of more frequent and adequate services; and (3) a remarkable increase in the number of Division of Indian Health hospitals and health centers which have, or are developing, contracts for regularly scheduled psychiatric consultations.

For example, all health centers operated by the Division in Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Wyoming and nearly all hospitals operated in South Dakota, Nebraska and Minnesota have regularly scheduled visits by psychiatric consultants. The consultants' duties include responsibility for diagnosing and evaluating the condition of referred patients and the provision of consultative services to the general practitioners, nursing and social work staff. Some specialists also assist Division of Indian Health physicians in coordinating their program for emotionally disturbed Indian patients with services of the rapidly multiplying public mental health clinics in the neighborhood communities. For example, in Minnesota one reservation alone is in the cachement area of three mental health clinics, all of which accept referrals of Indian patients.

In some states, Montana and Arizona for instance publicly supported mental health clinics are still too scarce or too remote from the centers of the Indian population.

B. *Education and Training*

In addition to the educational efforts referred to in connection with the schools and the community mental health programs, the workshop held annually in Durant, Oklahoma, sponsored by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Oklahoma Southeastern State College, and Division of Indian Health, is noteworthy for the keen interest and the participation of a large number of Bureau of Indian Affairs and Division of Indian Health employees. Other educational meetings with mental health themes (other than those with a focus on alcoholism) were the Mt. Edgecumbe Boarding School workshop of January 1967, and the Ft. Hall, Idaho conference on Suicide Prevention in March and June 1967.

Educationally productive efforts are directed to the training of Office of Economic Opportunity health aides. These aides disseminate mental health information to Indian people and serve as liaison between the Division of Indian Health mental health teams and the Indian people, especially the families of disturbed patients.

C. *Research in Progress and Reported*

In the past six years, a number of researchers from the psychiatric, sociological, anthropological, psychological, and other social science fields have studied mental health problems of Indians on reservations. For example, in 1961–1962 a NIMH-financed study was conducted in a Division of Indian Health hospital in Oklahoma to determine from interview material entered on the Cornell Medical Index form and from the patient's clinical chart, correlations for identification of emotionally or mentally disturbed Indian patients. Dr. Robert L. Leon and Dr. Harry W. Martin from the Psychiatry Department of the University of Texas Southwestern Medical School, Dallas provided leadership to the project which was entitled "A Study of Mental Health Among American Indians." The authors tentatively concluded that the Cornell Index and the Langer 22-item screening devices are relatively effective means for estimating the prevalence of emotional disturbance in the Indian population. But the large proportion of "false positives" among the high scorers seemed to reflect a disquietude resulting from socio-cultural stress and inadequacy, which does not, from a clinical point of view, appear as psychopathology in the traditional sense.

On the other hand, Dr. L. G. Nelson, James Dawes and others reported in *The American Journal of Psychiatry*, June 1964, that their study of screening for emotionally disturbed students in an Indian boarding school in 1963, showed the Cornell Medical Institute to be a valauble, productive device.

In 1963, two psychologists, Dr. Joel Greene and Dr. Harry Saslow, and a social worker, May Harrover, from Highlands University, Las Veags, New Mexico, began studying how to bring about changes of some socially unproductive attitudes in the students and in the faculty of the Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding school in Albuquerque, New Mexico in order to improve the students' adjustment. In the course of the project, this group conducted some extensive in-service training for the caretakers in the boarding school. A write-up of this project which is also NIMH-financed, is expected to be completed by May, 1968.

A basic research study, also supported by NIMH funds was started about 1960 by Dr. Richard Jessor of the Institute of Behavioral Sciences, Boulder, Colorado. He expects to have the results published this fall. This is a study of the level of aspirations of three racial groups in a small community in Colorado, the level of achievement of each group, and the degree of dysfunction as measured in terms of overuse of alcohol and other selected indicators of deviant behavior. The findings seem to indicate that the level of dysfunction and deviance was high among Indians, and low among Anglos and Spanish-Americans. The value of the study is expected to be translating the findings into strategies to be followed in working with teaching staff in Bureau of Indian Affairs schools and public schools with large numbers of Indian children, and in working with community agencies at the reservation level.

Other psychiatric studies presented at meetings and later published include:

1. "Psychiatric Consultation With the Crow and Northern Cheyenne Indians" by Thomas B. Stage, M.D., Veterans Administration Hospital, Sheridan, Wyo., and Thomas B. Keast, Division of Indian Health, social worker. Dr. Stage served as psychiatric consultant to the Division of Indian Health Hospital at Crow Agency, Mont., in 1963–1965. The authors demonstrated that successful psychotherapy can be provided to Indians by personnel who are not extensively familiar with Indian culture. They commented on the high incidence of psychosomatic illness, alcoholism, and accidental death and suggested areas for future exploration.
2. "Cultural Factors in Casework Treatment with Long Term Hospitalization of Navajo Patients" by Sophie Thompson and Inez Tyler. This was a social workers' report on the unexpectedly successful adjustment to reservation life of a non-English speaking Indian hospitalized for many years at St. Elizabeths Hospital, Washington, D.C. It was published in *Social Case Work Journal*, April 1965.
3. "As Long As the Grass is Green and the Waters Flow" by Dr. Theodore Krush, Psychiatrist, and John Bjork, Division of Indian Health social worker. This is one of several reports on their work at the Flandreau School (See page 5 above). The paper was given at the American Psychiatric Association Meeting in New York City, May 7, 1965.

Another study with mental health implications was reported in 1964 by Drs. Murray and Rosalie Wax on Indian education on the Pine Ridge reservation. This was financed through a grant from the Office of Education.

Currently a survey of community mental health resources available to mentally disturbed Indians is being made by Dr. Daniel J. O'Connell for the Association of American Indian Affairs under the supervision of Dr. Alexander Leighton, Harvard School of Public Health.

A project still in the developmental stage is a study of self-destructive behavior on the Navajo Reservation which will be made by two PHS Commissioned Officers Student Training and Extern Program social workers this summer under the professional leadership of Dr. Katherine Spencer, Reseach Consultant to the Social Work Branch of the Division of Indian Health.

V. *Future*

Plans call for the provision of services by a mental health team in each Area, and for close cooperation with the National Institute of Mental Health which has been generous with consultative and recruitment assistance. The Division of Indian Health staff was increased by two psychiatrists in the calendar year 1967; one was located in the Alburquerque Area Office in July and one reported to the Phoenix Area Office in September. Budgetary requests were also approved for additional supportive staff in fiscal year 1968 at Pine Ridge, Albuquerque, and Window Rock.

Plans have been proposed for adding psychiatric beds to one or two general hospitals on the Navajo reservation. Decision on the proposal will be guided by considerations pertinent to standards of care, staffing requirements and comprehensive planning for effective utilization of all available facilities.

MENTAL HEALTH

(By Dr. Robert Hall, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Division of Education, Branch of Pupil Personnel Services, Department of the Interior, October 1968)

At present BIA frequently approaches mental health problems on a crisis basis when the paramount need is in the preventive area. Sporadic efforts to mount programs of assistance and prevention have met with initial success but also serve to highlight needs that are extant in the BIA school situation. To cite but two examples, Krush and Bjork[1] with support from an N.I.M.H. grant conducted a six year study at an off reservation boarding school (Flandreau) and Dr. Robert Bergman[2] reported some preliminary impressions of the boarding school environment gained while serving as a D.I.H. psychiatrist at Window Rock.

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[1] Krush, Thaddeus P., Bjork, John, *Mental Health Factors in an Indian Boarding School*, Mental Hygiene, Vol. 49, No. 1, pp. 94–103, Jan. '65.

[2] Bergman, Robert L., Boarding Schools and Psychological Problems of Indian Children, Mimeo 6/19/67.

Considering the social and environmental factors that may precede enrollment in a boarding school Krush and Bjork identified seven "relatively distinct categories" within the student population ranging from "individuals of average intelligence having relatively stable home backgrounds and capable of doing academic high school work" to "individuals having severe emotional conflict, who develop psychoneurotic, psychosomatic, or psychotic reactions." They also enumerated five factors affecting the school program and population as follows: 1.) staff limitations; 2.) students who have failed in public schools (some 10–15 percent of the enrollment at the school under study had failed in public schools) attributable to poor attendance, low academic background and lack of acceptance from the community in which they lived; 3.) geographic isolation of the school from the home with attendant home-school communication problems; 4.) instability of the student enrollment—40–50 percent turnover annually; 5.) "that Indian children become better adjusted with all people in a community when they associate with other children in public schools." Dr. Bergman in his paper, cites many difficulties and complications and suggests among other things, rearrangement of school distribution (i.e. on reservation high schools changed to elementary schools, off reservation elementary schools changed to high schools), smaller, more private rooms in dormitories and a substantial increase in the dormitory staff.

Without attempting to assess the merits of each paper in terms of specific concerns or recommendations, they do serve to illustrate the needs of children enrolled in BIA schools and concomitantly suggest directions for improvement of the preventive mental health aspects of the total school program. This is not to say nothing is being done currently to alleviate many of the concerns we have relative to boarding and day school programs; to the contrary, we have recently expanded our pupil personnel services staff, sought to integrate program functions (dormitory-pupil personnel services-academic) and undertaken several pilot projects designed to enhance services to children and to better prepare personnel for the schools (ex. Sequoyah Therapeutic Dormitory, N.A.U. Workshops, N.A.U. Counselor Training Program, etc.).

Rather than discuss these efforts at length it would be preferable to concentrate on the subject of preventive mental health planning. At the outset it seems clear that the goals of mental health are both personal and social. Neither represents a mutually exclusive realm for consideration. According to Stevenson[3] the personal goal is a mentally healthy individual who can pursue reasonable and purposeful objectives and can make fruitful use of his talents and abilities. He has a sense of self-respect, of self-reliance, and of achievement and knows that he is liked, or loved and wanted. He has a sense of belonging and of being respected, and has learned to accept, respect, and love others. He has a sense of security and is reasonably at peace with himself and his environment. From the social standpoint mental health prepares the individual to be a happy, productive participant in a dynamic, increasingly technological society.

Stevenson[4] also posits three broad objectives of the mental health program.

1.) Restoration of mental health or the reduction or elimination of mental illness.

2.) Protection against hazards to mental health—offsetting potential causes of mental illness or the preventive aspect.

3.) Elevation of mental health—seeking the unrealized potential of reasonably well adjusted individuals.

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[3] Stevenson, George S., *Search for Mental Health*, Children 3 : 177–80, 1956.

[4] Stevenson, George S., *Mental Health Planning for Social Action*, McGraw-Hill, 1956.

An understanding of the problem of mental health requires attention to the etiology of mental illness as well; however, it is not the purpose of this paper to review the various hereditary and environmental factors thought to contribute to this problem or the different theoretical constructs found useful in defining and seeking resolution of behavioral problems. Instead, we are concerned at this juncture, with fostering an attitude and an approach to mental health problems in BIA schools which enlists the cooperation of teachers, paraprofessionals and professionals from a host of resources to solve problems as they occur and alleviate or ameliorate conditions before they cause mental health problems.

Teachers and parents represent the first line of defense against mental health problems for school-age children. They are often the first to observe deviant behavior or emotional conflicts which may be the forerunners of more serious emotional disturbances. An awareness at this level may result in an early and simple resolution of a potentially difficult problem or at least insure an appropriate referral to other specialists. A greater awareness and an improved understanding of mental health problems among teachers and parents can also prove helpful if remedial processes become necessary as their constant cooperation and support could substantially aid the rehabilitative process.

Rather than continue to speculate about the array of situations in which knowledge and understanding of the principles of mental hygiene would be valuable to teachers, it is apparent that in-service education for our teachers would be an essential ingredient in a prevention oriented mental health program. Access to other specialists in pupil personnel services (psychologists, guidance counselors, school social workers, special educators, etc.) as well as medical personnel (physicians, psychiatrists, etc.) would also prove critical both from an in-service education and service (treatment) standpoint. The team approach to both treatment and prevention of mental health problems is seen as essential. Whether or not a child guidance clinic is established next to each school is irrelevant; the components of a comprehensive school mental health program includes elements found in such settings, as well as trained professionals, identification programs, teacher screening and preparation and continuous research and evaluation.

A preventive mental health program would give attention to the individual developmental needs of each child. Personality dynamics, human relations and sexual adjustment are but a few of the growth and developmental stresses of children and adolescents that are within the purview of a preventive mental health concept.

Few school systems have organized mental health programs that afford adequate diagnostic treatment and consultative services let alone focus on a full scale prevention program. To an extent BIA and the D.I.H. may have achieved comparable status or better with respect to mental health services for Indian students as opposed to public school students in many systems but there is little solace in this realization. For the most part, mental health services for school children are regarded at best as promising and more often as totally inadequate. Substantial inroads have been made through research and to an extent in practice but much remains to be accomplished. To achieve our objectives in the area of preventive mental health (and we are in a sense echoing the needs of many school systems) we need (1) personnel—professionally prepared and qualified for a variety of roles on a mental health team, (2) time—time for them to perform the functions in which they are skilled, (3) leadership—to direct such total and comprehensive efforts, and (4) money.

Lest it appear that residential (boarding) schools are a primary concern of a preventive mental health program because of the initial references cited it should be reinterated that our objective is a comprehensive mental health program for all schools, day and boarding.

TOTAL BIA STAFFING IN PUPIL PERSONNEL SERVICES, FALL 1968

	Prior year available including fiscal year 1969 allowance		1970 program		1971 program		1972 program		1973 program		1974 program	
	Prior year	1969	Increase	Total	Increase	Total	Increase	Total	Increase	Total	Increase	Total
Psychologist (area level)			7	7		7		7		7		7
Psychologist (school) (ratio 1:500 both day and boarding)	1		23	24	112	136	8	144	6	150	4	154
Social work (school) (ratio 3:1000 both day and boarding)	2	6	18	24	180	204	12	216	9	225	6	231
Social worker (area level)		7		7		7		7		7		7
Director of guidance (area)		7		7		7		7		7		7
Supervisory guidance counselor	22	23	7		30	82	3	85	3	88	2	90
Day and boarding:												
School size 200 to 500=1.												
School size 500+=2.												
Assistant department head (superintendent)					116	116	4	120	4	124	2	126
Day and boarding:												
School size 200 to 500=1.												
School size 500+=2.												
Guidance counselor (ratio 6:1000 boarding school only)	173	183	10	193	77	270	6	276	18	294	6	300
Special education (area)	7			7		7		7		7		7
Special education specialist (area) various ratio (average 1:10)			35	35	265	300	100	400	200	600	25	625
Clerical support (area) (1:PPS unit)				7		7		7		7		7
Clerical support staff (school) (ratio 2:PPS unit)			8	8	78	86	2	88	6	94	6	100
Director of student activities	20	33		33	104	137	6	143	6	149	4	153
School size 200 to 300=1.												
School size 300 to 500=2.												
School size 500+=2.												
Instructional aides	1,755		[1] 71 [2] 30	1,856	369	2,225	85	2,310	135	2,445	40	2,485
68 ratio 1:22.8.												
70 ratio 1:21.6.												
Project need on 1:20 basis.												

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[1] Staff.

[2] PPS.

MENTAL HEALTH CONSIDERATIONS IN THE INDIAN BOARDING SCHOOL PROGRAM*

(By Robert L. Leon, M.D., assistant professor of psychiatry, University of Texas, Southwestern Medical School)

I have attempted here to gather from my experiences as a consultant for the U.S. Public Health Services and from my experiences as a psychiatrist working with children, some information which I hope will be useful to you in dealing with the children in the Indian boarding schools. I became interested in the problem of Indian children in boarding schools when I was acting as a consultant to the Division of Indian Health in the Aberdeen area office. I should say that I have had no direct experience in treating or examining children from these schools but I have talked with many people who have been intimately associated with the problem. In addition I had the opportunity to help organize the pilot program for psychiatric consultation to the Flandreau Boarding School. It seems to me as a result of my conversations with various people in the field and Washington office of the Division of Indian Health, and as a result of some of my reading, that very little is definitely known about the emotional problems of the children who attend these boarding schools. We do know, however, that these problems are tremendous and that the facilities for meeting them at the moment are grossly inadequate. Let us first take a look at the extent of the problem with which we are dealing. *Fiscal year 1957 Statistics Concerning Indian Education* [1] indicates that there are 21,665 children in the federally operated Indian boarding schools. There are approximately 3,000 additional children housed in dormitories operated by the Federal Government and attending either federal or publicly operated day schools. This figure of roughly 25,000 represents 19% of all of the Indian children who are in school. The principal of the Flandreau Boarding School, in a written report, indicated that approximately 50% of the children enrolled in the school were sent there because of social factors—such as, broken homes, neglect, predelinquency, or other problems which made it impossible to maintain these children in their home communities. He states that this is a conservative estimate since many of the children referred to the Flandreau School for vocational and academic reasons also have severe social or emotional problems. It may be quite inaccurate to apply the figure from one school to all of the boarding schools. Nevertheless, others have indicated to me that a similar situation has existed in the schools that they have visited. If it is true that 50% of the children in the boarding schools and those housed in the federal dormitories and attending day schools have emotional problems, we are dealing with 12,500 Indian children who need specialized care. I suspect that this estimate is far too high. I give it only to emphasize that a large problem does exist.

I should state that the children who come from disturbed backgrounds—that is, broken homes or from parents who have neglected them, almost surely have emotional problems. There have been many studies on other groups of children that indicate that this is so. What facilities are available to treat these children? With one exception, to my knowledge, there is not a single specialized mental health facility organized under the auspices of the Federal Government to cope with this problem. The one exception is the small pilot project organized approximately a year and a half ago at the Flandreau Boarding School. In this project a psychiatrist is giving two days per month of consultation time to meet with the teachers and administrative officials of the school and to diagnose and treat a few selected cases. The purpose of this program was to gather information and to demonstrate what psychiatric consultation might be able to do. I understand that presently a psychiatric social worker has been employed full time at the boarding school.

Now there are, of course, some treatment facilities available to these disturbed children. A very small number of those who become psychotic, that is severely mentally ill, can be sent to the state hospital in the various states in which the boarding schools are located. Occasionally there may be a clinic in a nearby town which will do a diagnostic study on some of the children. Nevertheless, these services are so inadequate to cope with the total problem that they are almost negligible. I am aware of the fact that these boarding schools do employ counselors who meet with the children to discuss both their academic program and also some of their social problems. Most of the counselors, however, are not trained to deal with children who have a mental illness of one form or another.

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*Talk delivered to the Workshop on Nursing in the School Health Program for the Division of Indian Health Nurses at Albuquerque, New Mexico, June 19, 1958.

[1] U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Branch of Education, *Fiscal Year 1957 Statistics Concerning Indian Education.* Interior, Haskell Press, 1957.

I want to emphasize again, however, that I do not really know that there are 12,500 emotionally disturbed children in the Indian boarding schools. There may be 1,000 or there may be 20,000 who show severe emotional disturbances. The fact that we do not know the number is one of the important aspects of the entire problem. No one has made a study to determine either the number of emotionally disturbed children or the extent of the disturbances that they may demonstrate. It occurs to me that any mental health program which is set up for these children must first do a survey to determine the extent of the problem. There have been studies done on public school children which give us an idea of the percentage of children in an average public school who can be expected to show some sort of mental disorder. I believe this figure is approximately 5 per cent. The population of the Indian boarding schools, however, is in no way comparable to the population of the average public school because many of the children are sent to the boarding schools because they do have emotional problems.

I would like, at this point, to discuss some of the problems one might expect to find in the children of the boarding schools. One can expect, of course, any kind of psychiatric problem that children can exhibit. There are a number of frankly psychotic children—that is, children who have childhood schizophrenia or schizophrenia in adolescence. There are quite a number of severely neurotic children. Then there are the anti-social children or those who have what we call personality disorders. Perhaps you will be interested in hearing about some of the problems which were presented to me by the public health service physicians from the reservations in South Dakota. Many of these doctors participated in the school health program at the boarding school and thus became aware of the psychiatric as well as the other health problems. The most frequently presented or at least the most troublesome problems were those of the children who had anti-social tendencies and personality disorders. Apparently in the fall, after the children are brought to boarding school, there are a great number who become upset and lonely and run away. Many of them will return to their former community; whereas, others will simply run away to a neighboring town or to a friend. It is interesting that in the cases I learned about the children who ran away, and these by the way were mostly adolescents, were those who actually came from a very deprived home. By deprived I mean they had no parents who were signicantly interested in them. In a sense then, they really had very little to run back to. However, children who have been deprived of adequate parent figures are the ones who can least tolerate frustration. The children from the more secure homes were, I'm sure, also quite lonely, upset, and dejected in the boarding schools when they first arrived. However, these children, because they had been prepared, could tolerate the anxiety and eventually work out a somewhat satisfactory solution for themselves. The children who had never had loving parents were never prepared to tolerate this amount of anxiety. They are the children who must run away from any situation which is threatening.

Another severe problem which was presented was that of the psychotic or the schizophrenic child. Some of the above mentioned group of children can eventually become adjusted to the boarding school. The psychotic child cannot be handled in the boarding schools and needs psychiatric treatment either in a mental hospital or at least regular treatment in his home environment. These are the children who very often end up in the state hospitals which are poorly equipped to take care of them. Most of the hospitals in the states that have large Indian populations do not have specialized facilities for the treatment of psychotic children.

Another apparently troublesome problem is that of sexuality and its various forms and manifestations. Physicians are continually being asked to examine the teenage girls to determine whether or not they have had sexual relationships. After a girl had run away from the boarding school and had been brought back, she was almost immediately taken to the health service for a pelvic examination to determine whether or not she had contracted venereal diseases. Many of the physicians, and to their credit, I believe, rebelled at making these examinations. Some of you may tend to disagree with me on this point but it seems as if this is like locking the barn door after the horse has escaped. Furthermore, such an examination is embarrassing to the girl; but more deeply hidden than this, it really lets her know what the school officials expect from her. Many times, I'm sure, these expectations are fulfilled and they may be fulfilled only because this was the expected thing. The problem of homosexuality, particularly among boys, came up occasionally. But this was not, I gathered, of as serious import, to the physicians at least, as the problem of heterosexuality among teenage girls.

There was another problem which came frequently to our attention and this will be, I am sure, of great interest to you as nurses. Many of the children came to the clinic for examination complaining of rather mild physical problems and upon examination the physician could find nothing physically wrong. This was reported, as I recall, from all of the boarding schools with which these particular physicians dealt. We spent some time discussing this. First of all what might be the cause *of these visits, and secondly what might* be done about it. I might say that some of the physicians in the beginning were angry, particularly when a large number of these children would drop in for examination on an afternoon. In discussing this problem with this particular group of physicians, social workers, and nurses, the conclusion was that these are somatic symptoms serving as an outlet for the anxiety these children were feeling about being away from home. The children were coming to the clinic for affection. They were coming to be looked after and to be cared for in an effort to relieve their anxieties at not having their parents with them.

I am sure that if the nurse in the clinic is aware of the emotional reasons behind many of these frequent clinic visits she can deal much more effectively with this problem. Take, for example, the child who comes back several times to the clinic for examination or treatment for a complaint for which no organic cause can be found. At the first visit one should suspect that this is an unhappy child. At the second and third visits one can become fairly certain that this is so. The child is really asking for something from the clinic that he or she is not able to get at the school, or he or she has not gotten so far from the clinic. The child is not asking for medication but an understanding, sympathetic, supporting adult.

I would now like to discuss with you in some detail an emotional problem which is present in 100% of the boarding school population. The problem I refer to is the emotion aroused in the child as a result of separation from his parents. Every child who comes to a boarding school must separate for at least a period of several months from his parents. This separation and the feelings thus aroused not only make the child unhappy but the feelings also effect his potential to learn and, as has been documented by certain studies, may very well effect his potential for achieving normal physical growth and development. The damage caused to the child by his separation is directly related to the child's age and the length of time that he is separated from the parents. I am aware that most of the children in the Indian boarding schools are of high school age. As far as I can determine from studying the literature, there is no serious irreversible damage which can occur to the adolescent as a result of separation from his parents. Separation can, however, produce some serious effects on elementary school age children, particularly those children age five to eight. The literature on this subject has been admirably summarized by John Bowlby in a book called *Maternal Care and Mental Health*[2] written for World Health Organization.

Although it is not pertinent to our subject today, it may interest you to know that an infant who is deprived of maternal care over a significant period of time is always retarded both physically, intellectually, and socially; and, furthermore, that this retardation is irreversible and persists throughout life. All children under the age of seven years seem to be vulnerable to maternal separation, although after the age of five this vulnerability diminished markedly. I would like to state here parenthetically when I speak of vulnerability, I am speaking of serious, irreversible effects upon the child. There is no doubt that all elementary school age children are tremendously unhappy when separated from their parents and show many emotional symptoms which may or may not be irreversible. Much of what is known concerning the effects of separation from the parents on children of the ages five and over has been learned from the study of children who have been hospitalized or from studying children who have been separated from their parents during the war. I realize that this represents a different situation than that of sending a child to a boarding school. Nevertheless, I think that some of the information will be of interest to you and, I am sure, will be applicable at least in some situations. Again I am taking some material from the report by Bowlby[2] which I mentioned before. One of the predominant fears which children have on being hospitalized is that they will never be returned to their home. Many of them are frightened and fear that they have been sent away because they are naughty. They feel that their parents do not like them and are thus trying to get rid of them. Some will plead with their parents to take them back and try to assure their parents that they will, from here on out, be good children.

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[2] Bowlby, J., *Maternal Care and Mental Health*. Geneva: World Health Organization, Palais Des Nations, 1952.

Quite a number of other symptoms such as sleeplessness and loss of appetite, which indicate severe anxiety on the part of the child, were also noted. It is felt that those children who have the best relationship with their parents can best tolerate separation. We might look at this in this way. A child who has learned to trust his mother and father and has learned to expect good things from people will be unhappy at the loss of his parents but he will continue to expect good things from his teachers and from his dormitory attendants. The child, on the other hand, who has had an unhappy home situation will expect the same wherever he goes. This is his learned response.

Furthermore, the emotional upheaval which results from separation from the parents can cause physical disorder as well as mental disorder. Fried and Mayer[3] in a paper published in the *American Journal of Pediatrics*, state that the connection between physical growth and mental or emotional adjustment is very widely ignored. They cite evidence to show that retardation in physical growth is determined by the Wetzel Grid is an indication for the need of further inquiry into emotional disturbances. They show a direct correlation between the degree of lag in physical growth and the degree of emotional disturbances. The physical growth failure which authors measured could not be corrected by relying on physical means alone. In many cases the growth failure only cleared as the emotional disturbance was treated. In children in which the emotional disturbances could not be corrected with psychiatric treatment, the physical growth failure continued. The studies by the above two authors were done at Bellefare, a Jewish children's home in Cleveland for disturbed children.

Many of you may say that the results of studies on disturbed children cannot be applied to the children in Indian boarding schools. You will recall, however, that there is data to support the fact that some children are sent, at least to some boarding schools, because of the fact that they are emotionally disturbed. The study by Fried and Mayer (3) is only one of a number of similar studies, all of which lead to the same conclusions.

Prugh[4] investigated the reaction of children age 1 to 12 to hospitalization and attempted experimentally to modify these reactions. He had two groups of patients, an experimental and a control group. The control group was composed of children who were simply hospitalized in the routine fashion and parents were permitted to visit occasionally. The experimental group was that for which a program was specifically devised to prevent traumatic reactions. Parents visited frequently, a nurse was assigned a patient and the patient was given adequate preparation for hospitalization. The fears and anxieties of the experimental group were far less than that of the control group. Interestingly enough he found that the reactions to reality stress, that is the medical and surgical procedures, were only significant if this stress was very great. The primary reactions and fears of these children were to the separation from their parents rather than to the stress to which they were exposed in the hospital.

We might now enumerate some of the symptoms which we might expect to see in the child after separation from the parents and upon entering the boarding schools. As I have indicated before, these symptoms will be more severe in younger children and in those children who have had difficulty or unsatisfactory parent-child relationships. Generally one sees, or at least one might expect to see, what we call regression. By regression, I mean that the child reverts back to an earlier level of adjustment. He becomes more childish so to speak; i.e., whines more, cries more, tends to cling more, and tends to be demanding. Or, if he is afraid of displaying this clinging demanding behavior, he may simply withdraw from contacts. There are also many somatic symptoms to be observed. This may take the form of loss of appetite. There may be other types of gastrointestinal disorders or there may be all sorts of pains for which organic explanations cannot be found. I would expect, too, that these children in high state of separation anxiety are more susceptible to disease. This is an observation of my own to which a number of people agree; however, there is no evidence to support it in the literature. One would also see bed-wetting, and stealing perhaps an increase in aggression and more intolerance to frustration. Many of these symptoms were observed in studies of refugee children during and following World War II.

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[3] Fried, R., & Mayer, M. F. *Socio-Emotional Factors Accounting for Growth Failure in Children Living in an Institution*. J. of Pediatrics, 1948, 33 (4), 44.

[4] Prugh, D. G. Investigations dealing with the Reactions of Children and Families to Hospitalization and Illness: Problems and Potentialities. *Emotional Problems of Early Childhood*. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1955.

I have presented to you quite a number of aspects of the problems encountered in the disturbed children in the Indian boarding schools. You are no doubt wondering at this point what, if anything, can be done to cope with the problem. I want to say at the onset if there is any simple solution, I don't have it nor have I heard of it. It is a large and complex problem. First of all I would like to discuss what you, as nurses, might be able to do for the children whom you see in the clinics and also for the staffs with whom you deal in the school. If any of you have had training in psychiatric nursing or in mental health nursing there is much that you can do. If you have not, you can still do a great deal to ease the emotional burdens of these children. It was found in the pilot program at the Flandreau Boarding School that it was beneficial to the staff to sit down and discuss the problems with which they must cope. These emotionally disturbed children are trying and difficult. The personnel in the boarding school are doing an heroic job with very inadequate facilities. It is helpful if the staff can sit down with a consultant trained in one of the mental health disciplines and discuss what can be done with the individual children's problems. Even untrained people can help in these discussions in this way. There is great need for the staff of the school to simply express their anxieties and the inadequacies they feel in dealing with these children. If they can mutually accept their own anxieties in small group conferences, they are left free to work more effectively, unhampered by these anxieties.

Secondly, the nurse can do much for the individual child who comes to the clinic. Many of these children are anxious, lonely, and filled with feelings which they have dared not express in any but neurotic ways. Many such feelings they express as somatic symptoms. What does a nurse do in situations such as this? Well, first of all she must be a warm, understanding person. She must in some way communicate this warmth and understanding to the child. This communication is not too difficult since most people sense how other people feel about them. Children sense it more acutely than adults. If she is a warm, understanding individual, then I think there are two things she should do, since she needs to first of all find comfortable chairs for herself and her patient. After this the nurse can listen and reflect. By listen, I mean simply allow the child to talk to her and by reflect, I mean restate the kind of feelings the child seems to be expressing. As an example, if the child begins by talking about his physical symptoms, the nurse can reflect the child's worry about these symptoms. If the child perceives the nurse as an understanding sympathetic person who can really understand what feelings he has within him, he may then go on to talk of other feelings. This is what we call in psychiatry a supportive kind of psychotherapy. I think many times clinic personnel neglect these simple procedures because they are not sufficiently aware of the emotional problems which the patient is presenting and the value of the procedure.

To meet the problem I have been discussing today on a larger scale requires, I think, that a new and imaginative program be instituted. First of all we must have a clear and more definite picture with regard to the extent of the problem. I hope I have emphasized enough today that I really do not know the extent of the problem; what I am giving you in a sense is an educated guess. Secondly, a great number of trained personnel is needed. Personnel trained in the treatment of mental illness and trained in public health mental health—that is, the preventing of mental illness and the promotion of mental health. Trained personnel are needed simply for treatment. Trained personnel are also needed for in-service training programs for the staffs of the boarding schools. Many people have emphasized the fact that the character of the boarding school populations has changed radically within the last 10 years. Some of these schools which were originally set up as educational institutions are now literally institutions which are caring for disturbed children. Perhaps we need to consider the possibility of turning these institutions into treatment centers for these disturbed children.

I think, too, that much can be done at the reservation level. One can be sure that only those children, for whom there are no nearby educational facilities, are sent to the boarding school. And those that are sent are given adequate preparation for the separation that they must incur from their parents. I think, furthermore, that we should not neglect all of the aspects of prevention. Severe problems can be prevented if the children and their family relationships are seen early enough to be treated; or if it is not possible to treat the family, to remove the child. Much of the children's anxieties when they come to the boarding schools, I think, can be prevented if the nurses, doctors, and the educational and house staff anticipate the severe anxieties and reactions that these children are likely to have; and set up a procedure whereby these anxieties can be ventilated early in the school year. The children can be given more attention and affection, particularly those children who are coming to school for the first time.

In closing I would like to say that I enjoyed talking with you and I hope that what I have presented to you today will be of some help to you. I will be particularly pleased if I have helped some of you to become more acutely aware of the emotional problems of the children in boarding schools. Your increased awareness will not only serve to help the children but also perhaps to help all of us achieve a better understanding of the extent of this serious problem.

[From the Amer. J. Psychiat., Sept. 3, 1967]

AN EMOTIONAL AND EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCE FOR URBAN MIGRANTS*

(By Robert L. Leon, M.D., Harry W. Martin, Ph. D., and John H. Gladfelter, Ph. D.)

Many principles and methods developed by psychiatry and other behavioral sciences dealing with human behavior are as applicable in community programs as they are in clinics, and these principles and methods can be used for prevention as well as treatment. This paper illustrates how a team consisting of a psychiatrist, a sociologist, and a clinical psychologist working as consultants to a federal agency was able to develop a program which applied behavioral science theory and methods to the problem of reducing the stress of urban migration.

The Employment Assistance Branch of the Bureau of Indian Affairs has for the last 14 years been helping Indians and Alaskan natives who request this help to relocate to large cities where they may have greater employment opportunities. Some go directly into employment and others first take vocational training before being employed. Funds for transportation to the city and subsistence while the person is in training or seeking employment are provided by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Many, though by no means all, of the Alaskan Indians and Eskimos who choose to leave are from isolated areas where they have had little or no opportunity to learn the complexities of a modern American city. Although a large number of the migrants are high school graduates, many have less education and very few have attended college. Both single individuals and married couples with children are relocated: almost all are young adults in their late teens and early 20s. Some adjust well, many have adjustment problems which are worked out with the help of the Bureau of Indian Affairs staff in the destination cities, and some develop or bring with them severe problems which necessitate their return to the reservation.

The Seattle Orientation Center[1] was conceived by the Bureau of Indian Affairs as a way station for Alaskan natives en route to the large cities in the lower 48 states. Indians, Eskimos, and Aleuts stay two to six weeks, or occasionally longer, until they and the staff feel they can cope fairly comfortably with urban living. The Bureau of Indian Affairs saw the center's purpose as educational and supportive. Many who come are anxious and bewildered and experience what appears to be a feeling of depersonalization when they find themselves alone for the first time on the busy streets of a large city.

Most Eskimos have spent their lives in small villages in western Alaska where they have had close personal relationships with extended families and others in the village. When one Eskimo was asked if he had ever been to a city, he replied,

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Dr. Leon is Professor and Chairman, Department of Psychiatry, University of Texas Medical School, San Antonio, Tex. Drs. Martin and Gladfelter are with the Department of Psychiatry, University of Texas Southwestern Medical School, Dallas, where Dr. Martin is Associate Professor of Psychiatry (Sociology) and Dr. Gladfelter is Clinical Associate Professor of Psychology.

The authors wish to thank Mr. Walter J. Knodel, Chief, Employment Assistance Branch, Bureau of Indian Affairs, for the opportunity to participate in the development of the Seattle Orientation Center, and Mrs. Jimmie Owens, Director of the Center.

[1] The center is physically located in a motel; the clients live in the motel apartments. Staff offices are across a courtyard from the apartments. The motel is adjacent to a shopping center and convenient to bus lines.

"Yes, I've been to Bethel." Bethel is a town of about 1,500 population. When out hunting and fishing an Eskimo man might be alone or with a few comrades for several days. Airplanes, radios, and boats are familiar to Eskimos; cars, buses, and telephones are strange. For three weeks the staff of the Seattle Orientation Center were unsuccessful in trying to get a shy Eskimo girl to dial a number on a telephone. Finally she summoned enough courage to ask, "How do you dial the dash?"

When an Eskimo or Alaskan Indian is accepted for relocation, he is picked up by a bush pilot in a four-place plane which lands on the river with pontoons in the summer or skis in the winter and flown to the largest nearby town where he takes a commercial plane, usually to Anchorage or Fairbanks. There he boards a jet and in a matter of hours is in a city like Denver, Dallas, San Francisco, Los Angeles, or Chicago. At home he knew and spoke to everyone. Here he knows no one. Few speak or smile. If a person did not speak or smile at home, that meant he was angry.

Migration creates anxiety, demands new skills, and threatens the identity of the migrant. Indeed, the migrant probably undergoes a temporary disruption of the ego and partial loss of identity(1), and to regain his identity he has to experience himself "as something that has continuity"(2).

Weinberg(3), in the conclusion to *Migration and Belonging*, states:

". . . there exists a remarkable similarity between the needs of the new immigrant with those of the newborn human being. The need for belonging, the need to be loved, understood and supported, but not to be dominated, pampered or spoiled. These needs are similar to those enabling the child to develop to a sound, mature person."

A program to aid migrants in making the transition from rural to urban living should meet the emotional needs of the migrant, reduce anxiety, help to restore identity, and provide an opportunity to learn the new skills necessary to urban living.

In the Seattle Orientation Center, Alaskan natives are given the opportunity to learn to find and ride the correct bus. Their first bus ride is with a staff member, perhaps to the zoo or a museum. After this, clients ride buses unaccompanied by staff. They learn to read city maps in the office and in automobiles, where they use the map to direct a staff driver to a predetermined destination. They shop in a supermarket and prepare the sometimes strange foods in the kitchenettes of their motel apartments. Staff members take clients to restaurants to acquaint them with ordering from a menu.

Clients learn to use a telephone, household appliances, and indoor plumbing if they do not already know; and practice banking, budgeting their money, and paying rent. They are introduced to the recreational facilities of a community. They visit industries to learn about various occupations and how to apply for a job by actually making application to several of the major companies in Seattle who are cooperating with the program. All of these learning experiences are straightforward and obviously needed, albeit frequently overlooked, in helping individuals adjust to new situations.

The new learning is important, but it is equally if not more important to deal with client's anxiety and to help them maintain their identity in the face of potentially depersonalizing experiences. This is accomplished within the context of a modified therapeutic community where clients are encouraged to express feelings in group and individual discussion. Each day begins with a group session led by the director who, while not a mental health professional, has had some training and experience in group dynamics. New arrivals are asked to tell about their home in Alaska, and throughout their stay they are encouraged to relate and contrast new experiences with those at home. The inevitable grief reaction which accompanies leaving home and close relationships is expressed rather than suppressed. Hostility, which is frequenty directed toward Bureau of Indian Affairs staff, is accepted by the staff.

Following each new experience is a brief discussion in groups or individually with staff. Again during these discussion the clients are encouraged to talk about the feelngs aroused by the experiences. As time approaches for clients to move on to their destination cities their heightened anxiety is acknowledged. An attempt is made to prepare them for what they will experience in the new locale.

[illegible] clients who have greater anxiety and have more problems adjusting are given additional time by staff. They may spend the greater part of a day in a staff member's office, where they help with various tasks and receive support from an accepting staff member.

Not all Alaskans come through the Seattle Orientation Center. Those who are better educated and have spent some time in a metropolitan area may go directly from Alaska to their destination city, although some of these individuals have spent time at the center and have found it useful. For the most part, those who come through have had little or no urban living experience. Most have no manifest behavior or personal problems.[2] It was clearly specified that this was not to be a rehabilitation center. Occasionally a client who does have obvious problems but is felt to have a fair chance to adjust to the city is sent to the center.

DISCUSSION

Benefits derived by the clients must await systematic evaluation; the nature of the consultation request did not permit building such evaluation into the program. We have talked with and received reports from many Alaskans who felt their experience at the center was beneficial, but these are only anecdotal. It would be desirable to compare the urban adjustment of those who come through the center with a control group.

What remains to be discussed are some principles related to working with government agencies in developing community programs. Methods and techniques of mental health consultation are, of course, an important part of such working relationships, but they are not sufficient when a professional is called upon to develop and to a limited extent supervise the functioning of a new program. Here he must knowingly depart from the consultation role and become more directive, recognizing the risks that this departure entails. More and more we will be called upon to work with untrained people who staff communtiy health and welfare programs. We might prefer that these programs be staffed with professionals, but if they are not, are we to turn our backs on them? If we are to be of help, we must be more directive than we have been in consultation with other professionals.

The application of behavioral sciences methodology to designing programs aimed at improving human welfare is in itself somewhat unusual. Not that program planners are unsystematic, but they often do not understand the relationship of personality and social factors. For example, the Bureau of Indian Affairs wisely arranged for us to have a brief but intensive tour of Alaska in order to obtain a firsthand picture of life in that state. It took us several days after our arrival in Alaska to communicate to our hosts that we did not merely want to see villages but that we wanted to interview Eskimos and Indians to learn why they wanted to relocate, what they expected, what were their fears, and how they felt about the Bureau of Indian Affairs. There was no resistance to this, but it is not usual for visitors brought in by public agencies to make such a request; thus, it was not expected that this would be our primary interest.

The anthropological literature, is helpful background information, but much of it is not directly useful to Bureau of Indian Affiars program planners because the literature discusses the Alaskan native culture as it existed several decades ago. It is important to investigate the present problems of Eskimo and Indian cultures, particularly as they relate to the dominant white culture. It is important to know, for example, that the Southeastern Indians would prefer to fish for salmon in the summer but that this cannot be a livelihood for many because salmon are getting to be in short supply. Or it is important to know that Eskimos must now have a license to hunt whereas for centuries they have hunted at will and that the duck and geese eggs are no longer to be gathered for food because sportsmen in the states to the south need a good crop for their autumn hunting. In addition, it is interesting that some Eskimo and Indian girls state they they prefer to marry white men because they believe that they will have more beautiful children.

The behavioral scientist's knowledge of human behavior not only allows him to interpret the data he has gathered and predict how clients will react to the program he recommends, but gives him the authority to encourage and help untrained staff with a vital but most often negelected aspect of program—the recognition and expression of feelings. When untrained workers see hostility, anxiety, and grief in clients, they often turn away and communicate that these feelings should be suppressed. The clients' suppressed feelings tend to block necessary learning. Sometimes in order to establish such programs administrators and staff must be told that it is necessary to work with their own feelings about this.

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[2] Many do have mild or moderate psychiatric problems, but the focus is on functioning in society rather than on psychopathology.

During its operation the center has had numerous visitors. The reactions of the visitors usually fall into one of two groups, one reporting an immediate feeling of warmth and acceptance, the other, although its members may sense the warmth and acceptance, expressing concern over the relaxed and *seemingly* unstructured approach. This latter group would change group discussions to lectures and support to authority. Such a change would immediately shift the prevailing atmosphere, which is an essential part of the design and a great credit to the center's staff, who were able to capture what were to them essentially new concepts of human behavior and put them into action. One Alaskan, after being at the center a while, summed it all up by saying, "I didn't know the BIA cared about me this much."

SUMMARY

This program illustrates the application of behavioral science knowledge to a center for urban migrants. The work of the center is preventive. Education in urban living takes place within a modified therapeutic community so as to promote learning at both the affective and cognitive level in order to prevent possible disorganization and regression which might result from a gross stress reaction precipitated by the migration.

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[From Mental Hygiene, January 1965]

MENTAL HEALTH FACTORS IN AN INDIAN BOARDING SCHOOL

(By Thaddeus P. Krush, M.D., and John Bjork, M.S.W.)

Dr. Krush, is Director, Mental Health Project for Indian Boarding Schools, Flandreau, S. D., and clinical director, Community Services Division, Nebraska Psychiatric Institute, Omaha, Neb.

Mr. Bjork is codirector, Mental Health Project for Indian Boarding Schools, Flandreau, S. D.

Dr. Krush presented this paper at the Annual Meeting of the American Orthopsychiatric Association, held in Washington, D.C., in March, 1963.

In many places and in many times the interchange between the original inhabitants of this continent and its immigrants has been documented, first by treaty, then by decrees, laws and regulations.

The movement of the natives from a nomadic stone age to an atomic destiny has been aided, and sometimes abated, through various operational ideas, such as removal, custody, allotment, education, health, farming, ranching, home economics and relocation. Representatives of the military, clergy, social welfare, law, education, and medicine have separately and together added their particular forms of management to the changing tableau. In such a melange of efforts, there should be little wonder that there is some difficulty in structuring checkpoints for divining the directions to be taken. Therefore, we are attempting to elicit some factors pertinent to the mental health of Indian students by a series of cultural, behavioral and physical studies. This project is being conducted at the Flandreau Indian Vocational High School, an off-reservation boarding school in South Dakota.

The responsibility for the administration of the health services of this school was transferred from the Bureau of Indian Affairs to the Public Health Service, Division of Indian Health, with the opening of the 1956–1957 school year. What follows, then, is a joint effort on the part of these two federal agencies to provide comprehensively for the health and education of the Indian children served by this school.

Early in 1957 discussions were conducted with the school administration and representatives of the Division of Indian Health concerning the organization of the school clinic and the services it might provide. The school administration was concerned with the changing role of the school as it attempts to meet the needs of the students it serves. Thus, the Public Health Service provided a psychiatric consultant on a part-time basis, later supplemented by a full-time psychiatric social worker and a public health nurse.

First, the beguiling questions having to do with what constitutes diagnostic criteria for mental sickness in Indian youngsters of the northern plains and what might one do about it within the framework of an off-reservation boarding school were posed. Needless to say, the answers to these two questions have not been conclusive. Many of the problems of the students in adjusting to a school routine and of the staff in reconciling the goals of education, in keeping with the efforts and capabilities of their students, have been complex, to say the least.

Initial attempts to answer there questions took the form of visits by the psychiatrist. In the main, the pattern of these early visits consisted of group discussions with staff, including teachers, dormitory personnel and the school administration, and individual psychiatric evaluation of students, either self- or staff-referred. In the interchange with the aforementioned persons the Mental Health Project gradually evolved along three major lines:

1. A comprehensive survey project of ninth graders, so that base line data might be obtained concerning physical, developmental and social adjustment of the incoming students;
2. An action program concerned with staff activities, divided into studies which extend through the efforts to eliminate mental health problem areas, and a descriptive log of staff relationships with students, educators, dormitory personnel and others; and;
3. An ongoing evaluation of the project—concerned with follow-up studies and some assessment of impressions gained with a view of developing subsequent lines of inquiry.

Before launching into a discussion of these main areas, however, it is necessary to give an analysis and description of the program of the Flandreau Indian Vocational High School. This nonreservation boarding high school obtains enrollment from an area generally consistng of the Billings and Aberdeen areas of the Division of Indian Health, which includes the states of North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Montana and Wyoming. The total number of students has steadily increased to an annual figure of 630. Of the aggregate enrollment, approximately 33 per cent are freshman; 30 per cent, sophomores; 20 per cent, juniors; and 17 per cent, seniors.

While the school offers a well-balanced program of academic and vocational training, it is generally looked upon as a vocational high school. Specialized training is provided in the fields of automechanics, electricity, machine-shop, gas and electric welding, masonry, carpentry, plumbing, secretarial training, matron training, cooking, waitress and cafe management, and a well-rounded program of home economics. The school is accredited with the Department of Public Instruction of the state of South Dakota, and also by the North Central High School Accreditation Board, as a Class A High School.

The facilities of a boarding school are usually looked upon from the standpoint of providing housing and accommodations to enable the student to live in a location where conventional academic or vocational schooling may be obtained. In this sense, the boarding facilities are secondary to the school or classroom services. The student lives at the boarding school rather than the home area because of the fact that he is unable to go to such a school in his natural home area.

However, at this school the reverse is the case. Here the boarding facilities are frequently looked upon as a means of removing a student from a socially complicated or disorganized environment to a setting where attention must be given not only to traditional educational programs but to every phase of social development as well. The large number of students who have had unstable parental supervision during their formative years presents many complex problems for the school.

Administratively, the school population reveals seven relatively distinct categories:

1. Individuals of average intelligence having relatively stable home backgrounds and capable of doing academic high school work;
2. Individuals of average intelligence having relatively stable backgrounds and seeking vocational training to enable them to become skilled artisans;

3. Individuals of average intelligence having relatively unstable backgrounds, causing them to be socially dependent and/or neglected;

4. Individuals having physical handicaps which interfere with learning;

5. Individuals who are mentally retarded and incapable of actively participating with members of the preceeding four groups;

6. Individuals who are socially maladjusted and pose special problems in their repetitive conflicts with authority; and

7. Individuals having severe emotional conflict, who develop psychoneurotic, psychosomatic or phychotic reactions.

Although it is evident that each category requires a special program to solve its problems, the number of staff available to effect such a diversified program is limited. The total staff numbers 93; a superintendent, principal, 5 department heads, 25 secondary vocational teachers, 24 dormitory aids and 37 ancillary personnel.

A second factor affecting the enrollment concerns that segment of the school population who experience failure in public school settings. From 10 to 15 per cent of the enrollment has attended public schools and has failed. These failures amount to receiving no credit in from one to four subjects for the preceding year before entry into the school. They are attributed to a number of factors—chiefly, poor attendance, low academic background and rejection on the part of the community in which they live.

A third element affecting the school enrollment is that of the geographical location of the school with respect to the natural home of the individual student. A sizable proportion of the enrollment lives from 1,000 to 1,500 miles from home areas. For example, the Blackfeet reservation is approximately 1,400 miles from Flandreau and contributes approximately 60 students to the enrollment. Because of the distances involved, it is not possible for a student to visit home during the course of the school year. The distance involved also makes communication with the reservation difficult for everyone—the student, his family and the school administration.

A fourth factor to be considered is that of the stability of the student enrollment over the successive school years. The school experiences a turnover of 40 to 50 per cent annually. Only 30 per cent of a twelfth grade class actually attended the school for four consecutive years.

A final factor relates to the observation "that Indian children become better adjusted with all people in a community when they associate with other children in public schools." A recognition of this premise has been translated into a primary objective of Indian education by the encouraging of the enrollment of all Indian children in the public school system of their home areas. In practice, this indicates that only students who have either been unsuited for public school attendance or do not have access to public schools are eligible for Indian boarding school enrollment. The foregoing factors then neccessarily affect the entire student body as education is sought.

Some comment appears jutifiable here regarding the basic premises confronting education and medicine in a setting such as this. The premise of education might be stated thus: Essentially the discipline of education is charged with the responsibility for creating individuals having skills whereby they may compete in organized society. In general, the acquisition of skills is accomplished in classes of sufficient size to make the most economic use of the teacher's time. Such group education frequently precludes individualization and serves to strengthen group ties, taboos and sanctions. Education might be said to be group-oriented as to goals, needs and methods. It is applied, in the main, to those individuals who are considered "normal."

The premise of medicine is based on concepts of disease. Medicine as a discipline works from the particular and is concerned with the alteration of an individual's internal stake from sick to well. Except for elements relating to prevention it must be regarded as indiviually-oriented as to its goals, needs and methods.

Obviously there are sick (abnormal) individuals in groups that are composed of predominantly well (normal) individuals, and it is precisely at this point that there is an overlap in the interest of education and medicine. It is in this area that education is concerned with individualizing its techniques (e.g., tutoring a person having a reading disability), and medicine is occupied in applying generalizations from treating individual patients to solving group problems e.g., preventing disease by interrupting the disease cycle and controlling one or more of its vectors).

For the psychiatrist's purpose in this school, the following working definition of mental illness is subsumed: Mental illness exists in an individual who repeatedly demonstrates an inability to meet his problems with what he has. Aside from taking into account the constitution of a person, this definition permits some leeway in the interpretation of social stresses posed against the background of the culture in which the individual functions. Degree is gauged in terms of the repetitious pattern of the behavior.

Keeping the foregoing factors and premises in mind, let us now turn to the Mental Health Project's three lines of inquiry.

I. CONTINUOUS COMPREHENSIVE SURVEY PROJECT OF NINTH GRADE STUDENTS

The application forms and records of the students arriving in Flandreau have shown wide variation in responses relating to medical-social histories and medical examinations. As will be noted in a discussion of the counselor and other interviews these reasons are at considerable variance with those given by the student, and occasionally by his family.

Starting in September, 1958, a special effort was made to get data on all entering ninth graders. The procedure was as follows: Each available ninth grader received a physical examination by a physician, a dental examination, a vision, height, and weight check by the nurse, a brief screening interview by a member of the counseling department, and screening interview by the social worker.

Beginning with a history, which was obtained directly from each student, we were confronted early with the paradox of the student arriving at the school for his own reasons, which were quite at variance with why he was sent to the school. In order that a member of the guidance department might personally know each student during the first week of school, a short-form interview schedule was developed. This schedule attempted to gain an impression of the student's self-concept, his reasons for being at the school and his feelings related to these reasons. The schedule, which was administered by individuals essentially untrained in interviewing, concerned itself with the following questions:

A. What is your name?
B. What is your nickname?
C. What do you wish to be called?
D. Why are you here?
E. How do you feel about it?
F. Who is at home?
G. Whom do I contact in case of trouble?
H. Is there anything else you want to talk about?
I. Do you wish another interview?

Typical student responses in regard to the question, "Why are you here?" were: Expelled from home school; they sent me up here; the schools were filled down there; wanted to get away from home; no other place to go; father drinks; mother wanted it; parents separated; brother told me to; superintendent, principal or social worker made me come; didn't want to go to public school; couldn't get along with the teacher; the cops were always throwing us in.

The confusion surrounding the reason for enrollment complicates the identification of an appropriate program for the student. Thus, parents may send a student to school "to keep him out of trouble;" the enrollment agency may justify the application on the basis that there is "no public school available;" the student may regard his departure from his home as "they want to be rid of me;" while the school accepts him with the expectation that "he is here to get a high school education."

Responses relating to the student's feelings range from acceptance to "I don't care" to marked hostility and resentment. Clues are also obtained as to relatives, friends and others whom the student felt he could rely on most. The opportunity was proffered by the counselor for further interviews. Approximately one-half of the students requested the opportunity for further discussion, and, in selected instances where a negative response was obtained, follow-up was made available based on the impression of the examiner that the individual was reluctant to ask for help, although in need of it.

A second device for identifying early signs of emotional distress, as well as measuring the nature and extent of the problems, was tested by the clinical social worker. At one station during the physical examination, a private interview was held with each student to review the schedule of 21 medical-social history factors symptomatic of disturbance. The items attempt to sample subjectively various methods of handling anxiety over a range extending from turning against oneself to acting out toward others.

The medical-social history items were ranged in order of descending frequency. The factor most frequently acknowledged by all students was "depression-worry," with nailbiting, running away and nervousness being present in approximately one-third of those interviewed. In each of the five academic classes so far examined, approximately four-fifths of the students had more than one complaint. Other complaints of considerable frequency were sleep disturbance, stealing-arrest and nervousness. At the time of the interview held at the beginning of the year, a list was compiled of those students who might benefit from immediate follow-up, and these students were seen again either by the guidance advisers or by the social worker.

Complete physical examinations reveal a wide distribution of defects. The large number of visual and hearing defects could conceivably interfere with the learning process. Other defects which appear to have significance regard to adjustment relate to overweight, underweight, seizures and dematitis. The dental examination revealed a "low-level of dental health when enrolling," with an average of 3.5 carious teeth per freshman. Malocclusion and absence of front teeth, which altered facial characteristics, were present in from five to ten per cent of the youngsters seen.

Various phychological tests were applied in the academic setting, using the California Mental Maturity Test (Short Form) and the Iowa Test of Educational Development. The frequency distribution on both tests shows a general skewing of approximately three-quarters of each class into the low average ranking. This aspect of the evaluation has been the least satisfactory to date because of complications of cultural factors and experimental background of the students being quite different from the large body of students on whom the norms are obtained. Further efforts and investigation of psychological factors are being explored in the current mental health project.

II. ACTION PROGRAM

A. Extension of Survey Efforts to Delineate Mental Health Problem Areas

1. Scrutiny of clinic attendance during 1960 and 1961 school years disclosed the following: The average daily first visits number 2.7 both years; average daily clinic revisits numbered approximately 23 for an average daily total school enrollment of 525 students.

2. Analysis of student accidents in 1960 revealed approximately 100 first accidents per year, with quite a sharp drop for subsequent accidents. This particular study was discontinued because th problem of accident proneness, which the study was designed to reveal, had been found to be negligible.

3. As clinicians we have questioned the wisdom of providing our adolescent students with glasses having "standard" frames, which tend to proclaim dependency. The medical officer carried out a study to "verify this impression, determine the extent of difference in usage, and compare the dollar-cost of purchasing glasses through the usual government contact versus purchasing them locally and allowing a wide choice of frames." [1]

The following findings were confirmed: Those students who were given a free choice of frames wear the glasses more in the classroom: the increase in classroom use of glasses is proportional to the increase and the cost of the glasses; students who bought their own glasses and students who had very poor vision wore their glasses more than the other two groups. During the three months study, 42 per cent of the students were known to have lost or broken their glasses or left them at home.

4. Caseload by referral source indicates approximately two girls are referred for every boy; principal sources of referral are from the nurse in the Division of Indian Health clinic, the guidance workers of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the patient makes a self-referral in about a quarter of all instances. The problem area usually concerns dormitory-campus adjustment situation (⅛), somatic complaints (⅛), home situation (⅓ to ½), and, to a much lesser degree running away, class situation, summer planning and local community problem.

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[1] Lackore, L. K., *Study of Various Types of Eyeglasses by High School Students at Flandreau Indian School* (Flandreau Indian Vocational High School, April 5, 1961). Mimeographed.

Although the age range in school starts in the fourteenth year, the peak of problems is reached with the youngsters in the fifteenth and sixteenth years. Most frequent diagnostic classification or impressions concern anxiety reactions in passive aggressive personality disorders.

5. As has been pointed out in a previous study by the Bureau of Indian Affairs' Branch of Education,[2] there is considerable inherent difficulty in determining reasons for dropouts. The definition used is: Although there has been a steady increase in freshman students during the five years, the actual percentage of the class which drops out has not increased. A shift toward a higher enrollment of girls shows a concurrent rise in drop-out rate. Three times as many new students drop out as former students, although there are only twice as many new students enrolling as former students. If one accepts the administrative reason accompanying the application blank, there seems to be a greater proportion of dropouts among those students sent for educational purposes rather than for social reasons. Mostly this underlines the fact that the school has need for extensive social background data on any student admitted. Based on area of origin there is a somewhat higher drop-out rate for those who are closer to their home area. Almost half of the dropouts occur among 16- and 17-year-olds, which is in accord with the national picture. One-half of all dropouts occur within the first 30 school days after their arrival.

6. The unmarried mother has been a major concern of clinicians of the school staff and much joint planning has been done on her behalf. Previously, when a girl was found to be pregnant she was sent to her home reservation as quickly as possible. This probably prevented embarrassment for her in some cases, but returning home often only changed the location of the problem. Hostbjor has written an enlightening paper on illegitimacy among the Sisseton-Wahepton/Sioux. She states that "while the Indian unmarried mother may not be strongly neglected or criticized by the group, she often faces a degree of disapproval, and this, and her own attitude about her pregnancy, may create a conflict for her."[3] She notes further that most unwed mothers are encouraged to keep their babies, and adoption may be discouraged. She further notes that although the kinship system is not completely destroyed, the immaturity of many of the mothers may result in emotional and physical neglect of the child.

Therefore, the project team offered their professional help with planning for the mother and child. Beginning in 1960 the clinic offered medical, dental, nursing and social services to each girl found pregnant, in the hope that better planning would result. Correspondence with the home agency was initiated and help was given with the choosing of comfortable, concealing clothing. Since that time eight pregnant girls have received these services. Of the eight, two chose to return home, one already had made plans to marry the father of the child, five were referred to a maternity home in Sioux Falls and one to a maternity home in her home state. The South Dakota Division of Child Welfare participated in planning. Growing out of this, the Public Health Service and the Bureau of Indian Affairs had joint meetings and developed "Guidelines for Handling Problems of Pregnant Girls in Non-Reservation Boarding Schools."

B. Development of Therapeutic Relationships with Staff Interaction

Educators and clinicians have worked together in a variety of ways:

1. On the visual defects study, the teachers were told which students were supposed to wear glasses and encouraged the students in the proper care and use of glasses. They also discouraged the students from ridiculing the wearers of the glasses. Responsibility for health appraisals, including height and weight measurements and menu calorie counting activities, was assumed by appropriate home economics sections, with the clinicians serving as resource persons.

2. Lectures and subsequent seminar discussion groups were developed around such topics as would improve understanding between the groups and stimulate co-operative relationships. This has worked both ways, with the clinicians conducting a course on psychodynamic concepts of child development and the educators engaging the clinicians in consideration of planning curriculum and other educational and administrative problems. Meetings are also structured between educators, clinicians and guidance staff to develop increased opportunity for

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[2] *Today's Dropouts—Tomorrow's Problems* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, October 1959). Mimeographed.

[3] Hostbjor, Stella, "Part I: Adoptive Placement of American Indian Children with Non Indian Families: Social Services to the Indian Unmarried Mother on the Reservation," *Child Welfare,* (May 1961), 7–9.

student recreation. This ultimately was extended to student participation, either through student council or by meeting with the student committees.

3. A similar project was devised around the problem of transition from school to community, both upon graduation and during the students' summer vacation. Two teachers were engaged to supervise and counsel students living in foster home settings and a nearby community. They were, in turn, supervised by the social worker from Lutheran Welfare in Sioux Falls. Following orientation by the project social worker, the two were assigned as case aides to the agency's chief social worker for the summer months. This permitted an expansion of the program which, in its more recent years, has served about 25 students.

Some of the positive values for the students identified by those people closely in touch with the project, were: activities such as learning to use an escalator, automatic elevator, or even mailing a letter at the post office were major accomplishments initially for some students. They were eager to open bank savings accounts and watch them grow, to endorse and cash checks, and to better themselves both financially and socially. Both through their case aide and through their foster parents they were taught quality, values and relative needs while shopping. Some learned new forms of recreation such as participating in church youth groups, swimming, visiting the zoo, parks, museums and other points of interest. They learned to take and carry out orders in a home or place of business, to be trusted, to accept themselves because they are accepted by others and to accept non-Indian people.

This all sounds relatively simple but of course it is not. Case aides verbalized awareness of their own growth in acquiring the ability to permit the expression of hostility of both students and foster parents. They learned first-hand the students' own ways of living; for example, a preference of individuals to snack when hungry rather than to sit down with everyone at the table to eat a meal together. They learned to identify, work with and record problems of cultural transition and match the needs and resources of both individuals and social institutions. They learned basic skills in working with individuals, and for one worker it became clear that solutions to problems are not a matter of "facilities and funds alone."

The community (foster parents, neighbors, pastors and congregations), in part because of the efforts of those who worked to make the experiment succeed, learned to deal constructively with the problems of cultural transition. Particularly in rural areas where people get to know each other well, the student made positive contributions to understanding which can be attested to by the fact that many people voice an interest in becoming a part of the project in the future years.

4. More and more the psychiatrist has directed his attention toward working with administrative and health staff. There have been numerous meetings with guidance workers, department heads, teachers and dormitory personnel, all with a view toward getting a better understanding of what confronts the workers within the school. Out of this has developed a project that is designed to investigate more carefully many of the problems of education with a cultural group in transition. Currently there are several social workers and an anthropologist working full-time to delineate the background of the children who use the school. In addition, consulting psychologists have been used to define the psychological techniques. These data are in the process of being gathered and will be reported at a future date.

III. EVALUATION

Although formal evaluation procedures were not made a part of the mental health project at its inception, the staff stressed the need for ongoing evaluation. To that end it has made use of periodic roundtable conferences and publications of findings. Both methods relied heavily on descriptive accounts of activities and self-evaluations, combined with anecdotes given by people associated with the project. Five annual reports contain the bulk of the findings.[4 5 6]

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[4] Warner, B. B., T. P. Krush, J. W. Bjork and K. Jackson, *Second Annual Report of the Mental Health Pilot Project at the Flandreau Indian Vocational High School* (Flandreau, S. D.: Flandreau Indian Vocational High School, July 1958). Mimeographed.

[5] Krush, T. P., Anne J. Lello and J. W. Bjork, *Third Annual Report of Mental Health Clinic at the Flandreau Indian Vocational High School* (Flandreau, S. D.: Flandreau Indian Vocational High School, June 1959). Mimeographed.

[6] Krush, T. P. and J. W. Bjork, *Fourth and Fifth Annual Reports of the Mental Health Clinic at the PHS Indian School Health Center, Flandreau Indian Vocational High School* (Flandreau, S. D.: Flandreau Indian Vocational High School, June 1961). Mimeographed.

Since September, 1962, two anthropologists have been engaged in trying to find the anthropological factors, while an additional social worker has been added to the staff to work out the social background of individual disturbed students. Obviously much more work needs to be done, particularly in the fields of psychology and medicine to delineate the mental health problems peculiar to this highly specialized type of educational setting.

This information is being offered in the hope and in an effort to interest professional mental health workers in the problems of culturally disadvantaged Americans.

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SOME THOUGHTS ON THE FORMATION OF PERSONALITY DISORDER: STUDY OF AN INDIAN BOARDING SCHOOL POPULATION

(By Thaddeus P. Krush, M.D., John W. Bjork, M.S.W., Peter S. Sindell, and Joanna Nelle)

Read at the 121st annual meeting of the American Psychiatric Association, New York, N.Y., May 3–7, 1965.

Dr. Krush was Director, Mental Health Project for Indian Boarding Schools, and Clinical Director, Community Services Division, Nebraska Psychiatric Institute, Omaha, Neb. until his death on October 19, 1965.

Mr. Bjork is Co-Director and Mr. Sindell was formerly anthropologist for the project. Requests for reprints should be addressed to Miss Nelle, who is Editorial Consultant, Mental Health Project for Indian Boarding Schools, and Coordinator, Mental Health Education, Community Services Division, Nebraska Psychiatric Institute, Omaha.

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Much has been said on all sides as to culpability incurred in the actions of larger groups as they interact with smaller groups and vice versa. Mistakes are made and become historic. Witness thereof is given in the two-hundred-year cycle—of inhumane custody, humane isolation, distant treatment, dehumanizing penury, community concern, humanization—in our chosen field of psychiatry. A series of parallel problems has occurred in the same period, and this paper will attempt to explore some of their complexities.

For the moment let us imagine that several roistering, quarreling brothers traveling from the East chance upon a homestead of great plentitude, but already occupied in part by brothers about whom they were unaware. All are frightened of each other. All have a need for the land. All are disdainful of the rights of others until their own are secured. A fight ensues, but the resources and weapons are different and the strongest wins.

This brother, unlike Cain, has developed a code which stays his hand so that he does not destroy his conquered rivals. Having partially disposed of them, he assumes the prerogative of the head of the family. He makes contracts with these "younger" or subsidiary brothers which he breaks, usually describing such breaches as being in the best interest of the younger brothers. They in turn at first rebel, then grudgingly accept. The strongest brother makes plans for the subsidiary brothers and then entices, cajoles, threatens and occasionally forces them to do it his way. That the plans might not be applicable to the younger brothers' way of life only fleeting enters his mind. Only occasionally will he consult with them prior to instituting change because it causes such a fuss.

Plans are made to educate the younger brothers' children to the "better" way of older brother. But the younger brothers find that by seeming to agree, they are left to themselves with more time to do as they see fit. A contest for the minds of the children ensues in which each is accorded equal time to undo the work of the other—all the while averring that they are acting in accord with previous agreements made to last for as long "as the grass shall grow, the waters flow, and the sun shall shine."

"WARRIORS WITHOUT WEAPONS"

In the thirties, Gordon MacGregor and his associates (11) described the setting and conditions of the relatively isolated "warriors without weapons" of the great plains. Our study will begin to describe the composition of the off-reservation

Indian boarding school population which has evolved since that time and will suggest trends of development in the mental health of the children so managed.

The background of health services for American Indians is set forth in a comprehensive report by the Public Health Service. Special attention was given to the statement: "Further mental health studies, beyond the scope of this survey, are called for, not only with respect to mental illness as such, but in relation to the problems of intercultural conflict, alcoholism, child delinquency and truancy, and accidents and crimes of violence"(4).

At the request of the Aberdeen Area Medical Officer of the Division of Indian Health, a pilot project was started at the Flandreau Indian Vocational High School in 1957. Material obtained by this small project team(1, 8, 9, 10, 22) served as the basis for a National Institute of Mental Health grant to study intensively and extensively three off-reservation boarding school poulations of the northern plains.

The study was designed to serve as a problem- defining effort that would stimulate a variety of alternative efforts in the management and prevention of mental illness. It is necessary to approach the problem of mental illness systematically and with operationally effective definitions. Mental illness is time- and culture-bound. For the purposes of this study mental illness may be said to exist in an individual when that individual repeatedly demonstrates by his behavioral pattern that he cannot solve his problems with his own resources.

The approach we used was to attempt to define and describe disorder from the viewpoint of different disciplines. The clinical research team consisted of a psychiatrist, social work supervisor, social worker, anthropologist and sociologist based at Flandreau, with field social workers located at Pierre and Wahpeton. A social worker, anthropologist and four psychologists served as consultants.

The areas of concern of the project team were as follows. The psychiatrist performed individual diagnostic interviews with selected cases. The social workers used individual and group casework techniques and visited the reservations to do selected family interviews. The anthropologist lived in the boys' dormitory for a year gathering data on student-staff interaction and, with the Kluckhohn Value Orientation Scale, studied the student population and staff. The sociologist did classroom teaching and used social-educational devices to study the teachers and the students. The psychologists did testing in the classroom setting using a variety of devices: the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory, California Psychological Inventory, Quay-Peterson Delinquency Scale, Time Factor Examination, Student's Sentence Completion Test, Semantic-Differential Examination and Bower-Lambert Screening Scale. A great deal of material has been gathered by these workers and this paper will present some of the preliminary findings.

One of the primary aims of the project team was to effect an epidemiological study of mental illness incident in a boarding school population of 1200 and encompassing the first twelve grades. Selected for this study were two grade schools (grades 1 to 8) located in Pierre and Wahpeton, and a high school (grades 9 to 12) located in Flandreau. Both grade schools have an annual enrollment of approximately 300 each; Flandreau's annual enrollment is approximately 600. This paper will concentrate on the material gathered at the latter school.

The Flandreau school obtains its enrollment from an area generally consisting of the Billings and Aberdeen areas of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Five states, Montana, Wyoming, North Dakota, South Dakota and Nebraska, 21 reservations and 18 tribes are represented in the school. Of the aggregate enrollment, approximately 33 percent are freshmen, 30 percent sophomores, 20 percent juniors and 17 percent seniors.

The facilities of a boarding school are usually looked upon from the standpoint of providing housing and accommodations for the student to live in a location where conventional academic or vocational schooling may be obtained. In this sense, the boarding facilities are secondary to the school or classroom services. The student lives at the boarding school rather than home due to the fact that he is unable to go to such a school in his natural home area.

However, at this school the reverse is the case. Here the boarding facilities are frequently looked upon as a means of removing a student from a socially complicated or disorganized environment to a setting where attention must be given not only to the traditional educational program but to every phase of social development as well.

What follows, then, is an attempt to narratively set forth the mental health problems encountered in a boarding school attempting to effect acculturation and ultimately assimilation of its charges. Certain impressions stand out and can to some degree be validated.

Several standardized objective psychological tests were used to assess the personality characteristics of the Flandreau students and to compare the findings with non-Indian normative groups (12, 14). The testing was done in the regular classroom period of 55 minutes.

Juniors and seniors were administered the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory. This is mainly a pathology orientation test, with the subscales largely attempting to measure psychiatric diagnostic samples of various categories of disorder. In every case the scores earned by the Flandreau sample are higher than the scores earned by the ninth grade Minnesota (3) normative sample. While there is a difference in the elevation of the profile, the shape of the profile is highly similar. The results indicate that on all of the categories, with the exceptions of hysteria and hypomania, the Flandreau sample was higher. These students are more pathological. The MMPI also contains "neurotic" and "psychotic" triads. Here the difference for the Flandreau sample is the "psychotic" end of the scale. This does not mean that these persons are literally, trending toward a psychotic configuration, but the movement is in the direction of disturbance in adjustment. The *t* test, an examination of differences of means, indicated an extremely high p value—.001 in eight of the 13 scales for the boys and seven for the girls. Two items for both sexes showed a p value of .01 and three items were not significant.

The California Psychological Inventory was given to sophomores, juniors and seniors. The CPI attempts to measure traits associated with normal functioning. The same results were evident, but in reverse. The Flandreau sample, in 15 out of 18 items, showed significant differences from Gough's normative high school groups (2). The *t* test indicated a p value of .001 in 12 of the 18 scales for both sexes. The Flandreau sample was lower on positive traits. The difference is in intensity, although again the profile was highly similar in shape to the normative groups. In effect the results appear to show that these youngsters are trending toward distress.

All four grades were given the Quay-Peterson Three Factor Scale. This test measures the three personality constellations associated with juvenile delinquency. The factorial content of the scales was studied in samples of both institutionalized delinquents and normal adolescents. Only limited norms are as yet available. The scales are: (1) psychopathic delinquency scale to measure attitudes and behavior associated with a tough, amoral, aggressive and impulsive syndrome; (2) neurotic delinquency scale to measure items associated with guilt, depression, concern, but coupled with impulsiveness and poor control; and (3) subcultural delinquency scale to measure attitudes and behaviors associated with the adoption of a pattern of behavior dictated by a delinquent subculture but not accompanied by personality maladjustment. The mean scores of the Flandreau sample indicate they are similar to the neuroticism and psychopathy scores of the institutionalized delinquents. Taken in all, the group psychological testing reaffirms the position that we are dealing with a high-risk population regardless of which parameter is applied.

CULTURE AND MENTAL CONFLICT

It is difficult to discern what constitutes abnormal behavior in an abnormal setting. While cultural conflict can be observed, it does not appear to be primary in the causation of mental conflict. Rather, the cultural trappings offer a rationalistic cloak for the basic problems which are three in number: (1) heightened mobility or "psychosocial nomadism, "(2) shifting standards and (3) superficiality of response or the "chameleon response."

Heightened mobility.—Our studies show a marked "psychosocial nomadism"—a condition which obtains when the child is exposed not only to repeated changes in loci but to repeated changes in the constellation of his meaningful persons. Further, each new locus necessitates the formation of relationships different from that of the past. Thus a child in a family which shows heightened mobility for cause, but has no distortion of his relations with his critical loved persons, may be anxious in each new locus but not disorganized to the point of profound reaction in the form of aggression or withdrawal (13).

Heightened mobility must be examined in the light of relationships and the reason for the movement if it is to serve as the indicator of disturbance. There is a marked tendency on the part of disturbed youngsters, or others intervening on their behalf, to take the lines of least resistance. Psychologically, whenever stress occurs, the individual repeatedly backs off and moves to another situation.

We have attempted to trace disturbance and the formation of personality disorder through movement and substantiate this with the student life careers of individuals showing increased maladaptation at the school and on the reservation. The high incidence of mobility has been documented from the medical-social case histories, with special emphasis on examining the manifest and covert reasons for movement.

"Psychosocial nomadism" can be documented in many instances by the ever-lengthening comet's tail of records of administrative decisions made in an attempt to keep a roof over the head of the child and at the same time provide him an education. As might be expected, records become sketchy with increased movement and the reasons advanced have more to do with administrative regulation than the actual reason for the move.

An illustrative example is that of a girl, now 19 years of age, who was observed by various members of the project team and followed for the duration of the project. Admitting that all the moves could not be logged, such as leaving home and spending days and weeks with relatives, the official log still shows an impressive number of situational changes. In all, there were no less than 30 changes of locus. She has been exposed to the ministrations and competitions of her father and mother, five siblings, seven half-siblings, maternal grandparents, paternal grandparents and serial stepfathers, not to mention her contacts with orphange, boarding school and boarding home staff, teachers and dormitory personnel.

The first move was to grandmother's home at age two with the advent of a sister and parental dissension. The most stable period of her life as far as domicile was concerned was a three-year period from 1956 to 1959. Two years later, there were six runaway episodes terminating in jail.

She had 19 placements in five different education settings, with return usually necessitating change in adult relationship with both teachers and dormitory staff. Education from the eighth grade through the tenth grade required five years and was punctuated by no less than ten interruptions in schooling, varying from a few weeks to several months.

This girl has been variably diagnosed as acute anxiety reaction, acute and chronic schizophrenia, psychosomatic disorder, depressive reaction and adolescent adjustment reaction.

A 19-year-old Indian student was referred to the boarding school during the summer of 1960. The specific reason for referral is not clear, but a brief summary reports a history of gasoline sniffing, social movements and family ill health. He was placed on the waiting list and accepted for the 1961–62 term.

According to official records, this student's paternity is in doubt; two names are reported in the records and two diffierent names are used by the boy and his mother. There is almost no official social history information available; however, a recent autobiography completes missing links and describes his movements so adequately for our purposes that it will be reported here completely:

"I was born in the year 1946 (on an Indian Reservation). I grew up in the home in which both my parents and grandparents lived.

"When I reached the age of five I was placed by my parents in the Indian Mission. I lived and went to school from there for four years, at the public school.

"When I was nine my brothers, little sister, and parents went along with my grandparents to spend the summer in Minnesota. Everything had gone all summer when one day my mother and father had an argument. My mother left my dad with my little sister and brothers.

"During the last part of October my mother and I left Minnesota and went to Wisconsin. My mother wanted to go up and see her brother, my uncle, who lived in a small town. When we arrived there we found out that he had moved to Milwaukee. So we stayed with relatives in the town, where I attended a country school. We stayed there from October until late February then returned back to the reservation.

"When we got back (to the reservation) my mother put me back up at the Mission where I stayed for three more years. When I was in the seventh grade I enrolled myself at the Catholic school where I went to school for a year and a half. After that year and a half I ran away and enrolled back into the public school. During the last six or seven weeks of school I got sick and was in the hospital, in Omaha, for about two months.

"That summer was mostly trouble for me. I was in and out of jail. And the county judge had given me break after break. The last time I was placed on probation and said that I would go to Flandreau Indian School for the next four years. Right then I hadn't realized that I flunked the eighth grade and made out an application for Flandreau. I was accepted and was all ready to leave for school when I got into more trouble. I was taken to court and the judge sentenced me until the age of twenty-one at the state Boy's Training School.

"I arrived at the Training School thirty days after my trial. When I got there I was treated nice by both counsellors and boys. For the first thirty days I did nothing, about all I did was peel potatoes along with the rest of the new boys. Then I was transfered out to another company and then I began school. That's when I found out that I had't completed the eighth so I had to do it over again. I was graduated from junior high school the following spring (1961). I was in the Training School for eleven months. Then I was paroled, I think, for a year and during that time I was to attend school and Flandreau.

"When I was finished with my first year I didn't plan to come back for the rest of the three. But I liked the school and returned every year, now I am a senior."

In January 1963 he was referred to the project when vocational teachers complained of his uncooperative, defiant attitude. During that school year and the next he was seen eight times by a project social worker, once by the psychiatrist.

Teachers considered him secretive, impudent, sullen, restless, quarrelsome, slovenly, cowardly, irresponsible, resentful of criticism and a daydreamer. He was said to be guilty of lying and stealing. Work habits were poor and intellectual curiosity was lacking. He was not interested in or sought out by others. He has maintained a "D" average in most subjects and, although a senior, he will not graduate. Dorm staff have reported occasional incidents of lighter fluid sniffing and, during the summer of 1960, he was hospitalized two months for lead poisoning associated with sniffing. Roommates assumed many housekeeping tasks because he refused to do these chores.

The clinic nurse reported his frequent visits for facial acne, injuries from fighting and other minor physical complaints. He bites his nails severely and he was considered to be a stutterer by the Speech and Hearing Clinic. Training school reports indicate that he had similar problems there. He learned to conform, but his personal habits and interpersonal relations improved less noticeably. It was also reported that his parole was delayed until the start of school because his mother was drinking heavily and "having unacceptable relations with many men."

Project staff noted that the student's closest ties have been with maternal family members. He understands the importance of proper behavior, but he has had little opportunity for identification with adequate males. The marked hostility for adult authority and the fact that the boy is a loner were also emphasized. Whenever possible he was interviewed on his own ground, i.e., in the dormitory or on the campus.

Shifting standards.—The second basic problem appears to be confusional cultural values or shifting standards. It is evident that there are distinct variations in the value orientations of the students, their relatives, the teachers, dormitory personnel and the administrative staff. It is not uncommon for the youngsters to be exposed to individuals of the lower three classifications (according to Hollingshead and Redlich [5]) on a daily, even hourly, basis. This necessitates the youngsters' meeting the standards of individuals of varying cultural backgrounds and value systems that are at variance with their own.

The following vignette is illustrative of the confusion of the child as he tries to determine who he is, where he is and what he is doing. Three Sisseton Sioux youngsters, ranging from ten to 12 years of age, were traveling from the Pierre Boarding School to the reservation located in northeastern South Dakota. This conversation was overhead by the social worker:

"First Child: Did you know Sisseton was a reservation?

"Second Child: Sure, I knew that last year.

"Third Child: Did you know that real Indians live there?

"Second Child: Of course, we're real Indians—we can't be play Indians."

Students and staff at Flandreau were given the Kluckhohn Value Orientation Scale (6, 7, 16, 17). This technique measures the variant value orientations in four dimensions: Relational, Man-Nature, Time and Activity. The primary theoretical focus is on acculturation.

In the Relational orientation, Kluckhohn sees the adult middle class as dominantly Individualistic, preferring this orientation significantly to the Collateral and Lineal alternatives. In man's relationship to nature or supernature, the dominant American preference is for Master-over-Nature, preferred significantly to Subjugation-to-Nature and Harmony-with-Nature. In the Time orientation, Future is ranked first, Present second and Past third; all at statistically significant levels. In the preferred mode of Action, Americans prefer Doing in contrast to Being.

A recent study of 52 teachers and 68 social workers, using Kluckhohn's device, yielded data on their value orientations which "coincided almost perfectly on all four orientations with the Kluckhohn analysis of general United States culture" (15).

Flandreau students were tested with this instrument in the regular classroom period. Of the 544 students then enrolled, 92 percent or 503 were tested. Preliminary analysis of the data shows that student value orientations as a whole are as follows. The girls differ significantly from the middle class in two orientations. They prefer the Subjugated-to-Nature alternative significantly to Mastery-over-Nature, and to Harmony-with-nature, as well as preferring Over to With significantly. This is a statistically significant one-order reversal from the dominant middle-class preference for Mastery-over-Nature. The girls also have a significant reversal in the Time Orientation, preferring Present to Future and Past.

Although the boys have moved away from the girl's position toward the middle class in the Man-Nature orientation, they have not achieved a statistically significant first-order preference for Mastery-over-Nature. The boys rank Over first, Subjugated second and With third. In the Time orientation, again the boys seem to be transitional; they do not prefer Present statistically to Future, although they still prefer Present and Future to Past significantly. Therefore, the boys have a position between that of the girls and the middle class.

In the Relational orientation both sexes differ from the middle-class pattern of dominant Individualism. The boys and girls both prefer Collateral nonsignificantly to Individual and prefer both of these to Lineal significantly. Neither the boys nor the girls differ from the middles class in the Activity orientation: all prefer Doing significantly to Being.

Thus, both boys and girls differ from middle-class value preferences in the Relational, Man-Nature and Time orientations, and the girls are much further from middle-class values than the boys. These differences support the Spindlers' hypotheses (19, 20) on female conservation in cultural change.

Class and tribe are not very powerful discriminating factors in themselves, but when paired with sex do reveal many significant differences. The freshmen girls and the Sioux stand out sharply as less acculturated. There is also evidence that the seniors, particularly boys, are more acculturated. It is reasonable to describe the boys as transitional, not highly acculturated to the middle class, but closer than the girls, whose choices resemble those of the urban lower class as studied by Schneiderman.

The staff of the school was also given this instrument and 70 protocols were completed, giving us a 90 percent sample. Staff value orientations coincide almost exactly with those found by both Schneiderman and Kluckhohn. The staff as a whole displays a middle-class pattern of value orientations, with some ambivalence in the second-order preference in the Man-Nature dimension and in their choice of Future over Present.

Taking just the 29 teachers, we see they are essentially middle class in their order of preferences, with the same ambivalence as the whole staff showed.

The dormitory staff, a total of 21 persons, differs from the staff as a whole and the teachers in the Man-Nature dimensions and they show a one-order reversal with Subjugation-to-Nature nonsignificantly preferred to Mastery-over-Nature.

Comparing the preferences of the students to those of the staff as a whole and to the choices of the teachers and dormitory staff, we see great differences. The students differ from the staff and teachers in the direction of the lower-class value orientations. The staff as a whole and teachers chose the Individualistic, Mastery-over Nature and Future alternatives as their first-choice preferences, in contrast to the students' first choices of Collateral, Subjugated-to-Nature and Present. The dormitory staff has a much weaker commitment to middle-class value orientations than the staff as a whole or the teachers as a group. Although three of the four first order choices of the dormitory staff are the same as the middle class, only one of these differs significantly from the first choice of the sudents. The fourth choice, Subjugation-to-Nature, is the same as that of the students. All four groups prefer Doing over Being, but the teachers and the staff prefer Doing more strongly, according to the statistics.

Kluckhohn postulates that nonsignificant preference indicates that the population is in a state of cultural transition. In light of this view it is extremely useful to have the analyses of variants, which indicate that a statistically significant gap still exists between the students and the staff as a whole and the teachers, and very few significant differences between the dorm staff and the students.

Evidence that value orientations influence one's responses to others has come from many sources—Spindler(18) and others. From the above results, we can predict that biases in cultural transmission occur. Certainly the teacher's class background and values may unconsciously distort his perceptions and expectations of the students.

Walter Taylor says, "All the brilliant teachers and all the most modern methods of teaching are powerless to insure transfer of the most elementary idea, unless the pupil himself places a value upon that idea or upon learning in principle." He feels that "the educator and the educational planner must know the values which are characteristic of the culture and which motive the pupil"(21). He also feels that the teacher should work through the values of the pupil to make him want to learn.

Superficiality of response.—A "chameleon-like" response results as the youngsters attempt to match their values to the values of the people they face. Superficiality of response is encouraged with acquiescence to the exigencies of the situation only so long as is necessary to get by. Obviously, value systems could not then be deeply held but rather are used for the particular moment. Validation of this point is difficult, but the two following illustrations are advanced to suggest its existence.

A home economics teacher desired to impress upon the girls of her class the necessity for cleanliness. Since they were soon going to have a formal dance she asked each of the girls to pay $2.00 for the rental of the formals. Those who returned clean formals would receive 50 cents in change; those who returned dirty formals would forfeit the two dollars. Having second thoughts on this procedure, she had the girls write their answers to the question: "What should be the punishment if a girl returns a soiled gown?"

The answers elicited went like this: (1) She should be made to kneel on the floor for an hour. (2) She should be made to stand with her nose up against the blackboard. (3) She should scrub the floor with a toothbrush.

Another home economics teacher decided to check the same group of girls and asked the same question: "What should be the punishment if * * *."

The group responses she got ran something like this: (1) You should take the girl aside and talk with her. (2) You should sit down and find out the reason that it happened. (3) You should tell the girl not to do it again.

CONCLUSION

The authors contend that frequency of movement and the necessity to conform to changing standards can only lead to confusion and disorganization of the child's personality. The frequency of movement further interferes with and discourages the development of lasting relations in which love and concern can permit adequate maturation.

This is approached as though it were an Indian problem. But it begins to appear that these are problems common to individuals who are dependent and/or neglected. It is our contention that "psychosocial nomadism" and shifting value systems result in inward disturbance. These findings are applicable to groups other than the population being studied as the patterns are similar to youngsters of different and deprived cultures.

Thus the dilemma in approaching individuals who have disordered homes and disordered behavior is how to get them to relinquish the dependency that we, ourselves, create in trying to get them well or educated. It is evident that if our findings are substantially correct, there will be serious logistical problems in altering ignorance and poverty.

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRD NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON INDIAN HEALTH

November 19, 1964, New York, N.Y.

MORNING SESSION: MENTAL HEALTH

Auspices of the National Committee on Indian Health, Association on American Indian Affairs, Inc., New York, N.Y.

MORNING SESSION

Thursday, November 19, 1964

The Morning Session of the Third National Conference on Indian Health, held under the auspices of the National Committee on Indian Health, Association on American Indian Affairs, Inc., at the Gramercy Park Hotel, New York, New York, on Thursday, November 19, 1964, convened in the Gramercy Room at nine-fifty o'clock. Carl Muschenheim, M.D., Chairman, National Committee on Indian Health, presiding.

There were present:

Carl Muschenheim, M.D., Chairman.

John Adair, Ph.D., National Institute of Mental Health, U.S.P.H.S., Bethesda, Maryland.

Miss Marion Andrews, Chief, Medical Social Service Branch, Division of Indian Health, 7915 Eastern Avenue, Silver Spring, Maryland.

John C. Cobb, M.D., Department of Maternal and Child Health, School of Hygiene and Public Health, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland.

Mr. Sam Deloria, Mental Health Section, State Department of Health, Pierre, South Dakota.

Reginald H. Fitz, M.D., Dean, School of Medicine, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico; Member, National Committee on Indian Health, A.A.I.A.

Henry S. Forbes, M.D., 71 Forest Street, Milton 86, Massachusetts, Member, National Committee on Indian Health, A.A.I.A.

Stanley O. Foster, M.D., University of Rochester, School of Medicine, Rochester, New York.

J. Thomas Grayston, M.D., Professor and Chairman, Department of Preventive Medicine, School of Medicine, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington.

Miss Jane Hoey, 135 Central Park West, New York 23, New York; Member, National Committee on Indian Health, A.A.I.A.

Mrs. Alfreda Janis, Executive Secretary, We Shake Hands, Pine Ridge, South Dakota; Member, National Committee on Indian Health, A.A.I.A.

Ernest Jawetz, M.D., Professor and Chairman, Department of Microbiology, School of Medicine, University of California, San Francisco, California.

Dr. K. Kasuga, Chief, Office of Program Services, Division of Indian Health, U.S. Public Health Service, 7915 Eastern Avenue, Silver Spring, Maryland.

Alexander H. Leighton, M.D., Professor of Social Psychiatry, Cornell University Medical College, 1300 York Avenue, New York, New York (also Professor of Anthropology, Cornell University, Ithaca); Member, National Committee on Indian Health, A.A.I.A.

Dorothea Leighton, M.D., Department of Sociology, College of Arts and Sciences, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York.

Gordon Macgregor, Ph.D., Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior, Washington 25, D.C.

Brian MacMahon, M.D., Professor, Department of Epidemiology, School of Public Health, Harvard University, One Shattuck Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

Douglas K. Powers, M.D., Chief of Ophthalmology, PHS Indian Hospital, Phoenix, Arizona.

Dr. Mabel Ross, Bureau of State Services, Consultant to the Division of Indian Health, 7915 Eastern Avenue, Silver Spring, Maryland.

Tom Sasaki, Ph.D., Associate Professor, Department of Sociology, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Robert A. Senescu, M.D., Professor and Chairman, Department of Psychiatry, School of Medicine, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Mrs. Joseph Lindon Smith, Hotel Dover, 687 Lexington Avenue, New York, New York; Member, National Committee on Indian Health, A.A.I.A.

Mr. Noble Swearingen, American Public Health Association, 224 East Capitol Street, Washington 3, D.C.; Member, National Committee on Indian Health, A.A.I.A.

Phillips Thygeson, M.D., Director, Francis I. Proctor Foundation for Research in Ophthalmology, San Francisco Medical Center, University of California, San Francisco, California.

Carruth J. Wagner, M.D., Assistant Surgeon General, Chief, Division of Indian Health, U.S. Public Health Service, 7915 Eastern Avenue, Silver Spring, Maryland.

Mrs. Annie Wauneka, Member, Navajo Tribal Council, Window Rock, Arizona; Member, National Committee on Indian Health, A.A.I.A.

Present as observers were:

Mr. Henri Ben-Ami, Editor, *American Indian Horizon*, New York, New York.

Reverend Russell E. Carter, National Council of the Churches of Christ, Division of Home Missions, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, New York.

Miss Edna Ferber, Novelist, Member, A.A.I.A.

Mrs. Forbes; Member, Board of Directors, A.A.I.A.

Reverend G. Shubert Fyre, Board of National Missions, United Presbyterian Church, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, New York.

Mrs. Kornberg, *Amercian Indian Horizon.*

Mr. Lawrence Lindley, Indian Rights Association.

Mrs. Muschenheim, Member, Board of Directors, A.A.I.A.

Also present:

Mrs. Mary Payne, Association on American Indian Affairs.

Mr. William Byler, Executive Director, A.A.I.A.

Chairman MUSCHENHEIM. I will call the Conference to order, and I welcome you all to this Third Confernece on Indian Health, conducted under the auspices of the National Committee on Indian Health of the Association on American Indian Affairs.

We are very gratified indeed that so many of you have come and we are greatly complimented that so many of you have come so far to attend the Conference. We know that you are all busy people and we greatly appreciate the sacrifice of time that you are making to be here.

Perhaps I should say just a word to our guests and to some of the newer members of the Committee about the interest of the Association in health matters and about the history of the Committee.

The Committee was formed, about fifteen years ago, I believe, by the late Dr. Haven Emerson, who was stimulated very much by our constant and most faithful member, Mrs. Joseph Lindon Smith, who I hope will be here. She has not arrived as yet.

The first Confernece was under the chairmanship of Dr. Emerson. It was held in 1953, and was concerned principally with the question about whether the transfer of the Indian Health Service from the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the Department of the Interior to the Public Health Service would be a good thing. The Conference met and decided it would be a good thing and so recommended. The transfer, as you all know, took place in 1955 by act of Congress.

The Second Conference, which was held shortly after the transfer in 1955, was concerned principally with defining the problems and making estimates and recommendations as to how the intent and purposes of the Congress in effecting the transfer had best be carried out.

I think we are all aware of the great strides that have been made since the transfer. I will not go into the matter of mortality and morbidity statistics and how they have changed favorably, because I thnk they are in general quite familiar to all of you.

The present Conference arose out of the consideration that 1964 has been termed by several organizations interested in Indian welfare as "Indian Health Year," and we thought that rather than to try to consider all of the problems in Indian health, that we would try to focus on two which are of particular importance now. I am very glad to see that those guests invited in part because of their expertise in this afternoon's topic have arrived on time and are going to participate in this morning's discussion even though it is not in their field of special competence. It is exactly what we had hoped, that their interest in Indian health in general would make them interested in the matter of mental health just as much as they are in trachoma. I hope, also, that those of you who have a special interest and expertise in the mental health topic will be able to stay through this afternoon's session and that all members of the conference will be here this evening to hear Dr. Wagner's address at the dinner.

That is really all I have to say. I think I would like you not to rise as I introduce you, but each of you perhaps to raise your hand, so that Dr. Leighton will be sure who everybody is and so that you will recognize each other.

I will just go down the list alphabetically—and I don't think I need to list titles or special fields of interest at this time. (Introduces members of the conference who have taken their seats).

I will now turn the discussion over to Dr. Leighton.

With the request, Dr. Leighton, that you will be a strict discussion leader and, while welcoming comments and questions and participation by everyone, that you will keep the discussion on the rails, which I am sure you will do.

(Dr. Alexander H. Leighton then assumed the Chair as discussion leader.)

Dr. LEIGHTON. Thank you, Dr. Muschenheim.

And thanks to all of you, too. I would like to add my appreciation to Dr. Muschenheim's that you are here and that we have such a promising beginning for this Conference.

I think the function of a discussion leader is to start talking and keep talking until somebody interrupts him.

So, I might begin by setting up what I understand to be the framework of this morning, namely, the question of the need for a program for mental health, the improvement of mental health for American Indians.

The first question I suppose is the need, and the second question, if the need is recognized, then what to do about it.

It probably is not necessary to stay very long on the question of need. But I might mention that the number of known psychotic cases reported in a recent survey among the American Indians was in the neighborhood of 2,000, of which it is estimated that a quarter to a third did not get adequate care, either in terms of examination or follow-up afterwards.

Now, if we say, in round numbers, that there are 400,000 Indians, it is obvious that this 2,000 is only a tiny fraction of the number in this population of people with psychiatric problems and difficulties. I have read recently an estimated figure of something like 34,000. I am not quite sure on what that is based. The figure that the Public Health Service has been using as a base upon which to convince people that there should be more community mental health centers is 10 per cent; 10 per cent of the national population. This would suggest that if the Indian population is representative, that there are at least 40,000 at any given moment who are in need of psychiatric attention.

This 10 per cent figure is a good deal lower than the figures that have been obtained in the epidemiological studies that I am acquainted with. In these studies, where samples of the population have been selected and intensively investigated, 20 per cent would be a conservative figure. That means around 80,000 people.

But the studies to date indicate, if they indicate anything, that the prevalence of psychiatric disorder is not randomly distributed in the population, that it piles up in certain places and is less in others. When we look at studies that have been done on non-Indian populations it is evident that where you have the most psychiatric disorder—I mean most in terms of frequency of cases—is among people who are having economic difficulties, and in people who are suffering from problems of cultural disintegration, with social disorganization being a feature of the way of life.

In short, investigations that have been made of the epidemiology of psychiatric disorder indicate that people who are low in socio-economic status and people who come from communities where they are exposed to the forces of social disintegration have a much higher rate of psychiatric disorder than do the people who come from well integrated communities or who come from middle and upper ranges in the socio-economic scale.

Given that a very large part of the Indian population falls in the former group, being toward the lower end so far as economic advantage is concerned, and being in various stages of transition from a culture which is different from that of the prevailing culture of North America, one would expect that this 80,000 figure is probably an underestimate. So whether you start with the 2,000 which are not getting adequate treatment, or base your estimate on the known character of the population and the distribution of mental illness in other populations and make an inference from this, it seems pretty clear that the need is there and might well be assumed for the purpose of this meeting.

The question of the type of need it is, is another matter and there may be a great deal of work necessary to determine the particulars in this regard. The existence of the need, however, I would suggest, is clearly manifest.

Perhaps someone would like to comment on this. We shouldn't pass over too quickly from discussing whether there is a need or not, so I would like to encourage participants to assent or dissent from this point.

(There was no response.)

Dr. LEIGHTON. Does silence mean consent, or is it still too early in the morning?

Dr. FOSTER. I would like to ask two questions: One is, what are you defining as mental health problems? And, two, are you including alcoholism as a mental health problem?

Dr. LEIGHTON. That is a very good question.

What I am defining as mental health is perhaps not important. I think it is very important what this group here might decide, and whether alcohol should be considered a mental health problem or not.

In most psyciatric texts alcohol is included as a psychiatric disorder. I think in practice it is generally regarded as a psychiatric problem, though not one with which psychiatry has been notably successful. It seems to me that it is both a social problem and a psychiatric problem. There are many people who drink to excess and who do it as a symptom of some underlying psychoneurotic, psychotic or other difficulty, and then there are people who drink because they have been brough up among a group who do a lot of drinking and it is, in that sense, more learned and a matter of social behavior—what the APA nomenclature calls "dissocial."

Speaking now just as one member of the Conference, I would say that alcoholism ought to be one of the topics in which we would be interested, if we are interested in mental health.

Beyond this, in a wider sense, what do we mean by psychiatric disorder? What are we talking about? I think the most convenient way to divide that up is into the acute problems, which generally mean major psychoses, and then the chronic debilitating, less dramatic but nevertheless impairing disorders, the psychoneuroses, the personality disorders, organic-determined disorders, particularly those of later life, and of course also mental retardation.

Chairman MUSCHENHEIM. Dr. Leighton, I would like to ask: what are some of these figures from epidemiologic studies in other populations? I think you mentioned they run higher than 10 per cent. Some run a great deal higher, don't they? I mean, in the 50 per cent category.

Dr. LEIGHTON. Well the general—I am thing of two different studies now and one of them has a figure of 20 percent and the other has a figure of approximately 25 percent, two different populations.

In the disiategrated areas that I know of—and these are small studies—or in the lower socio-economic studies, the numbers do run up to 50.

Chairman MUSCHENHEIM. Thank you.

Would you have any basis to estimate, to give an estimate of the incidence of disorders that might benefit from medical attention——

(Mrs. Smith arrived at this point.)

Dr. LEIGHTON. Well, I think——

Chairman MUSCHENHEIM. I mean, are there any official figures?

I see Dr. Kasuga has arrived. Maybe he can give us some——

(Dr. Wagner arrived.)

Chairman MUSCHENHEIM. Dr. Wagner and Dr. Kasuga; won't you come up——

Just a moment, if I may interrupt. This is Dr. Kasuga, of the Division of Indian Health; and Dr. Wagner, the Chief of the Division of Indian Health; and Mrs. Joseph Lindon Smith, who is a mainstay of this Committee on Indian Health.

Dr. LEIGHTON. We are in the process of talking about the need for a mental health program, and discussing what the probable frequency is of people with psychiatric disorder in the Indian population. We have been discussing various figures on the basis of different kinds of estimates. In round numbers there were 2,000 known cases in a recent survey. Extrapolating from the estimated 10 percent in the average population would bring it out at somewhere around 40,000. From epidemiological studies of small populations—Dr. Muschenheim just asked me what my guess would be with regard to the Indian population—I would think that people who had some need for psychiatric services would not be less than a quarter—the figure might be higher.

(To Dr. Wagner) I was wondering if you had any estimates, any data available to you?

(Miss Hoey arrived at this point.)

Dr. Wagner. Well, I don't know what your definition, your frame of reference, is as to what constitutes a psychiatric case. Certainly I think the incidence of psychosis, in my experience with the Indian, doesn't run any higher—I am speaking without set figures— doesn't run any higher than it does in the non-Indian population. I do think that there is a quantity psychiatric problems in a transcultural group, which means that there is a higher percentage of Indians who are requiring preventive mental health programs at some stage in their development than there is in the non-Indian population. This is particularly true, I think, in the boarding school environment and in the low socio-economic parts of the reservation groups, where the lack of funds and the lack of good nutrition and the lack of purpose in life, and so forth, have precipitated the problem; but I think that it would respond to an active preventive mental health program rather than actual psychiatric treatment.

Dr. Leighton. This is a very important point—that what one does about this may very well be in terms of prevention rather than treatment.

I suggested in starting the discussion this morning that we first examine the question as to how agreed we are that there *is* a need and something about the dimensions of it, and then if we are agreed upon that, we might move on to the question of how do we ascertain more accurately what the need is, and then what do we do about it in terms of program?

The studies of non-Indian populations support strongly what you say. There hasn't been a great deal of work of this sort done, so I have to speak very modestly about it, but taking as a definition of psychiatric disorder to be "that which psychiatrists treat"—the collection of symptoms and complaints and emotional difficulties for which people who have means go to psychiatrists and which psychiatrists feel it is professionally proper that they should treat them when they are requested to treat them—using that kind of a framework and covering both the psychoses and the psychoneuroses, the evidence so far is that in populations of low economic level and populations that are socially disintegrated the rate is very high, that it is well over 50 per cent in such populations. This would lead me to say that I think a modest estimate in terms of Indian needs is at least a quarter of the population, and it may be more.

Dr. Forbes. Dr. Leighton, Dr. Wagner brought up the question of boarding schools and mental disturbance. I wish you could say a little about that. In 1960 John Cobb and Mrs. Wauneka contributed to a workshop in which they emphasized the great difficulty of handling the numbers of children—sometimes seventeen buses of children would arrive at one time and be dumped in the school, with no previous orientation and it led to a very difficult situation.

Dr. Leighton. Dr. Wagner mentioned that the children in schools were a particular problem. I personally have no experience of this but maybe there are others here at the Conference who do. Dr. Cobb?

Dr. Cobb. I would like to say that the address on "Avoidance of Emotional Disturbances" by Mrs. Wauneka at that Conference, which I read over last night, was very well stated regarding the problems and the needs in the boarding schools. I would think that if people here have not already read her address, they would want to read it some time soon, because I was again greatly impressed by her clear exposition of the basic problems of Indian Children in the boarding schools. These children have been taken sometimes several hundred miles from their homes and meet situations which are totally alien to them including language problems, cultural shock, discipline, and all the other problems which she outlined very clearly. (The Report of this Conference was published in May 1960 by the New Mexico State Department of Public Health.) Certainly this is a population in which one would expect a high degree of need of preventive as well as curative psychiatric services.

Mrs. Janis. Dr. Leighton, I have several questions.

I think the Indian people are more concerned with a preventive program than we are with a curative, because we know that doctors are familiar with the curative program and can help those that are already sick; yet we find many of the problems of our people are people who are just now going into maybe some of these stages. Some of the problems we have with juvenile delinquency and some of the things that are happening among our Indian people are things that we know are completely not in line with our culture—child neglect, children being left at the hospital. For the first time in our history, during the last few years we have had this problem. These are some of the things that I would like to hear discussed. I would like to see if we couldn't come up with a program that could help these people before we do have them where they are actually mentally ill.

Now, could anyone here help us with a program of that nature?

Mrs. WAUNEKA. Mr. Chairman, we are here to discuss a problem that I think people are wrestling with in almost any community and, of course, in any city. We are trying to find means and ways so that so-called mental illness may be treated in a preventive stage or it may be in a curative stage.

I think Dr. Wagner, who is the Chief of the Indian health for all of the Indians—I think we ought to at least know just where the majority of these mental health problems are among the Indians throughout the country. Once we know where the problems are—of course I am quite sure much of it is in the Navajo territory—we ought to know where the facilities are. These people, are they being treated or are they just being neglected? Maybe this group ought to know where the facilities are where these people may be treated throughout the country. Are they treated in the state facilities, or does the Public Health Service have such a facility for this treatment? Once we get this pinned down, maybe we can go to the boarding school, because these problems seem to be floating around right now in this discussion here.

That would be my question. First, if there is any treatment being done for these Indians, where, and the percentage maybe could be mentioned in each of the Indian territories, where it is available, and then we can go on and see if we could pin this thing down and maybe make a recommendation. That needs to be defined, too.

And, of course, alcoholism contributes a lot to this particular problem of so-called mental health and once something can be done about this alcoholism maybe there will be a way for a preventive program, because that is so true. I am quite sure that one of the major problems we have is because of the low income we have been talking about, because of the low education that we have amidst our own Indian people, which causes them great mental problems throughout the families that are connected with alcoholism.

I know the Navajo people are terrific in this confusion of alcoholism and I know it is done to get away from the problems that they have; and I don't know how much connection we should have with this new program that was stressed by the President of the United States, which is against all kinds of poverty, the problems of poverty. I may as well say now, just how do we confine ourselves to tackle this at the community level of the Indians?

Dr. LEIGHTON. Miss Andrews?

Miss ANDREWS. Dr. Leighton, I think that you referred to the study that reported 2,000 Indians as needing psychiatric care. That is a very circumscribed and a very low estimate because for one thing it involved only eleven states, instead of the twenty-four in which there are Indians that are being served by the Division of Indian Health. The other thirteen states have state programs that take care of Indians as well as non-Indians. Now, this doesn't mean that the Indians are adequately taken care of; it just means that they get the same services as do the rest of the citizens of the state and therefore they aren't known to the Division of Indian Health. Moreover, the states do not identify them as Indians, or they do not report them to the Division of Indian Health. Sometimes it is very difficult to find out who these people are, therefore the 2,000 really is a very low count.

There is another qualifying factor. We did not include the mentally retarded in this group and in including the alcoholic people—they have problems with alcoholism—defined that group, or we limited that group only to those who had had many, multiple brushes with the law or had been hospitalized because of a drinking problem.

So you see this is really a very low estimate.

This is in answer to Mrs. Wauneka's question.

Dr. LEIGHTON. And even in that small number something like a third or a quarter did not get adequate treatment.

Miss ANDREWS. Five hundred out of 2,000 had been recommended for psychiatric evaluation but we hadn't had a chance—they were still on a "pending" list. One thousand of them had already been either examined by a psychiatrist or were in the hospital and close to psychiatric services, but there were well over 500 who had not been seen by a psychiatrist. Of the group of 1,000 who had had psychiatric service and were discharged from a state hospital, only 350 were being followed after discharge. They were being given supportive services by the Division of Indian Health personnel in their home community.

And another question which Mrs. Wauneka asked was, where are these people being treated? The great majority of course, are being treated in state hospitals, but there are some that are being treated in private facilities.

Mr. CARTER. Dr. Leighton, you invited the observers to ask questions. We appreciate this very much. Some of us are hopeful that now that we are talking in terms of preventive measure and alcoholism, perhaps, and some other phases of community development in life, that you might be able to give the laymen some guidelines as to how they might become helpfully involved. Now, by "laymen" I mean those who are not in the profession. These may be clergymen as far as we are concerned, but laymen as far as you are concerned.

We are involved in the Government schools to a degree and the Public Health hospitals. We see this need and we see what is happening, and I think we feel a little fearful of becoming involved because we feel we are not skilled, that we do not have the skills and the insights—we have to stay clear, we feel—but are there areas and points in which we, through our chaplaincy service in these institutions, or the mission forces in a reservation situation, might at some point in a mental program perhaps be more helpfully involved?

Now, if that can be answered today in this Conference, or in some of your literature, it would be appreciated.

Dr. LEIGHTON. In thinking of how this Conference may develop, it seems to me that it has certain logic in moving from agreement that there is a need to the question of how we find out the dimensions and nature of that need. This is about where I think we are at the momemt.

On the one hand we have obviously the need to provide more services for acutely ill people, people with psychoses and so on, and on the other hand we have this enormous problem of prevention, of help from non-psychiatric sources to deal with anticipated large numbers of people; and I think that in this matter of prevention the clergy are potentially a very important source of resource, at least they have so proved in many other non-Indian communities and, as you doubtless know, Mr. Carter, pastoral counseling has been booming tremendously all over the place, so that there is a whole background of potentially trained people in the churches who might fit well into a preventive program.

Dr. Ross, did you have something?

Dr. ROSS. Reverend Carter's question gives me the chance to say what I have been waiting to say and that is, it seems to me that when we are discussing a mental health program I would like to make a differentiation.

Psychiatric programs are the responsibility of psychiatrists, yes, but a mental health program is only partially a psychiatric responsibility. It is no more possible for us to carry on a mental health program and think only of those who are ill and only of psychiatrists than it is to talk about a health program and think that it is entirely a matter of physicians. If we are going to think only of those people who have moved to the point that they must be hospitalized, this is very much like talking in relation to T.B. only of those who are so advanced that only hospital care can help them. If you are going to talk about a mental health program you have to take into consideration everyone who is involved with people's adjustments in relation to other people, in relation to their health programs, in relation to everything, and this means your psychiatrist is only one resource.

I have recently been very much disturbed to have people acting—and this in a quite sophisticated group about three days ago—acting as if the number of psychiatrists in the country limited the amount of mental health activities which could be carried on. Young physicians, those who have graduated in the last fifteen years particularly, now know more than some of us knew after we had had two or three years of psychiatric training back in the thirties. It is no longer a limited group; and similarly, it sometimes seems to me that the general public knows more about mental health now than the physician knew forty years ago. We are dealing with something quite different and, just as Mrs. Janis mentioned a while ago, I have been very much impressed with the kinds of problems which are brought up by the people who are actually on the front line.

I suppose to some extent what I am trying to say is when we talk about the need of a program I think we should look beyond the number of people who have been diagnosed as psychiatrically ill and needing the care of a psychiatrist or a definite psychiatric facility and talk of the need in terms of total human functioning. We cannot have a health program—

I am stealing your thunder, Dr. Wagner, a little!—we cannot have a health program unless we encourage the mental health aspect of it, and this is something Dr. Wagner has been talking about now for some time, as well as a lot of other people.

And this is my answer, Reverend Carter, that there is no such thing as limiting the number of people who are involved and it is not a matter—one last point—it is not a matter that because we do not have enough psychiatrists we have to use nurses, clergymen and school teachers, and so on. It is because these people have the skills that can do many things in this whole program that no psychiatrist can do well except as a happenstance of his particular personality.

Dr. DOROTHEA LEIGHTON. May I add something?

I want to emphasize what other people have implied, namely that this is a problem which is not limited in any way, shape or form to Indian communities. I think it is exactly the same wherever you find poverty, low education and cultural disintegration. Cultural disintegration doesn't have to be a change from the particular tribal culture to whatever culture they are in the midst of, it merely means the change of the old, familiar way of life, whatever it was, to something different, and this rocks people to their foundations.

Well, I am sure there are many special features with Indian groups just as there are many special features with Southern people pouring into Detroit to work in the automobile factories, with people from Europe pouring over here, as they used to and as they still do from time to time, and not knowing what to do about all sorts of aspects of life, and I think it is a very fortunate thing that all of a sudden everybody is beginning to notice that these groups need special attention.

As Dr. Ross has pointed out, it is ridiculous to think that the psychiatrist can do it all. It is very sad to think that the psychiatrists haven't provided more adequate leadership. I think they have some special knowledge by this time that should be made more available to more other kinds of people, and I doubt that they themselves have all the skills that are necessary to bring this about.

I think the other thing that everybody should consider are the places where there have been such problems which have been solved, or where solutions are at least under way. There are many communities that have been in a perfectly terrible state where, if anybody had been around to measure delinquency, alcoholism, mental health problems of all sorts, they would have found such behavior at an absolute peak. Then something or other happened and some of these communities have made a comeback, they have become reintegrated and their people have been able to go ahead instead of just wobbling around in the unhappy situation. I believe that things that work in one community of this type are likely to be successful in other communities, so I would hope that people who have had experience with any national group, tribal group, or group of any sort that has had these problems, would be able to tell us a few things that seemed helpful.

Boarding schools are a special case in point; Indian communities on the edge of white cities are a special case; but I think they really are not individually peculiar, they have a great deal that they share with all other such situations.

Dr. LEIGHTON. John?

Dr. ADAIR. I would like to underline what Dr. Dorothea Leighton has just said. The disintegration of communities, the rapid change of cultures, is something that is going on all around us. I have just returned from visiting several communities in eastern Kentucky, in the very heart of Appalachia, where I saw people who were every bit as badly off economically, and perhaps many worse off, than many of the Indians in the Southwest, perhaps comparable to some of the Indians, however, on the northern plains; and I saw even more apathy there and more dependency. How to cut into this whole cycle of dependency in Appalachia is a simply enormous task, every bit as big, perhaps, as the task facing the American Indians in their economic endeavors in planning for their own community development.

How does one cut into this problem on the community level? Here, again, we see something that the residents of Appalachia, the members of the state Government and the Federal Government are all trying to do something about in terms of the Appalachia Bill. There is much to be done before the residents of Appalachia are going to have anything that we can call mental health and I think this is likely to be—is the case indeed—on many of the reservations, although not all of them necessarily.

Dr. LEIGHTON. Dr. MacMahon?

Dr. MACMAHON. I think we are running some risk of confusing the recognition of the problem with the idea that we already have a solution for it. Granted that you can identify high risk groups—the socially disintegrated, poorly educated, and so on—is there any evidence at all that any preventive program, if you had all the money and facilities in the world, could prevent mental illness in such groups? You could, I presume, accomplish it by general measures such as the prevention of poverty, but what I think we are talking about this morning are programs either calling on special knowledge in the mental health field or specifically directed to mental health problems. So far as I am aware there is not the slightest evidence that any specific measures can prevent the development of mental illness in such high risk groups; even supposing the Indians we are talking about are a particular high risk group, which we don't know either.

Dr. Ross. Dr. MacMahon, what do you mean by mental illness? [Laughter.] If you are talking about certain types of depression, I will buy it. If you are talking about certain other types of anxiety and failure to respond and stress reaction, I don't think you will buy it any more than I.

Dr. MacMahon. I am talking about the incapacity to adapt and to adjust to surroundings, to social disintegration, and stress situations. Where there is a high incidence of this incapacity, I am asking for evidence that something can be done to prevent the development of that incapacity.

Dr. Dorothea Leighton. I think Dr. MacMahon will have to ask that question again in about fifty years. The truoble is nobody has tried to prevent it, nobody has studied the community first and then had a program and measured it afterwards. It is a very difficult thing and nobody has even thought about it.

So I don't believe anybody can possibly tell you. I think you have to be reasonably optimistic. We know what the relationship is between the high prevalence of psychiatric disorder and miserable social circumstances. We know that in the opposite type of community, where things are going along well, there is a very much lower prevalence and a lower incapacity, and I think that although we can't prove it in figures, if we suddenly translated the people from the bad community to the good community, and they were somehow by magic able to function in an effective way, their mental health would overnight be restored.

I think anybody who works with groups like this, just from the commonsense point of view, is easily convinced that if the people in the bad community had half a chance they would be better off. I mean, this is about the size of it at the present time as far as I know.

Dr. Leighton. I think Dr. MacMahon has brought up a very important point. He told half the story and said there is no evidence, no definite evidence. I think this is quite true and I think Dr. Dorothea Leighton puts her finger on what he didn't say, namely that one of the reasons there isn't any effective evidence is that no one has set up any experiments to ascertain whether this is true or not. This points, I think, to a matter of considerable importance: if we are going to have programs at this stage of our knowledge, they ought to be set up in such a way that we are able to answer the question as to whether the programs are having the effect that is desired or not.

There has been work going on for years and years, for example, on programs designed to improve inter-ethnic relations, programs designed to destroy prejudice between the various ethnic groups in the United States that interact with each other, not only Negro and white but Jew and Gentile, and so on. Robin M. Williams made a review of these about ten years ago and found there were something like 150, more or less, programs in action designed to improve inter-ethnic relations and almost none of these had been set up with any kind of monitoring that would show whether or not they were in fact doing what they were supposed to be doing. So if one were trying to mount a major program one had no information, in spite of the fact that this had been going on for years and years, to choose one or another formula with any idea that one was better than another or that any of them in fact worked—and I think we are at this stage in the mental health field at the present time. We can set up operational definitions and we can identify psychiatric disorder well enough so that we can tell whether an improvement has occurred in a population or not.

Incidentally, I think that it is proper when you are thinking programwise, to talk about "mental health," but I think when you are talking about the phenomena that you want to identify and reduce or eradicate, it is easier and more concrete to talk about "mental illness" or psychiatric disorder."

Dr. Senescu, did you have something?

Dr. Senescu. Yes. Dr. Leighton, I would like to make a specific comment as an addendum to Dr. Ross and some of the other remarks.

For only four months now we have been concerned with this problem in Albuquerque and I think it is pertinent here that the first full-time person in the Department of Psychiatry is a social psychologist, who is quite experienced in "planning," whatever that may mean, and I think it might be worth mentioning that our preoccupation at the present time is two-fold.

One, we are finding—we want to talk about prevention and we immediately run into the problem that the most gross and most difficult problems are not being handled and that when you have acute T.B. to deal with it is difficult to spend as much time as one would wish in preventing, while one is busy handling the acute and actual problems.

And the second thing—we get so many socio-economic casualties, as it were, and the question is very much with us, why do we call these psychiatric problems; that is, do they have emotional difficulties, and so on. I mean to say, this is so obvious but it is something that is causing us at the present time to be preoccupied not only with the function and role of the psychiatrist, which is, thank goodness, being re-defined and broadened and so forth and so on, but on a very real level, what do we mean by mental illness?

Dr. ROSS. To me, one of the best analogies is to think of the whole area we are talking about in the same way we do about nutrition. Now, there are lots of ways in which this is just the same and the first way is, if you talk about nutrition everybody knows what other people ought to eat; you talk about mental health and everybody knows what ought to be done about it. They may not know this or that, but they know people and they all have their opinions as to how it should be done. But on the other hand, if you talk about what is needed, you can never be sure that all of the children who are getting orange juice today would be showing nutritional deficiencies if they had not gotten orange juice because there are so many other aspects of nutrition that have improved over the last fifty years. However, I think most of us feel that this was an area that did present something and we cannot prove that certain techniques of child care mean fewer distraught—I am not going to use the psychiatric terminology here—fewer distraught late adolescents. Most of us who have had something to do with these youngsters do feel that a different technique of school handling certain things in the social situation, would have made a difference so that they would not have been referred for psychiatric care when they were eighteen or so. The same thing happens as far as nutrition goes. It is not absolutely certain that every person following a certain pattern of eating will eventually show nutritional difficulties to the point where they will have to be seen in a hospital, but we have pretty good evidence that many of them will, so that to insist as to whether—those of you who have ever read "Science Is A Sacred Cow" will remember that one of the comments made is that proof that there are no ghosts has been offered because no scientist ever saw a ghost, but he suggests that perhaps a requisite to the appearance of ghosts is having no scientists present. [Laughter.] So I would offer that there are certain things in the way we go about this that maybe we need to look into the total picture and not try to say, "This case was prevented by this technique." I submit that I cannot even prove that you would have gotten smallpox if you had not been vaccinated, even if you were in the center of a smallpox epidemic, and I think that the point of this, of concentrating on the illness, yes, Dr. Senescu, but in addition to that, how can you ever lessen the weight of your acute cases, whether they be in mental hospitals or in T.B. hospitals, if you only attend to those who are acutely ill and say, "We do not have time to do anything else, we are so busy looking after the people we have allowed to get so sick that they need our care." And I am talking, when I say "we," of the total community, not just the medical profession, not just the psychiatrists.

Dr. SENESCU. I am just introducing a practical conderation. I agree with you.

Dr. LEIGHTON. May I assert the prerogatives of the Chair here a moment to say that I think there is perhaps inherent in the constitutional and temperamental dispositions of people—and brought out by cultural development—certain areas of interest—I myself have an interest in trying to understand what the facts of a situation are, which goes under the name of observational or descriptive science; other people are concerned to do something; and still others have experimental concerns—and it is, I think, perfectly clear that there are excellent programs which ought to be done whether we can prove they work or not. But in terms of the development of this meeting this morning and with a view to trying to some conclusions at the end, I would like to ask you to concentrate for a little while on one single question:

I take it there is unanimous agreement on the first question, that there is a need. Whether we define mental illness only in terms of psychosis or whether we define it more broadly, you are all agreed, I think, that there is a need for doing something to meet the mental illness picture among Indians.

Now, the second question, the one I would like to concentrate on until we have our coffee break, and really dispose of it before we do, is, what do we need to do in order to have a more adequate picture of the nature of this need than we now have? Everything that everybody has said here so far has given a piece, like a piece of a jigsaw puzzle, and has said, "Now, I think there is more," and it seems fairly obvious that nobody has at the present moment an accurate picture as to what the character of this need is among the Indians.

We can guess that low socio-economic people are high risk populations, and so on, but what do we need to do in order to ascertain the character of this target against which later on we will want to discuss the program steps to deal with it? What do we need to do in order to get the first basic information as to the character of this mental health, or mental illness problem among the American Indians? Gordon?

Dr. MacGregor. There is one other dimension that you haven't mentioned that I would like to touch on. This relates to some of the causes of mental illness that must be recognized in a program of prevention. These causes appear in the rather unique social environment of the Indians, different, I think, from any other group of people in the United States.

Dr. Leighton. Let me ask you: the question of cause sounds to me like something we ought to consider in terms of the program rather than how we can get at the question of how much disorder, of what type, distributed where?

Dr. MacGregor. Well, I would like to begin with the cause that comes not only from cultural deterioration but real cultural destruction among many of our Indian groups. There is on reservations a situation of semi-segregation, partly self-imposed by Indians, partly imposed by the nature of the reservation system and the approach that the Federal Government takes to Indian administration. This last is still rather authoritarian. When John Collier was Commissioner, a period which is being referred to as "the golden age of Indian Affairs," existed, much effort was made to give the Indians greater political authority. But in spite of this, much authoritarian pressure from Agencies is still being applied on Indian societies. This makes them feel far from being self-sufficient or independent. Among the Indians, on the other hand, there is a strong desire to stay together for reasons of security and of fear to go on the outside. There is also great dependency upon the Indian Bureau for life itself.

It seems to me, Alex, that before setting up any program it might be well to look at the relationships of the Bureau of Indian Affairs with the Indians and determine how much these contribute unintentionally or unconsciously to the problems of mental health and maladjustment. As a means of group therapy, I see a program of community action or group development needed for providing personal inter-relationships and a continuing process of education and social adjustment.

Dr. Leighton. I would like to reformulate my question again—and I am really paraphrasing what Mrs. Wauneka said here earlier:

How can we find out where psychiatric cases are and what kind of cases they are and how can we find out where the facilities are, whether the facilities are near or far or non-existent in relation to where the psychiatric cases are? And just for the moment let's take this the way Dr. Senescu was talking about it, serious emergency things that need prompt attention, and then let's say that is one, and number two is, how do we get at the still not so emergency, not so urgent, but nevertheless important impairing debilitating chronic milder things, and services for them? How do we get a map of where the problems are?

Dr. Fitz. I think you have a good index in the extent of the alcoholism problem which may have a direct relationship to the lack of effective programs in preventive psychiatry.

Dr. Leighton. How would you relate that to this problem?

Dr. Fitz. There is no other avenue.

Dr. Leighton. Could you explain that a little bit? I don't quite see it yet.

Dr. Fitz. Well, if you look at the problem of society in relation to preventive psychiatry, you get an index of the size of the problem by recognizing that there isn't any good preventive psychiatry. The only mechanism there is is alcoholism and, as you know, there is an equation and this is the way people solve particular problems and it is a very considerable thing.

Dr. Sasaki. If I were a scientist proper instead of a kind of researcher—I am not sure whether I am going to answer your question, but a question that has bothered me for a number of years now is trying to point out at what point there seems to be the anxieties developing. For example, if we take the school situation, is it the first year the child is at school that creates disturbances? We know that it does, but then we find these cases that need attention during the second or third year and I think if we generalize beyond this I would be sort of concerned at these different stages where a person may meet a cross-cultural situation that might create anxiety. We are still not quite sure where these points are with respect to the Indians. In other words, he enters into the boarding school maybe, leaving the reservation to face the outside world; or it may be another, changing employers; or it may be another. I am only raising this as a kind of question because of the scarce resources that we have. If we can identify these things within the social situation of the Indians in the broader social context, then we might be able to focus a program that will meet these particular needs of the person at a particular time.

Dr. LEIGHTON. Thank you. It seems to me that what you say is very important, that one institutional set-up which is open to reasonably easily ascertaining how much disorder there is, is the framework of schools, where Indians are at school, and this, of course, is a part of the population which is of national importance, namely the young people.So here is something from which one might be able to draw information as to how much and what kind of disorder and how it is distributed within the schools. Is that right?

Chairman MUSCHENHEIM. May I just make a suggestion in connection with the second part of your question, and that is not with the emergency problems—I should think these could be estimated through existing organizations—but with respect to the larger and more underlying problems, whether the answer isn't really to conduct the same sort of epidemiologic studies that were referred to earlier this morning and have been done in non-Indian populations, and on which the estimates have been based which we have actually been talking about this morning—I mean, referring back to the 20 or 25 per cent incidence mentioned as an estimate.

Dr. FOSTER. I would like to ask Dr. Wagner of the study proposed by the North Carolina School of Public Health to identify some of the problems in a change of culture is under way, or is proposed, and if this may go about identifying to some extent the degree of the problem of adjustment.

Dr. WAGNER. I think without a doubt that if a study were done of this type that it would identify from an operational standpoint the tools by which you could do something in the preventive field.

It has been axiomatic in my life that when I am amongst a bunch of experts in which it is their field and not mine, I keep my mouth shut, but I am so far divergent from what the philosophy, or what I interpret is the philosophy, here that I am going to be forced to say that I don't feel—or let me turn it around the other way:

In answer to Dr. Leighton's question, there is no difficulty at all in finding what the problem is. If you will give me a clear-cut definition of what constitutes the problem and the resources; give me the practical nurses, who are Indian nurses, who I can train to apply this, they can do an initial screening, reservation by reservation, in a routine, normal part of the total health program and identify those who, according to the criteria, are the problem and those who, by the criteria, aren't the problem; and then once they are identified epidemiologically in this manner, you can find the resources to apply the proper treatment, the specialized treatment, that is necessary. But I don't think this is going to be an effective program and I think it would be absolutely adverse to what you are trying to achieve, and that is a mental health program.

Now, why? If you choose a community where the concentration is upon the identification of odd balls, so to speak, people who stand out, people who are, abnormal, people who are different, you have got to be awfully careful in the criteria in the first place; and, secondly, you are going to alienate the community as an organizational group against the program because it is not a helpful program in their sense because people—there is so much in this definition and so much in the difficulty in defining what constitutes a problem and what doesn't constitute a problem that if you take it out of the organizational community in which it occurs, if you take it out of the community within which it occurs, then you have people who are not familiar with that community and the things that constitute the mores of that community and you simply add to the abnormal. It is like alcoholism. I have never seen, according to what my definition of alcoholism is, alcoholism among the Indians on the reservations. You see alcoholism—that is, in the form of chronic alcoholism that we see in everyday life around here—in Indians only when the Indian has passed beyond the identification as a member of a community group and has passed culturally into another environment. Now, what you see on the reservation is binge drinking. To me this is not alcoholism, this is a crutch. It is like backache in old men. It is a crutch that makes it possible for him to survive, a salvage that they have that explains why they have got a weakness and it is acceptable within the mores of that particular community environment in which they live. The Indian that goes on binge drinking, while he is drunk and while he is amongst his friends—he doesn't go off by himself and drink, he goes among his friends and then they drink and he is really happy, mental healthwise he is at his peak—while he is drunk—because all of the infringement and the impingement and the trauma that he is getting in the community, in trying to survive in that community when he is not drunk, are the things that are making him mentally health poor, as far as I am concerned.

Now, the question in a mental health program is how do you achieve what we are trying to achieve and that is to elevate the health status of the Indian to the highest possible level in the shortest possible time and at the least possible cost. Now, to do this we need to know two things. We need to be able to define it very clearly so anybody can understand it regardless of whether or not they are doctors, and we must know what the health status is now, and what will have occurred when it has reached its highest possible level. Therefore we have to define mental health in terms not only of individuals, but the individual in terms of the community, and the community in which you are elevating the mental health; and that is why I think Dr. Carter put his finger on the problem. You cannot accomplish this programwise with one single agency. It has to be a real critical thing. How well can you incorporate a mental health program so it is such an integral part of the total health program that it doesn't stand out any differently than preventive health, or curative services, or neurology services, or anything else like that; and where you organize your resources, both Federal, state and local, voluntary, and the Indian himself, in such a way that you are working in an organized manner to achieve a goal that you all understand and agree to.

As to the Indian community, one thing is different mental health-wise from the non-Indian community as a rule; namely that many an Indian community is actively seeking a mental health program as an organizational unit, whereas there are very few non-Indian communities which, as organized units, are trying to seek a program to elevate what they term mental health.

Now, Mrs. Janis can probably define mental health as it relates to what we are trying to achieve here much better than the rest of us can because she realizes what will have occurred if an Indian is mentally happy, if he is mentally well, what is happiness to an Indian; and if we are going to try—the program may not necessarily be the same kind of program as it would be if you were going to get a mentally happy Negro in Harlem or a mentally happy Irishman in Boston, or something of this sort. It may be an entirely different program.

Mrs. Janis: I want to raise just one question and then I will keep still, but this I know will be of interest in what is going on here because when my Indian people first raised the question of wanting a mental health program to our Health Committee organization they arrived at this themselves and they wanted me to raise the question of asking for a mental health program and when I raised the question and said, "We would like to have a mental health program," we were thinking in measures of preventive mental health and the very first thing thrown right back at me was, "Well, are you admitting that all your people are crazy?"

You see, these are some of the things that we have learned educationally and I still think that if we already have defined the problem and we see we have economic and social difficulties, we have social disintegration, we have lower educational levels, these are the problems we would like to approach by finding out in a mental health program what type of programs are available to us.

Now, we don't have any type of counseling whatsoever at the present time. We feel that counseling and approaching this on an educational basis would be the answer at the present time. We would like to see our people mentally healthy instead of worrying about the ones that are at the present time mentally sick, because there are ways of helping those people and yet we have a group that welcome the type of help that we feel a mental health program could give.

We went through a lot of confusion, we have had social differences already with living side by side with other people, but the majority of our people have been able to overcome this. Yet there are certain aspects of this program that I have mentioned that were mentioned in the beginning of the program that we feel very strongly—we feel that we would like to have an educational program in mental health more than anything else.

Now, I point this out because several years ago when the Public Health Service took over, the high rate of deaths from tuberculosis was something that we were startled when we found out. Prior to that no one was conscious of this in health needs, health education. Well, as the end result of learning that we had a high rate of tuberculosis, I can proudly say that that is one of the least of our worries now because we had a preventive program in tuberculosis and we conquered it.

We also feel at this early stage that if we could start learning about mental health, find the facilities that we could use, again ten years from now maybe we wouldn't have to worry about mental health, we will have something else. (Laughter) There will be some other disease that we will probably get (laughter), but here is the approach that we are making on this. I mean, we conquer one thing and then there is something else, and I am sure that as we become more acculturated we are going to have more problems.

Dr. **Leighton.** John?

Dr. **Adair.** I would like to return to what Dr. Sasaki and Dr. Wagner have said; it would seem to me that there is need of research in what we might call the pathway of the individual as he is growing up. Where does he run into trouble growing up as an Indian surrounded by non-Indians? Part of such a study, it would seem to me, would necessitate the study of urbanization, which, at the present time, is going on at a rapid rate. Dr. Hirabayashi of San Francisco State College, is studying Indians from all over the West in the Bay area and he is running into some intersting findings. One is that the better integrated the society from which the Indian comes, the better he makes out in San Francisco.

Now to turn to Dr. Wagner's point, there is certainly spree drinking on the reservation and there is also all-out drinking in the cities. What is the relationship between the two? It seems to me that one of the basic roots of the mental health problem of the American Indian is that he is essentially in what we might call a double bind. Like men everywhere, he is acculturating to Western society, and by Western society I am talking about 20th Century urbanized industrial society. Now, wherein does this differ from any other people anywhere? It differs in this one respect: his land, which is held in Federal trust, is closely associated in his mind with his religion, and his religion with his state of health—especially his mental health. The Navajo who becomes ill in San Francisco returns home for therapy to his medicine man. He is pulled in one way by economic forces and in the other by his religion, so obviously he is bouncing back and forth between these extremes.

Now, I don't think this is just an academic point. I think the trend of acculturation versus tradition sets in and runs counterclockwise to the religious beliefs which hold the community together on many basic points. It should be looked at basically in terms of research, and epidemiologically in terms of these pathways of the population.

Dr. **Forbes.** Dr. Leighton, I would like to say that I hope you will leave time enough for specific suggestions as to treatment. I have worked with medical out-patients for a number of years and we spend about nine-tenths of the time on diagnosis and one-tenth in treatment. It was not altogether wise. The patients went away not better. I hope we can spend time on the subject of treatment.

(The meeting was recessed briefly.)

Chairman **Muschenheim.** Well, I think we can now resume.

Dr. Leighton.

Dr. **Leighton.** To review very briefly:

We discussed the question of need and agreed there is a need.

Secondly, we discussed the question of whether the dimensions and character of this need can be ascertained. Dr. Wagner tells us that this is possible, that it is possible to make a reservation-by-reservation survey if the epidemiological techniques exist. I assure him that there are techniques in existence which do not expose the population imagining themselves the focus of a search for nuts. And secondly, that the techniques are adequate in terms of the first approximation kind of a job that is necessary here.

So I think that given the amount of interest there is in this meeting in talking about programs and remedial steps, we can leave the more technical aspects of it at this point and proceed over now to what programs you think would be beneficial, either in dealing with the acute and urgent case or for improving mental health—assuming, too, that we should keep a weather eye open on the problem of measuring whether these things are having the desired effect or not.

Dr. Wagner mentioned that one should want to do the most with the least money and I can think of no better way of doing this than being able to tell whether what he is doing is bringing in the result or not.

Dr. **Foster.** I would like to just mention briefly what I feel is a successful approach to mental health in an Indian community. This was done by a health educator in Gila Bend, a small Arizona community with about a hundred Indians. These people were probably in a state of complete community disintegration, there was no relation to the community itself, the people didn't know how to get help, there was essentially no communication among the Indians themselves. This health educator went into the community, was able to get the community interested, the adjacent community interested, and the people themselves, the newspaper editors as well as the social leaders, the service organizations in town, and developed an effective communication between the larger community and the small Indian group. In this way the people began to identify their own needs, began to request help on certain problems, began to answer certain of their own needs, began to request help on certain problems, began to answer certain of their needs themselves and the interest of the community also was extremely helpful in solving certain of the problems. In addition, the Bureau of Indian Affairs introduced a degree of adult education into this community and I think, if we had measured the level of mental health in this community over this period of time and continued to sample it, there is no question that this improved because of a catalytic agent in one person bringing various community organizations, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Welfare Department together in this community.

Dr. **Leighton.** This is a very graphic practical demonstration of the kind of thing that has been done in community development in numbers of places.

The table is open now for other concrete suggestions about programming. Mrs. Wauneka?

Mrs. **Wauneka.** Mr. Chairman, I would like to bring up a point. I don't know whether it is worth while to take into consideration or not, but I will throw it in anyway, because, as an Indian, we have problems of our own which I think still contribute to standards mentally maybe. I am not a specialist in anything but it just seems to me that an experience of mine—I don't know whether it is worth anything or not, but I would like to throw it out for information.

I am not criticizing any Indian tribe of any nature, but this is the experience that we have had for a number of years now and it is a problem, really, in connection with alcoholism. I am quite sure some of you have heard about it and maybe some of you are familiar with it, but I do not know. We know best our own people.

On the reservation our number one problem is alcoholism, as I have stated, and which I am quite sure is also true of other tribes. But there is another problem that has been created from discrepancies among the tribes and of course this connects with peyoteism and I am quite sure it causes mental confusion, too, and that is—I don't know whether I should call it an organization—I think it is an organized party—but it is a button called peyote, which has caused quite a bit of upset in the Navajo country and I don't know how this can be handled—I don't want any recommendations on it unless it is possible—but there is another group, another society, that has developed itself as a Navajo tribe and call themselves an organized peyote group and they go by different names, like Native American Church, and something like Navajo Rights Association, and this has been causing quite a bit of trouble on the reservation and it is going to continue and I am quite sure that there is going to be an increase, and this connects with alcoholism. They use both of them. They drink alcohol and they go ahead and use peyote, and to my way of thinking the experience that I have, I think this is contributing to mental illness in the Navajo country.

I don't know how it is going to be recognized. Everybody has just been quiet about it, nobody wants to discuss it. Every time it has been discussed, why, there is always an opposition rises from the other group. So this is another major source that I think is contributing to mental illness and I see that. I couldn't prove it as a profession, but there is—the Navajos themselves do talk about it and they do recognize it and it is even within the schools. We had a terrific problem last year at a school called Kinlichee School—that is on the reservation—and the employees called to our attention that peyote buttons were distributed to the children there at any age. They were even taken to the parties during the weekends and when the children are brought back they are very vicious, they don't want to attend school and they don't want to be bothered and, of course, when the matrons start to correct them, the actions that they have taken amongst their schoolmates there, why, they are afraid because the threat is there that the organization will take after these employees it they stop or say something about these children. So everything is just hush-hush, but the parents are the ones that are asking these questions why this is carried on in the Bureau schools and I am quite sure that this is true in the misson schools. The public schools are the only ones that will not stand for such an activity to be carried on because I know the Navajo public school very well and they will not allow any child to go to school if they do find out they are using peyote buttons, and even the employees are not allowed to work or to use the buses to travel if they find out they use peyote buttons.

This is the problem we have among ourselves over there. It is disgusting and now the Navajos are up at a point where they are a peyote-user or a non-user.

Dr. Forbes. Mrs. Wauneka, do the children—are they given the peyote themselves or is it an indirect effect upon the parents that you speak of?

Mrs. Wauneka. It comes from the parents. It is given to the child. I understand the children should not use the buttons, but they do use it. They even give it to the babies, I understand.

These are discussions that are among the Navajo people. It hardly gets out to the outside society. It is kind of kept very secretly, I understand, and it is a problem. It is a social problem and, as a leader, your attention is called to these matters and we always try to brush it off that it is not our duty to discuss it and that sort of thing, but it is a great problem.

I think this also contributes to social problems and, of course, mental problems. I don't know what can be done about it. It is a political thing. I understand there is a Congressman who tried to introduce a bill, but the opposition rose; but as the years go on people will know more about it and I am quite sure that they will try to do something about it, but at this moment nobody wants to do anything about it, but it is the destruction of the family, it destroys the family and the community and it is a problem. It is called the Native American Church, but when you go to a white man's church, why, there is a church, but there are no such churches on the reservation, but it is called a church, but it is disturbing and it has caused many destructions among the Navajo families and this is one thing that somebody has to keep their eyes open and I think it would be at a later time that it will be recognized as being something that we should have looked into to begin with, but it is pretty hard now.

I will leave this information with you, because I have this experience with the tribe on the Navajo Reservation. It is very hard to put your finger on but it does cause a mental disturbance.

This I would like to throw out for whatever it is worth. I am not saying that this needs to be looked into, but this is a problem we have, and I am quite sure it is amongst other tribes, but I understand the Hopi tribes will not stand for it. They just tell their tribe not to introduce it.

At Mescalero, Apache, I have asked them the same question and they said it was introduced at one time, but they have gotten out of the way of using it because there was so much trouble; and I understand the United Pueblos in Albuquerque are against it. They say you don't want to accept it and this is one thing that is contributing to mental ills, I am sure, where they use both the liquor and the peyote, and this is the problem that we begin to notice and we have it and we are going to have it, I am quite sure, for a long time.

Miss Hoey. If we are going to do really preventive work, it is really with those young children. I mean, have we really any kind of good information? For example, studies elsewhere have revealed some very interesting information about patterns set at the age of about eight or nine. Now they are talking about symptoms that are recognized at six years of age and can see that coming. Do we not now have to wait until people get to be psychotic or alcoholic? But let's see what the trends are that way and what preventive job can be done in terms of the treatment of children. That is the only way, after all, fundamentally, that we are going to get to do a better job.

Dr. Leighton. I think we are having an interesting round now in putting our finger on various specific things and maybe there are some more. Mrs. Janis?

Mrs. **Janis**. The Native American Church is a recognized church in our area and I would say that many of those people are much better adjusted than we are. This is a sacred religion to a lot of the tribes and I don't think that in a mental health program that we ought to go off on a tangent over it. Maybe the Navajos have that problem. All right, if they have a problem they can approach it from their own tribal view, but I cannot speak the same for my people because it is a religion and I do work with a lot of those people and they are fine people and I don't find them as mentally upset as a lot of the other people who have other religions. I just had to express my view. I cannot sit here and not say this, knowing this and working with the people.

Dr. **Dorothea Leighton**. The peyote in itself isn't the main thing, it is how it is used. If it is integrated into the cultural picture in a positive kind of a way, it may work, but if it is integrated with alcoholism of course this just makes it all the worse.

Dr. **Leighton**. This is a regional problem, it seems to me, as you point out.

What other problem areas do we have and what remedial steps should we be taking?

Dr. Senescu, do you want to say anything about how you feel the more emergency sort of situation could be better met than it is at present?

Dr. **Senescu**. Well, of course, Dr. Ross and I were chatting about the form of prevention that most of us do. In the short time, of course, we find—and I am sure it is old hat to many of you people—the problem of just simple interpretation, of being able to communicate, to have someone know the language, and so forth and so on.

I myself, of course, have been very impressed—and it is probably the world has been too much with us on this—that prevention cannot be effective as far as I am concerned unless we can handle some of the problems here and now. We have to do both, and I get concerned at times with the neglect of the here and now, you know, in terms of thinking, taking the larger view, and I think that we can nip the larger view by being too preoccupied with the here and now—again, that is with us all—but I do find first things first and I think the facilities for the acute situation are poor, which I think then makes the preventive work that much harder. I think they are poor not only for the Indian but for the non-Indian as well. Perhaps I express my own bias, but I am a little concerned about the here and now.

Dr. **Leighton**. Do you have any specific suggestions as to how this could be remedied?

Dr. **Senescu**. Well, I think it is very interesting that we had to come two thousand miles to meet Mrs. Wauneka, which is long overdue from our point of view.

I think the bread and butter thing—we need more facilties, we need to get down to cooperation rather than sit talking about it. We have, for instance, no out-patient facilities and transportation is a very, very serious problem. We have had some ingenious ideas about how to deal with them in a practical manner but none of them have been able to be implemented yet.

I agree with Dr. Ross. I think the psychiatrist is not the answer but to, again, provide the facilities for communication with the nurse, with the social worker, and to get these people, and then to organize them in a fashion is something that we see as our crying need. These comments are all very general.

Dr. **Adair**. I would like to ask a question of Dr. Wagner—perhaps I missed some points earlier.

Would it be helpful, Dr. Wagner, if a study were made of where manpower is and where it is not and where communities are that are rapidly disintegrating; so then perhaps on an epidemiologic basis, work can proceed which will help to really pinpoint the problem more precisely. Such a survey might be like that made in Public Health in 1954.

Dr. **Wagner**. Well, again, I am operation-oriented and in the first place a considerable amout of knowledge is already on hand. We know where the reservations are located, we know the resources that are available for the treatment of acute cases, we know that we are making maximum use of those resources and the only thing that limits our further use of them is the lack of trained personnel.

If you will give me a medical social worker on every single reservation I will increase the amount of services the Indian gets by several hundred per cent with no increase in the Federal Budget, because we duplicate in many instances resources that are on hand purely because we lack the trained personnel on the reservation who can maximize the utilization of these.

Now, secondly, I don't think personally we need more knowledge epidemiologically to implement a mental health program on the reservations, at least at a degree of sophistication which will be extremely helpful at this time. Now, at some time or other, to reach the maximum of sophistication in this program, a very sophisticated collection of data is going to have to be achieved.

Dr. **Leighton**. Well, won't it be necessary to make a base line before you start your program?

Dr. **Wagner**. Not operationally we won't because it is just absolutely impossible from an operational standpoint, in my opinion, to implement a total, comprehensive mental health program for the Indian from Point Barrow down to the Everglades, even if we had all the resources available.

Dr. **Leighton**. But in the area where you are going to put in a program, don't you need some kind of base line?

Dr. **Wagner**. Absolutely. I think that that knowledge that we need to implement the program at first, to reach a degree of sophistication that we think we are operationally capable of, we have that knowledge on hand—or will have or will have the capabilities of obtaining it at the time we are ready to implement it.

Now, as you go higher and higher in your degree of sophistication in your mental health program you are going to have not only to identify data but you are going to have to develop new tools, I think, to analyze those data in terms of effective operational programs—the need of research.

Dr. **Cobb**. Out of the discussion there comes to my mind one program that might be worked out at a relatively modest expense: In schools where achievement can easily be measured, where frequency of psychiatric disorders can be relatively easily measured and where other measures could be devised for evaluating the mental health, it might be possible to set up a controlled study of the effectiveness of different approaches.

For example, one school might have a program which would develop the participation of the community in the school itself, so that the parents would be aware of what is going on in the school and be involved in developing a community spirit in support of the school.

Another might develop the orientation of personnel in the school toward the Indian problems.

Another might be concerned with peyote—this is apparently being done in some public schools already.

Another might be tackling the problem of overcrowding.

There are various things that could be done in specific schools. With a base line before and a measurement afterwards, it seems to me we could get some very important data on the effectiveness of some of the programs that have been suggested. This might then be useful, not only for Indian schools, but for schools all over the world. I think that the developing countries all over the world—I am particularly familiar with Pakistan—are feeling a great need for knowledge in this area: What is the best way of educating large groups of people in a hurry and what are the problems you are going to run into and how can you avoid these problems? We can learn much from the Indian education program here, which would be applicable elsewhere.

Dr. **Leighton**. Dr MacMahon, did you wish to say something?

Dr. **MacMahon**. I wanted to write an introduction to these recommendations for specific programs along the line that Dr. Dorothea Leighton, I think, was referring to earlier this morning. There are a great many things that should be done for their own sake—improve socio-economic conditions, occupational status, education, obstetrics, give measles vaccine, and so forth. All these things will, I am sure, have a yield in terms of less mental illness and, in my opinion, as a matter of fact, they will far out-weigh in effect anything specifically directed to mental illness. But these are things which are done for their own sakes—get rid of poverty because you don't like poverty, not because poor people are mentally ill. One of the justifications for doing these things may be in terms of the improvement of mental health but there are others more compelling, and I have not been thinking of them as part of the mental health program. We can, however, stress the importance of this kind of activity to the mental illness problem.

Dr. **Leighton**. Gordon?

Dr. **MacGregor**. I would just like to bring to your attention the possibilities of the resource that is coming out of the President's current Poverty Program. I suppose that within the next year or two some ten million dollars will be expended on community action programs among Indians alone. Many Indian communities within reservations, and reservations councils are already beginning to make requests for health education, and so forth.

I don't recall, in seeing any of these programs, that one has ever mentioned these problems of mental health and mental illness. It is an area which might be brought to the attention of the new Office of Economic Opportunity. I think it would be much better if it came from an outside organization than from the Bureau itself, because this is being a very independently operated activity.

Dr. Ross. Dr. Leighton, a few more specific suggestions:

I have already expressed my base line, my philosophy, and I think I would like to offer five specific areas in which something could be done and I shall begin with the acute cases and the first would be:

To examine the laws relative to the acceptance of Indians for the kind of treatment and care which the citizens of any state have available, and the techniques of commitment. These are very important barriers that are causing trouble in certain areas.

Second, I think that there ought to be made available within the various health programs that are available to Indians and to all other people, but we are talking about Indians, consultative services relative to just what Dr. MacMahon has said: the effect emotionally, organically and all other ways, of some of the illnesses which are prevalent and which might be preventable and how this affects some of the problems which are coming to the attention of those who are concerned with acute cases.

Third, since they are easily found and available, there ought to be counseling services—the thing that Mrs. Janis has been talking about—available to boarding schools beginning with the First Grade instead of talking about educational procedures and ultimate job locations just for the older children. Within the First Grade, according to the people who have talked to me, and who know—which I do not—in the First Grade there are often evidences of confusion, difficulty, which, if noted at that time and attended to in just the same way you pay attention to the fact that they need dental care, if this were available in the boarding schools, you would have a different group of graduates. Now, I am not saying they are all going to obey all the laws and be well-behaved and raise big families that are all equally healthy, but I do think you are going to have fewer adolescent problems of adjustment and of ultimate job availability for jobs, and so on, if we attended to them as they begin school, having to do with education, with drop-outs, the kinds of stories that you can pick up if you talk fifteen minutes with any of the BIA boarding school people. They just run them through.

The fourth thing is the counseling available to young marrieds, the young people who are getting married. This also includes, as one of the Public Health nurses related to one of the boarding schools told me, that she felt that they had a captive audience in the adolescent girls, but they had never used this to teach them about—again going back to Dr. MacMahon's statement—the general health care which is necessary in looking after children, the general principles of family health care. These things were not taught to the adolescent girls and yet they were—incidentally, boys are much more important in families than we usually say, and I don't see any reason why the adolescent boys couldn't be taught exactly the same thing. I was very much impressed in a recent visit to one of the Public Health Service Indian hospitals, to see how many young fathers sat waiting, in the same discomfort as everybody else, while their children were to be examined in the Well Baby Clinic, and the young fathers were there, and this is a wonderful opportunity to work with adolescent boys and adolescent girls, who are probably going to get married pretty shortly, and those who have gotten married, regarding the general problems of health, including mental health, in a family setting. This also, I think, could relate to the other problem which Mrs. Janis has mentioned this morning and had told me about before and this is the desertion of children by these young couples.

The fifth thing: I would wonder. I would wonder if there is not a place for a conference on Indian mental health in which the representation from the tribal groups is not quite so much of a minority representation as is usually represented and as is here evident.

We are talking from our various standpoints as non-Indians about what they should do, what we could do for them, et cetera, and it is my impression that they have an awful lot of good ideas of their own if we ever gave them an opportunity to present them.

Dr. Leighton: Thank you. That was very helpful.

Mr. Carter: Mr. Chairman, I apologize for speaking again, but I would like to follow up because this is so near the thing that has been worrying me, and it was referred to here a minute ago and touched upon, about Gila Bend, and I hope we will at least keep this aspect in the hopper.

If it is true, as we have heard said—and I think it is—that a good deal of the mental disorder and mental difficulties stem from social and community dissociation and a sense of worthlessness and probably a sense of *not counting*, which leads Indian people, as I believe, so often to the binge drinking, which Dr. Wagner refers to, as an escape from this sense of frustration and fatality, that we must not discount I think, the therapeutic value, and certainly the preventive value, of the involvement of people in their own decision-making, in community planning, of the most elementary nature even, in which they can experience even the smallest of successes—I don't care how small they are, they are important and they can lead to the larger successes a little bit later. Now, this might mean nothing, but succeeding in bringing about the electric light in the public school house, or even something less than this—now, the Federal Government or TVA or some other agency can build a good system in an Indian building but it will not mean so much to the Indian people, but if they have done something about it themselves to the degree that they can realize that they do have some power within themselves and they do amount to something, then the next step will come a little more easily. Now, this is pure community development as we see it in our daily work and we have become quite involved in it.

Dr. Wagner: Mr. Chairman, may I endorse what Mr. Carter has said, because I think we can state without equivocation the fact that every significant health advancement the Indian has achieved has been where the Indian himself is taking the primary responsibility for planning and assuming a job in that health endeavor. The sanitation and water supply construction program, everywhere the Indian has taken a very active role in planning these, it has been successful; where the Indian didn't take it and where we went into the reservation and put it on there without any consultation with the Indian, it has been completely valueless.

Dr. Leighton: Of course, I know there have been a number of projects which the Public Health Service, the Division of Indian Health has already been carrying out along the lines of the discussion here. The Flandreau project is one, there may be others, and I wondered if Dr. Wagner or Dr. Kasuga, or someone else who is familiar with these projects in the Public Health Service could tell us a little bit about what is already going on?

Miss Andrews, would you be the one?

Miss Andrews. The Flandreau project is a project that was really not started by the Indian people themselves. I think the Shiprock project would probably be closer to something that they themselves have started. The people who have problems with excessive use of alcohol have repeatedly asked the doctor in charge of the Shiprock Indian Hospital for treatment. They themselves feel the need of something. So that project has been going on for about five years now and it is evaluated every so often.

There are some questions about the evaluating criteria that have been used but so far we feel the program has been very successful in that over 50 per cent of the people who have been sent for treatment to the Turquoise Lodge in Albuquerque have remained sober since that treatment.

There are some other projects that have been developed as a result of pressure from the Indians themselves. I think the Gallup Antabuse Project is the result of a request that another treatment be tried out besides Turquoise Lodge.

Let's see—I can't think of any others that originated with the Indians but there are some more listed in the study of which you have copies.

Dr. Sasaki. If I might mention another one, I think it has grown from the Mental Health Congress that was held and is a project which is in existence at the Albuquerque boarding school, where a team of social workers, sociologists and psychiatrists are working together to give counseling sessions to the counselors and at this point they are in the evaluation stage, but they are very much concerned about what to do with the data they have gotten in the community from which these students have come. In other words, the focus until very recently was within the boarding school environment itself and at this point they are trying to extend their work into the various communities.

Dr. Leighton. Dr. Kasuga?

Dr. **Kasuga.** I don't know any other well planned program but the Chemawa Indian School has had some problems with the mixture of Navajo children and Eskimos. I don't know whether you know the Chemawa Indian School or not, but it is in Oregon and was set up recently, within the last ten years, for Navajo children and as the number of Navajo children decreased the vacancies were filled by Eskimo children and they have had quite a bit of difficulty there because of the two different groups attending the same school. They had some competition in regard to athletics and school work and, having had a little bit less opportunity for education in Alaska, the Eskimo children suffered a little bit more and because of this—I don't know the numbers—but because of this quite a bit of strain was suffered by the Eskimo children and a number of them came down with acute mental and emotional disturbance and some even came down with acute bleeding gastric ulcers—in children in their teens. This is quite unusual. So the local mental people have given some support, but I can't tell you the exact program.

Could you Marion?

Miss **Andrews.** There has been a report written on what they have been doing at Chemawa. They have been providing therapeutic services. A private psychiatrist located in a nearby town has been giving therapy and at the same time has been trying to orient the academic and the management personnel of the school to some of the needs of the youngsters. In addition, there has been a report written by one of the doctors and a couple of the social workers on the use of the Cornell Medical Index as a possible index of the youngsters who may develop serious signs of maladjustment. I think that study is still going on, but there has been a preliminary study written which has been published.

Dr. **Leighton.** I think it is very heartening and very impressive, the amount of work that has been launched by the Public Health Service in these directions. I think the start that has been made is very impressive.

I overlooked you, Mrs. Janis, a while ago, because I wanted to pursue this question of what was going on.

Mrs. **Janis.** What I have to say, Dr. Leighton, is in regard to what Mr. Carter said about Indian people taking part and interest in their area, this is exactly what happens. We are the only Indian people, I think, throughout the United States that are at this time a chartered organization, Lakota T.B. and Health Association. We started out with an existing T.B. control program but once we felt that that was under control there were so many other problems that we had to change the name and a year ago in March we became a chartered organization and since then we have had various studies made and we have also worked on various problems that have developed on our reservation. We had a program on alcoholism. Our infant mortality rate was so bad that we made a study of that and also came up with a pre-natal and post-natal program that we are still working on at the present time, and that is how we finally arrived at mental health.

And so in speaking I am speaking for about thirteen tribes when I am sitting here telling you what we Indian people want.

Recently I went to Fort Totten, in North Dakota, to organize the Health Committee there—we are also in the process of trying to organize one in Lame Deer, Montana—but some of the things that we feel are problems that we come up against, lack of coordination with our State Departments in some of these problems that they are involved in, and also we feel that we could use the help of the clergy now in our own local communities in a lot of these problems and we would also really love to see some regional people when we hold these meetings come to our meetings if they are within our region and give us the technical assistance we need, and we certainly feel that—well, Dr. Ross said that, a conference on mental health, sponsored by Indian people certainly should be the next step and I think that is why I am so aware of our needs in a mental health program.

I have worked with this group now for ten years. I started in 1955. We Oglala Sioux had our own voluntary health committee before Public Health Service came in and the end result was that our people have gotten many, many more services because we already were concerned and knew what we wanted and I think if we can get this message over to our Indian tribes, the progress will be so much faster than it ever was, because I can say today I am very proud of what we have been able to do.

Dr. **Leighton.** This is very exciting.

Mrs. Janis. And I just bring this in because I still think it has got to be done with the leadership of the Indian people.

Dr. Leighton. Mrs. Forbes?

Mrs. Forbes. I wanted to bring up a point that Miss Hoey spoke about. She said that at the age of six you could identify children that were going to become delinquent. Now, it seems to me that we should push education back into the nursery school. The child is then malleable and you can also prepare him for the school experience which he is going to get into, which is always difficult, and you have the young parents as a sort of captive audience that you can work on and I hope that this can be thought about.

Dr. Leighton. Mr. Deloria?

Mr. Deloria. I am working with the South Dakota State Department of Health on a mental health program throughout the state and I would like to echo something that Mrs. Janis said: In organizing local planning groups throughout the state, we find that we can't begin until we get our non-Indian people as interested as the Indian people in doing some of the planning. The Indian people are ready to go. The state is a little reluctant to come to grips with the mental health problem of the Indian people because we don't know what questions to ask. A part of our approach in determining the mental health problems in the state has something to do with the various indices of social disorder but, as has been said today, when dealing with Indian people I dont know if you can gauge these problems using the same scale. For instance, problem drinking among Indians as related to alcoholism. I don't believe that the very high percentage of Indian people in the State Penitentiary means that this is a legitimate index of social disorder that points to some mental health problem from which the usual conclusions can be drawn. We in the state don't know what questions to ask the Indian people because we don't feel that the knowledge has been made available to us to cut across these cultural lines. That is what we want to know, to get some idea of how to deal with cultural problems.

Dr. Leighton. The Gila example shows impressively how with limited resources, in fact resources limited to a catalyst, it is possible nevertheless to do a great deal. It has been shown by many studies that in most states rural areas have far more services available than they make use of, in education and in welfare and in health, and one of the problems is that people don't know about what is available, so they don't ask for it. Because they don't ask for it, they don't get it, and one of the great functions that a person can perform in promoting community development, and with this mental health development, is just this matter of acting as a catalyst to bring existing forces together at the right time at the right place with the right people.

I wonder if there are any more examples of this sort of thing known to the members of the Conference here that it would be important to bring out on the table at this time?

Miss Andrews. Dr. Ross is too modest to tell about this herself so I will say it for her:

One of the Northwest groups was much interested in learning more about where do you go for certain information and what is the nature of this mental health problem. Through the Division of Indian Health they asked for a consultant to be sent to help them hold a workshop so that more of them could understand the nature of mental illness, mental health, alcoholism, and how they all tie in together. They held their workshop under Dr. Ross' leadership. She stimulated such interest that the people are still working on developing their resources and on securing more information; furthermore, they are asking for a repeat so that more of their members can take advantage of this type of exchange of information and of additional orientation to the resources and the problems of the community.

Dr. Leighton. I see that the hour is advancing. Are there some important points that haven't come up that someone would like to bring out at this time?

Dr. Forbes. I have just one question, on the subject of cooperation between the Indians and the surrounding population.

Dr. Leighton. We shake hands on that.

Dr. Forbes. I wonder whether we have gotten around to asking the Indian people what they want. I think we have told them what we think they should tell us, but I wonder whether we have really got around to asking what they want.

Voices. Here, hear!

Dr. Leighton. I will suggest that that be done.

Dr. Fitz. I would like to ask Mrs. Wauneka.

Mrs. WAUNEKA. Mr. Chairman, I am quite sure some of you do know that the approach to the Indian problem is always—it is different, and I am sure Mrs. Janis will agree with me that the approach is always different and the decision that has to be made and the acceptance of the program may be similar but to catch the attention of the Indian leaders and present to them what the problem is—they are always willing to listen to the problem, they always want to know at least why the problem is there. They like to be told why the problem is there et cetera and then, of course, it goes that far and to gear the program into action is something else. They have to be accepted by the Indian groups themselves. Of course, I represent 104,000 Navajos and it is the largest population of Indians in the United States and of course we have other agencies that we have to work with, like the Bureau of Indian Affairs, that was mentioned here, and the relationship between the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the tribe, and we have another Governmental agency that we deal with, which is the United States Public Health Service, the Division of Indian Health, and of course we have to deal with the states, if they are interested in their citizens. Of course, Arizona is kind of reluctant to come forward. New Mexico is the only one that is willing to listen to our problems and given assistance as it needs to be, so those are the things that we need to deal with and it is really awfully hard to tell the Navajo people, "Just what do you want as far as mental health services are concerned?" I don't think they know very much about it. I don't think they are familiar with it. They will do in their own way, but as recognized by the doctors it is another thing, so these are what we have to deal with and it is going to take a lot of discussion for the Indian people to accept some of these programs, I am quite sure. The rest of them are quite happy to accept some of these programs because, talking about technicians here, of course we need to have those people to guide these programs for our benefit. I don't know when we are going to do this ourselves, but we always need some kind of technical assistance to show us that these are the health defects that we need to focus our attention to. We all have to come together and come to grips with these problems. It is really a problem to come forth with what we think we need because at the end there is always money involved.

Dr. LEIGHTON. Dr. Wagner?

Dr. WAGNER. I would like to supplement Annie's remarks because she is real modest about this. This is something I think is not well known outside the Indian field and that is that to be successful the program at the service unit level, at the reservation level, has to be presented not only to the tribal government in the planning stage, but you must identify the leadership or potential leadership in the community and spend the time and effort to go to them and state exactly what you think needs to be done and how you are going to go about it and how they are going to measure that you did it. Then if you do this, it is amazing the leadership that does come up, in the Mrs. Waunekas and the Mrs. Janises and John Wooden Legs, and these types of people.

Annie would be suffering today in the Navajo with the same tuberculosis problem they had fifteen years ago if she personally hadn't participated in a T.B. program and been convinced that what was proposed could be done and when it was done it ought to be measured and it was she that achieved the reduction in tuberculosis there; and Mrs. Janis did it up in the Sioux country and John Wooden Legs did it on the Northern Cheyenne Reservation and every single person on the Northern Cheyenne Reservation had to come in for an X-ray.

Now, this is a real tremendous thing that we take credit for in the Public Health Service, but we had nothing to do with it directly and could never have accomplished it—and never did accomplish it before this type of thing happened.

Now, the other aspect I think important is that the Indian tribe or tribal council is legally entitled to participate in the program that is planned for them. It is the only beneficiary group I know of that has the budgetary confidentiality exemption. In other words, the '66 Budget, until the President puts it into Congress's hands is confidential and can't be discussed outside the Government, with the exception of the Indian. The Indian participates in developing the '66 Budget. As far as I know throughout the Government this is the only user who has the legal authority to do this and the Agency has the accountability to see that it is done. Now, we don't do it to the extent that we should and every time we don't, we fail, we waste resources, we don't accomplish goals, and every time we fail to achieve an objective when we haven't done this, we are in trouble because we set the program back then for a long time and it is hard to move when we want assistance.

Dr. FORBES. I should like to make just one point. The Northern Cheyennes have started a little local newspaper and that facilitates communication.

Dr. LEIGHTON. Thank you, Dr. Forbes.

I have the task of summarizing for you some of the main points that we covered this morning but before doing that I want to make a couple of comments on the linkage between development programs and mental health, or, turning the coin to its other side, psychiatric disorder. This is a point several people have made this morning but I would like to give it a little graphic development.

Let us take a specific example, West Africa, and pick at random a village and then go into the village, and pick at random a person. You find that this is a man who years ago had a job as a civil servant, who got into a series of difficulties with people, suspecting that they were operating against him, and eventually got fired, came back to the village and has been living there every since, periodically causing trouble in the village by his belief that witches are after him. On a random basis you pick out a woman, who has five children who have died and she has two children now, one of whom is an infant and suffering from malnutrition, suffering from kwashiorkor. This woman has crying spells, she can't sleep, she wakes up early in the morning, her appetite is shot, and she feels so lacking in energy and so low in her mood that it is very difficult for her to get around and do the day's work.

Now, when we say 15, 20 per cent of the population have psychiatric disorder, these are the kind of people who make up these numbers.

Now, let's take another one. Let's go to one that is within our province, an Eskimo village in Alaska, and again in a random way put our finger on somebody. This is a young woman in her early twenties. This girl, it turns out, is emotionally unstable. She has uncontrollable fits of temper, she also drinks heavily, consumes beer, and she has episodes in which she gets into fights, not only with other girls of her own age but she takes off her belt and beats people with the heavy buckle and in this way she has beaten her mother, her mother-in-law and her husband. The Eskimos regard her as a screwball. They don't send her to the mental hospital but they think there is something wrong with her.

Now, if you are trying to establish an agricultural co-op in that first African village, this man who thinks that people are against him, who is always seeing plots, is not going to be a very constructive member of any committee that you might want to put him on.

If you were trying to develop a program of improved nutrition for children, this woman who is waking early and having crying spells and can't think very clearly, although she has the children who need the help, is not in very good shape to co-operate. It takes more than a little education, it takes more than a little bit of money spent to reach through to a person who is in that frame of mind. This is especially true when you realize that in kwashiokor, children have edema and the malnourished child is swollen up with fluid and the first thing that happens when you start feeding him an adequate diet is that he loses the fluid and for the first time parents see how skinny he is and this scares the daylights out of them so they take him off the high protein diet, and put him back on the other diet so he will get edematous and fat-looking again. To get your knowledge across to a person who is in this frame of mind is very difficult and it takes more than just information. It takes a technique of education and it takes an understanding of the point of view of people in this position.

And I submit to you that this Eskimo girl I have described who swings the belt around is not going to make a very good member of a homemaker's group. [Laughter.]

But if you look at development programs, these are the kinds of things they founder on, and if you look at mental health surveys you will find what they are giving you percentagewise are the numbers of people who have feelings and attitudes, and so on, that count in terms of mounting programs. So it is a circular relationship. It is not only that development will help relieve poverty, which will help relieve mental illness, but a direct attack, too, on mental illness will help put people in a position where they can better deal with their poverty and deal with the opportunities that are offered to them.

One of the characteristics of the Appalachian type person is that when you offer them a handle to pull themselves out of the difficulty they are in, they are incapable of taking hold of it and this is one of the most fundamental problems of people who have had a long experience of a disintegrated environment.

So the relationship is circular, and as is the case with anything that is circular one must attack it on several different parts of the curve rather than do one thing only.

Well, coming now to a brief summary of today's deliberations, the first thing that we discussed was the needs, and there was general agreement that these are large, and that they were divided essentially into two parts, the acute and the chronic.

The acute needs, it was felt, are not being met in every place where they occur. There may be some division of opinion on this but there were certainly a number of people here who felt the acute needs are not being met in terms of the services available.

With regard to the chronic, less impairing but more perduring type of psychiatric disorder I think there is no disagreement among our group that these are in need of attention and, if possible, preventive measures.

We then discussed the problem of how we can map this need and get a better picture of it so we will know better how to deal with it and several suggestions were made. One was that the school system presents an opportunity (as well as a particular part of the population which is of great importance) where one could conveniently assess the mental health picture.

Another point was that a survey could actually be done, Dr. Wagner suggests, on a reservation-by-reservation basis if it could be a survey couched in such terms that health visitors or practical nurses could do it.

Then finally there is the possibility of mapping in terms of known treatment figures.

This business of mapping the amount of disorder and where it is distributed and what kind it is was thought to have importance in shaping programs, but also of major importance in establishing base lines against which the effect of programs might be gauged later on.

A third topic dealt with causes and theories of causes of psychiatric disorder, because these, obviously, if they are causes then they are targets for attack and in this connection alcoholism was mentioned, partly as a symptom of psychiatric disorder, partly as a cause itself of disorder.

Peyote was mentioned in the Navajo Reservation as a problem that has some causal relationship to disorder.

And then a good deal has been said about confusions and disorientation of children and young people in boarding schools, the consequences on children of child neglect, which is an emerging problem in some Indian families, the well-known problem of cultural conflict and the disintegration of people who leave one culture but don't quite get on board of another one, and the conflict between two different sets of values—this was mentioned as being important in the cause of psychiatric disorder.

The particular position of the Indian in his "double-bind" was mentioned and the consequences of federalization of Indians, and the special problems that raises.

Then a good deal of attention and thought was given to pointing out that many of the things which make the Indian a high-risk population, many of the probable causes, are not particularly Indian but are shared by many other populations in the United States. We are thinking here about poverty and low educational level.

It was also mentioned that the Indian Service policy in relation to the Indian may have unintentional aspects that foster the maladjustment of the Indian.

Finally, turning to program ideas, one suggestion has been made for the development of integrated community health centers where all different aspects of health would be focused, mental health included. We would have teachers and health educators and clergy and leaders of the Indian people involved in such programs.

Emphasis was given on certain things that have to be done here and now, that we shouldn't get so wrapped up in long-range views that we forget to do some of the immediate things and similarly that we shouldn't get so wrapped up in the here and now that we forget the long-range. We have the task both of bailing the boat and the task of fixing it and caulking it at the same time.

The program should be aimed at improving the facilities for in-patient Indians and out-patients. For any Indian from a reservation like the Navajo, where English is not widespread, going to a state hospital means linguistic isolation. This raises very special problems, but there is also the problem of improving the out-patient services and there are terrific logistic problems because of the distances involved.

It was mentioned a number of times that many of these things can be done but what is outstandingly needed to do them is trained personnel. This poses the question of trained personnel.

The school was mentioned again as the most practical focus for a program aimed at improving health, practical because it has an important clientele, it is in a framework in which things can be done and it is within a framework in which base lines can be laid and the effect of the program can be measured. I might also add it is probably one where control studies can be done in the sense that other schools that don't have that particular kind of program can be used for comparison.

It was mentioned a number of times that anti-psychiatric disorder projects should be tied in with programming on poverty, economic and industrial development, and employment projects and projects concerned with moving the Indians off the reservation into the urban areas.

The importance of removing legal barriers in certain areas was mentioned. This was the first of the five points that Dr. Ross made, which seemed to me very succinct and relevant. She mentioned the importance of consultative services regarding those illnesses which have a bearing on psychiatric disorders, all the debilitating types of diseases.

Also counseling services to schools from the First Grade on, not just advising children on careers or occupations but counseling with regard to the intraschool problems from the first year on, counseling adolescents and counseling young married people.

It was suggested that we should consider seriously some kind of a conference, whether annual or not I wasn't quite clear, but anyhow a conference on mental health which would be attended by tribal representatives.

And finally a number of people laid emphasis on the importance of the involvement of the Indians and Indian representatives in any program of development, not only so that the Indian leaders could participate and make sure the program made sense according to their needs and cultures, but also so that even down to the grass roots people would participate and get an increased sense of their own worth in so doing.

I am sure this is not an adequate summary, but it runs over some of the high points.

And I will turn the meeting back to Dr. Muschenheim.

(Chairman Muschenheim resumed the Chair.)

Chairman MUSCHENHEIM. Thank you, Dr. Leighton.

I think we would all agree that the subject of mental health has been explored this morning in very considerable depth and not only Dr. Leighton's leading of the discussion but his very succinct summary I think has placed a lot of knowledge into focus that will be helpful not only, I hope, to Dr. Wagner and his Division but also to others, including tribal Health Committees and other groups that are active in the communities themselves.

We are very grateful to you, Dr. Leighton, and to all of you who have participated in the discussion.

We will reassemble here at two o'clock and I hope that this will give us all time for an adequate lunch in the meanwhile.

We have not arranged any group lunch but I think places will be found right within the hotel where we can all get at least a snack.

(The meeting was adjourned at twelve fifty-five o'clock.)

Indian Health Committee of the American Academy of Pediatrics Meeting With the Division of Indian Health, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Public Health Service, Bureau of Health Services

Albuquerque, New Mexico, May 22–24, 1968

AMERICAN ACADEMY OF PEDIATRICS, MEMBERS PRESENT AT THE COMMITTEE ON INDIAN HEALTH MEETINGS

Harris D. Riley, Jr., M.D., Chairman, Indian Health Committee, Professor and Chairman, Department of Pediatrics, University of Oklahoma, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73104.

Allyn G. Bridge, M.D., Associate Professor, Maternal and Child Health, School of Public Health, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455.

Phillip L. Calcagno, M.D., Professor and Chief, Department of Pediatrics, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. 20007.

Sidney R. Kemberling, M.D., Pediatric Consultant, Phoenix DIH Area Office, 116 North Tucson Boulevard, Tuscon, Arizona 85716.

Kenneth Rogers, M.D., Member of School Health Committee, American Acadmey of Pedriatrics, 1801 Hinman Avenue, Evanston, Illinois 60204.

William M. Moore, M.D., Consultant to the Committee, Medical Officer, National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, National Institutes of Health, Bethesda, Maryland 20014.

David B. Post, M.D., Pediatric Consultant, DIH Albuquerque Area Office LaMesa Medical Center, 700 Cutler, N.E., Albuquerque, New Mexico 87110.

G. D. Carlyle Thompson, M.D, Director of Public Health, State Department of Health, 45 Fort Douglas Boulevard, Salt Lake City, Utah 84113.

Helen S. Whaley, M.D., Pediatric Consultant, Anchorage, DIH Area Office, 2275 Sharon Road, Apt. 206, Manlo Park, California 94025.

Stanley L. Harrison, M.D., Secretary for Committee, American Academy of Pediatrics, 1801 Hinman Avenue, Evanston, Illinois 60204.

Robert S. Mendelsohn, M.D., Guest and Director, Headstart Consultative Services, American Academy of Pediatrics, 1801 Hinman Avenue, Evanston, Illinois 60204.

(ABSENT)

Theodore A. Montgomery, M.D., Chief, Division of Preventive Medicine, State Department of Public Health, 2151 Berkeley Way, Berkeley, California.

PROGRESS REPORT [1] ON RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF PEDIATRICS, COMMITTEE ON INDIAN HEALTH MEETING, MAY 15–16, 1967, SILVER SPRING, MARYLAND

1. Instructional or Dormitory Aides

The Committee recognizes and appreciates the importance of the role and functions of Instructional Aides in boarding schools, and recommends that the quantity and quality of these employees be significantly increased. In this connection, it is recommended that the ratio of Aides to students be on a one (1) to fifteen (15) basis, and that these Aides be prepared by both training before employees and continuous in-service training after employment to effectively function as parent substitutes for the students.

Further, the Committee recommends that the salaries and service grade of these Instructional Aides be increased to be more realistic levels which are indicative of the importance of the position.

Progress

(Bureau of Indian Affairs)

The Bureau of Indian Affairs recognizes the importance of Instructional Aides in the dormitories since they do spend a great deal of time with boys and girls in out-of-school hours. We are cognizant of the fact that people dealing as closely with boys and girls as these particluar aides do need to have a more basic background in child growth and development, child psychology, etc.

Currently most of our Instructional Aide positions are filled by Indian people who have at least a high school education. Their specific job requirements deal with general housekeeping duties, rather than with students. They are nonprofessional in nature.

We recognize that it would be important to raise the level of academic preparation to include courses in human growth and development, child psychology, etc. Efforts to do this have been made through workshops for Instructional Aides in some colleges and universities who offer courses, some leading to college degrees, that would be beneficial and pertinent to the aids.

Perhaps what we need in addition to more Instructional Aides who should be provided with greater opportunities for upgrading through in-service training are more professional personnel in the dormitories for close contact with children in the area of guidance and counseling. A request has been made in our Fiscal Year 1969 budget to provide 70 additional instructional aides at the GS–5 level. These persons would be chosen for their ability to work with children and would work directly under the Guidance staff. Efforts to reorient the dormitory staff in terms of the latitude given such personnel in counseling youngsters as they demonstrate competence would be undertaken by the pupil personnel staff. A general upgrading of the staff in the residential setting is seen as a crucial need and we appreciate the support of the American Academy of Pediatrics Committee on Indian Health in support of such standards.

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[1] Presented by Assistant Surgeon General E. S Rabeau, Director, Division of Indian Health, and Mr. Charles N. Zeller, Assistant Commissioner for Education, Bureau of Indian Affairs, during the American Academy of Pediatrics Committee on Indian Health Meeting, Albuquerque, New Mexico, May 22–24, 1968.

A projected re-organization, reflecting the Pupil Personnel Services viewpoint in residential settings, has been discussed in a Branch position paper that calls for a re-alignment of functions which may be outlined as follows:

Domiciliary care and related activities	Pupil personnel services	Curriculum
Dormitory aides	Counseling and guidance	Supervisors.
	Special education	Teachers.
	School social work	
	Psychology services	

In the proposed change in structure under consideration, Guidance Counselors would function in solely professional activities within both the classroom and residential dormitory settings.

A review of the ratio of aides to students in the BIA Albuquerque Area showed that there is an average of one (1) aide to each fifteen (15) students, which is in accord with the Committee's recommendations. Instructional Aides are grade GS–5; Dormitory Aides are GS–4. The BIA office in Albuquerque has been able to up-grade qualified counselors to the GS–9 level.

(Division of Indian Health)

Dormitory attendants at the Intermountain Boarding School in Utah are participating in group meetings conducted by Dr. Dangerfield, psychiatric consultant, on individual case conferences and general discussion about the problems of adolescents.

DIH Portland Area reports that dormitory personnel are given instruction and training in the School Health Center at Chemawa, Oregon, on recognition, care and prevention of common disorders and accidents.

The DIH Phoenix Area reports that despite the limitations with which the Division of Indian Health operates in the area of BIA boarding schools, through joint action with BIA the Division has made some progress in developing programs of training and consultation. This has been done in cooperation with dormitory aides at the Riverside and Phoenix Boarding Schools within the Phoenix Area. There is every indication that this effort will continue and increase in significance.

2. *Dormitory Structure*

The Committee, in recognition of basic needs for children, recommends that the physical structure of boarding school dormitories be more of a smaller community type facility which will provide a suitable surrounding to permit privacy, individual study areas and the opportunity to pursue individual desires and stimulate self-reliance and esteem.

Progress

(Bureau of Indian Affairs)

In a variety of residential school settings today the trend toward smaller living units either within the larger structure or preferably in cottage type arrangements is emerging. Closer planning with and attention to individual students is permitted more readily in the small cottage as opposed to larger centrally administered dormitories. An illustration of the transition from barracks-type dormitories to small cottages with the attendant planning and budget justification problems can be obtained from Lee Jones, Superintendent, Georgia Academy for the Blind, Macon. Mr. Jones has received budgetary approval from the State Department of Education and construction will begin next spring.

The entire third section of the publication "Child Welfare League of America Standards for Services of Child Welfare Institutions" dealing with care and treatment and the bulletin entitled "Institutions Serving Delinquent Children" stress the need for small living units, preferably a single-story cottage with, at the most, four (4) children per room and ample provision for single accommodations:

There should normally be not more than 10 children in a living group.[1]

Sleeping arrangements within the cottages should include both individual bedrooms and small dormitories (accommodating 4 to 10 children).[2]

Dormitories should allow a minimum of 500 cubic feet of air space per child, with at least three feet between the sides of beds and a wall.[2]

In light of these references and the recommendation of the American Academy of Pediatrics Committee on Indian Health "that the physical structure of boarding school dormitories be more of a smaller community type facility" we would urge that consideration be given to this approach in future programming. No doubt the usual budgetary questions will arise, but this type of facility warrants further study. Perhaps the American Academy of Pediatrics Committee on Indian Health would review some specific standards that build upon their recommendations and be willing to add their approval, if appropriate, to strengthen the justification for such building plans.

Limiting our concern to the physical plant would, of course, not be sufficient because the Academy's recommendations and our judgment highlight the necessity for improved and strengthened psychological social work and counseling programs in these settings. Since there is an overlap in concerns, we would want to continue working with DIH staff members in resolving other problems such as the transfer of records, developing a mental health program, and improving counseling and psychological services.

In moving away from the large domicilary complex, perhaps we should stress a type of cottage living, e.g., as found at Hershey, Pa. Here, children live on the school grounds in houses that are constructed of varying architectural designs. A married adult couple lives in each home and serves as parent surrogates. Children are assigned 10–12 to a home and each home exists as a separate and complete family unit. Each home is provided with a station wagon for transportation and each house is provided sufficient funds to purchase food, clothing, recreation, etc.

In essence, the above possibility attempts to mirror as closely as possible routine nuclear family living.

Furthermore, BIA intends to support a demonstration model of a therapeutic dormitory setting under its Title I, ESEA allotment at Sequoyah High School this summer. Comprehensive pupil personnel services and small living units will be stressed in terms of their potential application in many other BIA facilities.

3. *Health Instruction*

The Committee commends those schools which have deliberately incorporated courses on health in their curriculum and recommends that all BIA schools include courses on health, hygiene, family living and sex education in their curriculum, such as BIA has done for primary grades in certain of its schools. Further, the Committee recommends that standard guidelines be developed for such courses and that these guidelines be made available to all schools for reference to assure that basic courses are in fact included in their curriculum.

Progress

(Bureau of Indian Affairs)

The Division of Education of the Bureau of Indian Affairs has developed basic Curriculum Guides called *Basic Goals for Elementary Children* which include all curriculum areas including heath, hygiene, famiy living, and sex education. (IAM 402.) These guides were developed for use in all BIA schools from the beginner level through the eighth grade. The high school curriculum has, as a nucleus, State-approved curriculum of the respective States but also incorporates numerous programs of educational enrichment as appropriate.

There is evidence that special efforts to incorporate health instruction in BIA school curricula has progressed since the last meeting of the American Academy of Pediatrics.

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[1] Child Welfare League of American Standards for Services of Child Welfare Institutions.

[2] Institutions Serving Delinquent Children.

(Division of Indian Health)

The Division of Indian Health is sending a health team integrated by one physician, one public health nurse, one health educator and one medical social worker to participate in the Second Annual Graduate Workshop in Education for Family Living sponsored by the American Institute of Family Relations, Los Angeles, California, to be held in June 1968. This team will forward a joint report with recommendations for strengthening, in cooperation with the BIA schools, family life and sex education programs for our beneficiaries.

During the annual conference of Chiefs of Area Health Education Branches, Division of Indian Health, methods for strengthening health instruction in schools was a special item of discussion.

Following the Chief Health Educator's Conference, health instruction in schools was given special emphasis during the in-service training workshops for Service Unit Health Educators held in four of the eight areas.

Area Chief Health Educators have met with school officials in some areas to assist with plans to—

(*a*) Review the school curriculum;

(*b*) Identify methods for better incorporating health teaching in school courses; and

(*c*) Activate the incorporation of additional health instruction in school courses.

Some of the areas report that there are more requests made now for health education activities coming from schools.

Examples of some specific progress are the following:

(*a*) Within the DIH Phoenix Area the greatest progress on this has been made at the Phoenix Indian School where a curriculum committee, composed of key Area and Service Unit DIH personnel and BIA personnel, are meeting regularly for the purpose of improving the health curriculum and other aspects of school health services.

(*b*) The Aberdeen Area Office has requested copies of the curricula from Bureau of Indian Affairs schools in order to suggest methods of incorporating and carrying out health education.

(*c*) A thorough review of the health education program at Intermountain, with particular emphasis on the Division's role, is under way. The review is being conducted by Miss Wilma Becknell, Chief of the Health Education Branch, Navajo Area Office in Window Rock.

The field medical officer at Lame Deer is conducting sex education talks at Busby on the Northern Cheyenne Reservation. The total health education program at Busby has been reviewed and services of the Division of Indian Health offered.

(*d*) The Cherokee Service Unit in Oklahoma and the schools of that area highly complimented the health education staff for work they did to assist teachers and students with their curriculum planning for schools.

(*e*) Special note was made of progress to improve health instruction in schools of Mt. Edgecumbe, Alaska; Fort Defiance, Arizona; and several localities in the Portland, Oregon, Area.

Realistically—and to be successful—such programs of comprehensive health instruction should permeate to all levels of daily living and not be restricted only to the classroom situation.

4. Cooperation with non-Bureau of Indian Affairs Schools

The Committee recognizes that some public school districts have developed advanced school programs to meet the particular needs of the large Indian student population they serve. Further, it recognizes the important role of the Division of Indian Health in greatly improving the health service and healthful environment of these schools. However, it feels that much remains to be done to increase the success of the education of the Indian youth to the end that it will lower the school dropout rate and increase the number graduating from high school, the number entering and completing vocational training as well as college, and, lastly, enhances the chance for becoming successful citizens in non-Indian communities when such students elect to live in them.

Therefore, the Committee recommends that DIH and BIA develop ways and means by which they may participate with school staff of public school districts serving a substantial Indian student population with respect to strengthening the health curriculum, particularly as it relates to family and community living. This should include a full exploration and application of knowledge regarding the cultural differences between the Indian and non-Indian community as well as the impact on students as they daily must adjust between home and school.

Progress

(Bureau of Indian Affairs)

It is agreed that both DIH and BIA should continue to explore new avenues of communication and cooperation with public school systems, particularly those serving a substantial Indian student population. To expedite the incorporation of an improved health curriculum in such schools, it is suggested that guidelines, course of study, etc., be transmitted through the Branch of School Administration. The involvement of this Branch in public school assistance with Johnson-O'Malley funds would facilitate the identification and cooperation of public school districts with sizeable Indian student population and enable BIA to obtain commitments necessary for the implementation of suggested curriculum improvements. Any effort to develop and introduce improved health education materials should include not only appropriate personnel from DIH and BIA but local public school representatives as well.

The Albuquerque BIA Area Office, Division of Education, will employ an Education Specialist in Public School Relations who will do liaison work with the State Department of Education and district and local public schools which have Johnson-O'Malley Act funds to provide services to meet the unique needs of the Indian children.

(Division of Indian Health)

DIH Phoenix Area reports as follows: Division policy places responsibility with our facilities for providing DIH health services to non-BIA schools upon request. Within the Phoenix Area there has generally been more initiative than that reflected by DIH policy in providing such health services or encouraging non-BIA schools to accept such services. Therefore, within the DIH Phoenix Area, we generally comply with this recommendation. In addition, preliminary steps have been taken to create an area council composed of DIH, BIA, State Education and parochial school representatives.

In the Billings Area DIH physicians have participated in sex education classes on the Blackfeet, Fort Peck, and Northern Cheyenne reservations. On the Wind River Reservation, school officials have assisted in planning a classroom in the clinic building. General health education as well as dental health education sessions will be provided while members of the class are visiting the dentist. The community health director at Crow Agency is meeting with school officials to plan the school health program, and he has offered the services of the Service Unit staff in assisting with the health education. An active alcohol education program for school children on the Flathead Reservation, and another at St. Labre's Mission on the Northern Cheyenne Reservation, have recived state-wide recognition. Area Office staff members have discussed the family life education program in Montana with members of the State Department of Health.

The Division of Indian Health is contemplating improving this relationship with public school districts at the field level through the Division of Indian Health Service Units and at headquarters level through the establishing and implementation of a common policy with the Bureau of Indian Affairs to develop ways and means for participation with school staff of public school districts serving large numbers of Indian students with respect to strengthening the health curriculums for Indian children. This matter will be further elaborated through the regular inter-agency meetings between the Division of Indian Health and the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Attention should be directed beyond the local or county level. Rather, a greater degree of cooperation and interaction should be facilitated at the State and Regional levels relative to State and Federal programs in Education, Public Health, Welfare, and Rehabilitation Services. The trend in the foreseeable future will move in the direction of regional planning and operation beyond artificial geographic boundaries.

Improved guidance and counseling programs could assist in reducing the dropout rate and encourage greater utilization of further educational opportunities, such as vocational and technical training and higher education.

5. Substitute Families

Since the Committee recognizes the need for family relationships for boarding school students, it recommends that the Bureau of Indian Affairs explore the concept of substitute families for these students and that the Bureau take necessary measures to involve the communities in planning social activities outside the classroom. Further, it recommends that these cooperatively developed social activities be structured to stimulate the student to assume his proper role in community and family living.

Progress

(Bureau of Indian Affairs)

The Division of Education agrees with the recommendation of the Committee regarding the use of substitute families in Bureau boarding schools. The Rough Rock Demonstration School in Arizona, funded jointly by the Bureau and OEO involves the total community in the school (see "Innovation at Rough Rock," Saturday Review, September 16, 1967).

The Albuquerque Indian School has a program to send students to local residents' homes on weekends. A sizable percentage of the student body is involved.

In other Bureau schools, social activities involving the community are planned. BIA schools also serve as Community Centers (IAM 601), and Indian participation in all of our schools is encouraged (IAM 602).

Needless to say, the use of substitute families in BIA dormitories has some valuable assets and the possibility and feasibility of their use should certainly be further explored. Some projects involving substitute parents in which the BIA is involved are the Title I Grandparent Project at Wahpeton, North Dakota, Sequoyah High School, (Muskogee Area), and the Rough Rock Demonstration School in Arizona, which is funded jointly by OEO and BIA.

More important, some thought should be directed toward providing a kind of "half-way house" arrangement for the older Indian children when they are ready to leave the reservation and/or the residential school and move into the major urban community. Perhaps a form of Youth Hostel located in the city, having a resident husband and wife, and providing general counseling and guidance to the emerging school child in helping him to make adjustments to urban living. Close liaison would be maintained with the community mental health center, vocational counselors, guidance personnel, law enforcement, and religious elements in the area. At some point in time, the self-sustaining "graduate" would be able to move to complete independent living relying on his own resources. An illustration of the type of facility that might be used for this purpose is the cottage dormitory at Fort Sill, Oklahoma.

An additional example is the type of housing being afforded ten Indian students who are to be enrolled in the A Better Chance (ABC) project at Dartmouth College next Fall. Students reside in a home on campus with a family, including a husband-wife team and children on the premises.

6. School Switching

The Committee was concerned about the frequency of transfers and switching of students between schools without apparent good reason and recommends that the Bureau of Indian Affairs re-evaluate their placement criteria and take necessary steps to establish proper criteria for transfers or placements of students. Further, it recommends that consideration be given to rehabilitation procedures for students rather than transfers as a method for cutting down on switching between schools.

Progress

(Bureau of Indian Affairs)

The Division of Education does recognize that there is a problem concerning frequency of transfers and switching of students between schools, especially in off-reservation schools. Each Area has guidelines (IAM 702.03) to follow in determining transfer procedures, etc., however, communications between Areas does need to be better coordinated so that school switching as made benefits the student.

7. Placing of Students

The Committee commends the Bureau of Indian Affairs for its policy of placing Indian students in public schools whenever possible. However, in recognition of the criteria currently being used for placing children in boarding schools and with regard to the Bureau's policy of permitting freedom of choice and condoning extensive transfer of students between boarding schools, the Committee recommends that a more logical and equitable approach be made in the selection of children to attend boarding schools. In this connection, it recommends that consideration on a regional basis be given to successfully matching of the individual student's ability and emotional, physical, cultural and mental well being with the boarding school's location, structural facilities, and staff capabilities.

Progress

(Bureau of Indian Affairs)

Although the Bureau of Indian Affairs is anxious to insure the attendance of all eligible students in school whether publicly or BIA-operated and will permit transfers when necessary, the Bureau has a policy (IAM 702.03) which seeks to avoid excessive transfers by encouraging retention at the boarding school of initial enrollment in the fall except in extenuating circumstances. We recognize sound educational practice and record-keeping requirements may help to minimize the number of transfers.

In spite of some advantages that might accrue from homogeneous grouping at boarding schools, as this recommendation suggests, there are a number of inherent difficulties, such as:

(*a*) On what basis or by which criteria will student's aptitude and emotional, physical and mental well-being be measured for placement?

(*b*) How will transportation and contact with the home, which is all too often minimal, be accomplished under this plan?

(*c*) The segregation of the present situation would be heightened to the point that students might seldom encounter much individual diversity in interests, abilities, etc.

Basic policy should insure criteria establishment of all levels of operation that "boarding schools" are "residential schools" essentially, and are not and should not be considered as "institutional schools." This distinction is very basic and needs to be emphasized repeatedly to professional and lay persons alike. If the concept of the "residential school" is understood and accepted, many of the problems now inherent in the present domiciliary care program might be lessened.

Basic to the residential school program is the realization that it is a home-at-school-away-from-home type of relationship. Whenever possible, children should be permitted to go to their natural homes on Friday after school and return Sunday evening, on holidays, and vacation periods. With the proper residential program, the young child may be quite homesick for the first month or so. He cannot wait to visit his family unit. However, when the benefits and advantages of the residential program begin to exert their wholesome influences, this same child may begin to balk at going home on weekends as the school has more to offer him. This is to say a positive program can and should exist; however, it should not be viewed as a means to circumvent home visitation. To this end, the Pupil Personnel Services Branch is in the process of establishing positions at the field level and employing a Central Office Specialist in Student Activities to insure the full measure of attention this area warrants as part of the total living and learning environment of the student.

8. *Health Records*

In view of the apparent inadequate health and academic records and undue delays in the forwarding or transferring of these records with students, the Committee recommends that the Division of Indian Health and the Bureau of Indian Affairs jointly develop a means and uniform procedure through which such records will be more efficiently maintained and transmitted between schools and agencies.

Progress

(Division of Indian Health)

Uniform policies arrived at between the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Division of Indian Health in January 1967 for having ready the physical examination of children before entering school and for transfer of the school health record when the child is transferred to another school have shown to be difficult or impossible to be implemented. The Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Division of Indian Health representatives from the Navajo Reservation and DIH Billings Area met on April 3, 1968 and arrived at a common policy for the transfer of students' health records to off-reservation schools.

In the Aberdeen Area a committee has been formed composed of both DIH and BIA members to iron out this problem regarding the transfer of school health records.

During the month of April 1968 Phoenix Area DIH and BIA representatives have issued a joint memorandum to all education and health facilities of the Phoenix Area, outlining areas of cooperation between these agencies in sharing and transferring health records utilized in the school health program.

DIH Portland Area reports that school health records are now maintained in the health center. Formerly they were maintained by the school and available upon reques by the physician. Presently Portland Area is taking steps to update and impove the medical records system.

9. Infirmaries

Since the Committee had not been adequately prepared to consider all the ramifications associated with boarding school infirmaries, a subcommittee has been appointed to study and evaluate locations, structures, services and staffing related to specific boarding school infirmaries, and to develop recommendations for consideration by the Committee. In this connection, the Committee recommends that both the Division of Indian Health and the Bureau of Indian Affairs give recognition, identify and use all resources in related fields at all boarding school locations where infirmaries are being considered or operated.

Progress

(Division of Indian Health)

In the program plan for the construction of new school health centers, the needs of the Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding schools are thoroughly examined and discussed jointly by Division of Indian Health and Bureau of Indian Affairs staffs. The construction of infirmaries in these new school health centers is subordinated to the availability of Division of Indian Health or out of the Division's local resources.

It is the policy of the Division not to build or operate infirmaries where DIH hospital facilities are available locally. It is also the policy of the Division to use other local resources where available and this policy will be pursued and encouraged for local implementation.

The DIH staff at Intermountain uses local hospitals for general surgery, and hospitals in Ogden and Salt Lake City (including the Veterans' Administration hospital) for specialty care. In this past year the Utah State Department of Health has assisted with investigations of outbreaks of illnesses, as well as with services through the Crippled Childrens' Program. The University of Utah and the Utah State College also provided hearing and speech programs and social work services.

Criteria and guidelines for the construction and operation of school health centers, including infirmaries, have been developed by the Division of Indian Health and accepted by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The policy stated above has been incorporated in the criteria.

10. State Health Planning Councils

The Committee recommends that the Public Health Service and the American Academy of Pediatrics through component State Chapters encourage APP members and beneficiary representation on State Health Planning Councils in States having a significant Indian or Alaska Native population. Further, it is recommended that appropriate BIA and DIH Staff participate in the meetings of these State Health Planning Councils.

Progress

(Bureau of Indian Affairs)

The Bureau of Indian Affairs supports this recommendation and will encourage appropriate staff to participate in meetings with State Health Planning Councils, in addition to encouraging more frequent staff meetings with DIH personnel.

The concept may also be enlarged. Participation should be encouraged on State Commissions for Handicapped Children, Advisory Councils for Mental Health, Medicaid (Title XIX), etc. In general, some attempt should be made by both DIH and BIA personnel to serve on any health, education, or welfare program at the State level that might even remotely be of benefit to Indian children and seek the involvement of outside professional organizations as well.

(Division of Indian Health)

All Division of Indian Health Area Offices have been advised to initiate action for participation in the State Health Planning Councils of the appropriate states. In some Areas, the feasibility of Bureau of Indian Affairs, Division of Indian Health, State Pediatric Society and inter-tribal organizations being represented has been suggested formally or informally.

The Arizona Governor has designated a new agency to be the comprehensive State Health Planning Agency. Recommendations have been made to this agency to consider appointment of DIH and Indian representatives on the advisory council.

The Division of Indian Health is represented on the New Mexico State Health Planning Committee. The American Academy of Pediatrics is not. Efforts were made by the Indian Health Area Director to have the American Academy of Pediatrics represented, but State Officials believed the number of professional (medical) members was too large to consider additional membership.

The Indian Health Area Director, Billings Area Office, is an active member of the Montana Health Planning Council. The first council meeting was held on April 5, 1968.

In addition favorable replies have been received from Alaska and Wyoming.

11. *Transportation*

The Committee was impressed with the lack of progress which has been made with respect to providing adequate transportation for beneficiaries to receive and participate in the Division of Indian Health's comprehensive health program. Therefore, the Committee reaffirms its concern over the inadequate transportation situation and recommends that the Division of Indian Health actively pursue a solution to this problem.

In this connection, to avoid duplication and to stimulate a lasting cooperative system, the Committee encourages the Division to involve both the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the beneficiary in this program.

Progress

(Bureau of Indian Affairs)

Members of the Bureau of Indian Affairs' Education staff and the Division of Indian Health have had joint meetings to discuss transportation of school children for health services. In January 1967, it was agreed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Division of Indian Health that in the interest of conserving the classtime of students, physicians would provide routine health services to students at the school when there is a sufficient number of students needing such services to justify travel by the physician and no specialized equipment is required in providing the services. For example, routine group physical examinations and inoculations would be performed ordinarily at the school. On the other hand, X-rays and services to individual pupils or small groups of pupils would be performed at the health center.

In general it was agreed that the responsibility for transporting the student to the physician as a result of a judgment made by school officials, in loco parentis, rests with the BIA school. On the other hand, the responsibility for the transportation of students resulting from the professional judgment of the physician rests with DIH. This understanding should enable both DIH and BIA to make more realistic estimates of their budgetary needs.

(Division of Indian Health)

The Division of Indian Health proposes a trial transportation system be commenced on five representative Indian reservations. This would be an experiment aimed at correcting a serious deficiency in public transportation for reservation Indians. It would permit ready access to health education, shopping and other commercial services and facilities of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, churches, etc.

For the past four months, the Fort Belknap Service Unit has provided bus service twice a week from the Hays-Lodgepole area to the hospital and clinic because of the temporary deletion of a clinic in those communities. The service has been well utilized and the Tribe is now exploring ways of continuing it.

In the Division it is anticipated, with the establishment of community health representatives in most communities within the Phoenix Area in the next few years including funds for transportation of such representatives, that patient transportation will become a responsibilty of these personnel.

In the Aberdeen area health aides have been useful for the transportation in many instances.

12. *Special Educational Services*

The Committee with deference to the unique problems associated with providing appropriate education for children with physical, emotional or intellectual handicaps, recomends that special educational services be developed and made available in boarding schools and day schools for such children.

Progress

(Bureau of Indian Affairs)

In recognition of the need for developing special education programs, the Branch of Pupil Personnel Services has undertaken a number of screening projects, using a teacher referral form for initial identification and cooperating with the Branch of Social Services (BIA) and DIH in completing diagnostic workups.

Following this phase, determinations are made as to the number and kind of special educational services that must be provided. Although a few of special educational classes have been established, the ones developed so far as a result of the screening and diagnostic procedures are at (1) Aneth, (2) Toadlena and (3) Teec Nos Pos. The Branch of Social Services and the Division of Indian Health have been most cooperative in this indeavor and progress toward Bureau-wide screening is planned in accordance with available staff and services.

The need for a close working relationship between health, educational, social, and habilitation specialties relative to Indian children is a foregone assumption. Such an awareness assumes no artificial professional demarcation of the child into convenient areas of concern. Thus, health and medical specialists rightfully involve themselves in planning for the educational betterment of the child. So too, allied specalists look to the preschool as well as to the school years for a harmonious interaction between disciplines. The common focus in all instances comes to bear on the development of the total child within the context of his family and community unit.

Concern—relative to educational planning, evaluation, placement, treatment, follow-up—rests with the Indian child and surfaces at the time of birth. This concept is justified on the basis of assessing developmental areas as early in life as possible to (1) institute necessary health and medical treatment for a reversible condition, and (2) to plan for early childhood and educational amelioration of a handicapping or potentially handicapping condition.

Various project proposals are in the planning stages. These proposals—coupled with the trust of Pupil Personnel Services Branch in the Division of Education—will serve to provide a formidable approach to children with educationally handicapping conditions.

For example, Project PEP (Preschool Evaluation Program) conceives the notion of a paramedical diagnostic and treatment team assigned to each DIH Area Officer.

This team would consist of an audiologist, a psychologist, a child development specialist, and a speech pathologist to work cooperatively with the DIH social worker, nurse, and nutritionist under the administrative control of the psysician. Beginning at birth and extending through the 4th year of life, this specialist group would provide increasingly complex and periodic evaluations of each child, resulting in a developmental profile sketched on a continuum. Findings would be aimed toward early intervention and planning for later educational programs of a special nature. Also, Project DICE (Diagnosis of Indian Children for Education) assumes an educationally-oriented casefinding and treatment approach to school children, ages 5–21 years. This will be carried out with colleges under contract to BIA. In addition, Project MESA (Medical and Educational Systems Approach) proposes to combine the conceptual array of medical and educational systems integrated approach to the child's health and related problems.

Prior mention in Item I of the concept of Pupil Personnel Services has impact here as well. For FY 1969, 85 field positions are forthcoming. Planning is proceeding for 200 additional field positions for FY 1970. Allocation of these positions is planned as follows: A Pupil Personnel Services staff of guidance counselor, special educator, school social worker, and clinical psychologist will be assigned to each Assistant Area Director (Education) as well as to sixteen other Agency and/or large residential schools. Supportive personnel will follow as funds become available.

This Pupil Personnel Services Staff would operate as an integral and functional unity in the Area Educational system for ongoing evaluation, research, consultation and planning. Its emphasis would be on Indian children ranging in age from 5 to 21 years of age. Melded with the Preschool health team and cooperating with it at all levels of operation, health care would be made available to each child that was truly "comprehensive", i.e., comprehensive in terms of including a multiphasic approach, comprehensive in terms of including all Indian children in Federal schools and comprehensive in terms of the longitudinal development of each child over time.

13. Utilization of Research Findings

The Committee recommends that both the Division of Indian Health and the Bureau of Indian Affairs begin to incorporate into their programs some of the currently available research findings relating to behavioral, biomedical, cultural and educational fields. In addition, the Committee encourages appropriate officials of both agencies to investigate further needs along these lines with the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development and interested universities.

Progress

(Bureau of Indian Affairs)

The Bureau of Indian Affairs is in complete agreement with this recommendation. In addition to providing consultative and inservice training assistance to bring new knowledge and research findings to bear on program efforts, other resources are being explored to assist in the conduct of inservice training, research and demonstration projects. To mention but a few beyond NIH, contacts have been made with the Social and Rehabilitation Service (HEW), Office of Education programs in research and the education of the handicapped, VISTA and training and demonstration projects on various reservations. Individual staff members will be encouraged to participate in the development and execution of relevant research projects.

(Division of Indian Health)

DIH Alaska Native Health Area has been utilizing the findings of research studies that have been conducted in conjunction with the Arctic Health Research Laboratory.

The Division of Indian Health is also following this recommendation with the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development and the University of Pittsburgh Medical School.

14. Staffing

In recognition of the deficiencies in the number of staff necessary to effectively carry out a comprehensive health program and to adequately provide educational services associated with both the instruction and dormitory supervision, the Committee recommends that additional staff be obtained by both the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Division of Indian Health.

Progress

(Bureau of Indian Affairs)

Although the Bureau of Indian Affairs is in accord with this recommendation, requests for additional positions are contingent upon several factors including, ultimately, Congressional appropriations. Additional positions are being requested in the fiscal year 1968 supplemental and fiscal year 1969 budgets. Reference to this subject has been made in items #1 and #2 above.

(*Division of Indian Health*)

The Division of Indian Health, through its deficiency studies, recognizes the need for increasing the number of staff necessary to carry out an adequate program of comprehensive health services in the Bureau of Indian Affairs schools. To correct this deficiency, a substantial increase in the field health personnel has been requested in the FY 1969 budget.

15. *Preschool Health*

Since the proper placement of students and the staffing, facilities and instructions necessary for students are contigent upon health status of the student, the Committee recommends that the Division of Indian Health exercise continuous health supervision and surveillance over beneficiary children prior to entry into school and that they provide a complete health assessment and examination of each child prior to entering into school.

Progress

(Bureau of Indian Affairs)

The Bureau of Indian Affairs finds that with the more encompassing health program prior to entering school, it is certain that early identification and the introduction of necessary remedial procedures can be of immeasurable value to some individuals who might pass unnoticed through several years of schooling before a learning disability is discovered. Furthermore, a policy of pre-school medical examinations is an accepted and often required practice in numerous public school districts.

We would encourage close cooperation between DIH and the Branch of Pupil Personnel Services, particularly in achieving the maximum benefit from such a program of health supervision and pre-school assessment and examination for all children.

(Division of Indian Health)

The Division of Indian Health finds that in order to "exercise continued health supervision and surveillance" and to "provide a complete assessment and examination of each child prior to entering school", the following is required:

(*a*) Establish additional Child Health Conferences in locations convenient to the population to be served.

(*b*) Work cooperatively with Tribal and community groups to encourage utilization of these preventive health services.

(*c*) Increase staffing, including pediatricians, to provide additional competence at the Service Unit level.

(*d*) Provide, from the Area Office, Maternal and Child Health medical and nursing consultation to the Service Unit general practitioners and staff.

(*e*) Provide nutritionists and medical social workers in sufficient numbers to increase these competencies in the health supervision of the preschool child.

(*f*) Include in the medical examination and services at Child Health Conferences more awareness of the behavioral and social needs of children and families.

(*g*) Foster staff development to ensure an increased sensitivity to the multiplicity of elements involved in child growth and development.

(*h*) Utilize community programs specially designed to benefit children in this age group, e.g., Headstart, Crippled Children, Foster Care Programs, and others.

(*i*) Child neglect including abandonment frequently associated with alcoholism is prevalent in Indian communities: Extend mental health programs to provide services in every Service Unit.

(*j*) Increased emphasis on the correction of defects found in children during examinations conducted prior to entering school.

(*k*) Malnutrition and nutrition related illnesses and conditions are major problems in the Division's service population.

Promote studies of nutritional status, food practices and nutrition-related health problems and illnesses.

Include in instruction of the mother a planned sequential nutrition program for the infant and preschool child.

(*l*) The prevalence of otitis media and trachoma with their sequela among Indian children necessitates an extensive plan of sight and hearing conservation. Medical correction of the condition must be considered only as the initial step in the rehabilitative process: Promote a plan of speech and hearing therapy, prostheses, and sustained follow-up services to permit maximum physical and social adjustment of the child.

(*m*) Repeated hospitalization of children in this age group, generally from multi-problem families, impedes the normal growth and development of the child: Provide a multidiscipline approach by sufficient staff, in a concerted effort, to alleviate family problems affecting the health of these children.

(*n*) Cultural mores in the rearing of children must be respected and utilized positively in promoting health. Self-image and self-esteem in Indian parents must be strengthened: Recognize and include these values in staff orientation and on-going in-service education programs.

(o) An increasing number of aides have been trained in local communities by Indian tribes: Expand the health education program and services through valuable contribution the trained Indian worker and supervised Indian volunteer can make in working with his own people.

The following represent examples of action taken to implement the above recommendations:

1. Many of the Areas have established additional Child Health Conferences in appropriate locations or extended conference hours.

2. The Division has accepted the recently organized DIH-MCH Committee's recommendation that one physician from each Service Unit be provided special in-service education to increase medical competence in the care of pediatric patients.

3. Four Areas now have full time MCH medical officers at the Area level. Two of these represent two positions filled in fiscal year 1968.

4. Five Areas now have full time psychiatrists on the staff, two of which are supported by mental health teams. These additional competencies directly effect the quality of both medical and mental health services to children.

5. The Division's participation in the training and support of community health representatives has provided additional manpower for services to preschool children and their families.

6. The organization and concentration of pre-school children in Headstart programs, among other advantages, provides a means of identification and correction of health problems prior to entering shcool.

7. Increased identification and correction of vision and hearing defects at an early age has led to the expansion and/or organization of special classes for school age children.

8. Many of the Areas are beginning to devise systems of identifying "priority" infants and pre-schoolers who need special attention. On the increase is community group and tribal participation in solving such local health matters.

9. Early Childhood Education Conference (Albuquerque, New Mexico, March 1968) and Conference of Mental Retardation Among American Indians (Denver, Colorado, March 1968), both sponsored by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

16. Student Responsibility

The Committee commends those schools which stimulate a feeling of responsibility on the part of the students by assigning them with tasks of caring for their living quarters and of participating in household chores, thus helping the student to assume his role as an effective full-fledged member of the family, and recommends that this practice be widely used throughout the Bureau's boarding schools.

Progress

(Bureau of Indian Affairs)

In almost all of the Bureau's schools, particularly boarding schools and dormitories, students share the responsibility of caring for their surroundings and their living quarters. This, of course, constitutes an excellent practical learning situation; however, the emphasis placed on "detail" and the attitude on the part of the instruction staff makes the difference between its being a learning situation and a chore. We agree with the recommendations, but hasten to emphasize the difficulty of a universal enforcement of the concept.

Greater planning should be directed toward maximum *cooperative* participation of the student in the boarding school. Smaller size units with small numbers in an adult-child relationship might well serve a useful step. But again, what is needed is an attitudinal change in the staff thinking relative to "residential schools". Children, by and large, are extremely flexible and adaptable to new situations. Their participation in boarding school programs should not be considered as punitive in nature, but rather a new setting for maximum learning to take place. It becomes essential then that residential school personnel be selected with care. There should be continuous ongoing training programs to evolve an efficient, effective and wholesome setting for all children.

(Division of Indian Health)

In the Chemawa, Oregon, boarding school, the students have a student health committee which helps administer the health program. The members serve the Service Unit Director in an advisory capacity and do some implementing of the health program, such as tuberculosis control. Members of the committee assist with the x-ray program for example.

17. Health Team Approach

Since the Committee recognizes that a comprehensive health program for students requires the services of the entire health team, it recommends that the team approach be utilized for providing health services in boarding schools. Not only would such an approach provide better health services but it would stimulate students to take up a health profession as a career.

Progress

(Bureau of Indian Affairs)

The Bureau of Indian Affairs is anxious to have the best medical care available to students. Where the health team approach is most feasible in providing comprehensive health services, BIA strongly supports this approach. The health team would be most practical in isolated areas where a variety of specialist and support services are not readily available, for instance. With reference to stimulating interest in health professionas occupations, BIA and DIH are engaged in a number of cooperative ventures which could serve as models for other health fields besides nursing, medical record librarians and dental hygienists.

(Division of Indian Health)

There has been a gradual increase in health personnel serving boarding school students. Full time nursing positions in boarding schools increased from 44 in 1965 to 52 in 1967. Part time and contract physicians have been replaced by full time physicians where school enrollment indicated such need. Services of other professional categories such as medical social, nutrition and health education have not been comparably increased and such services, in general, have been limited to sporadic consultation and to crisis situations.

Within the last two years psychiatrists have been placed in five of the Division's eight Area programs, with mental health teams operating in two of the five Areas.

The Division recognizes the value of the health team concept in "providing health services in boarding schools" and to "stimulate students to take up a health profession as a career." However, the actual functioning of a full team complement is limited due to frequent change in medical Service Unit leadership, lack of complete categorical representation on the team, inconsistency of this philosophy among staff members, and a degree of apathy at all operational levels. A *plan of action* must initially provide, in fact, a team followed by a climate conducive to the effective development of this philosophy.

A method of introducing the concept in the above recommendation is exemplified at a boarding school where students function as a health committee which helps administer the school health program. Members serve the Service Unit Director in an advisory capacity and do some implementation of health programs such as TB control, environmental health, etc.

Some students work on a part time basis in clinics. They perform minor tasks in the medical and dental services and in turn receive instructions and some special assistance in understanding health problems.

18. High Risk Families

Since there seems to be adequate indices for identifying high health-risk families, the Committee recommends that the Division of Indian Health, upon identification, follow up with emphasis on rehabilitation for these families.

Progress

(Division of Indian Health)

Sample studies show that within Indian communities a relatively small number of families require the highest percentage of health services due to: family dysfunctioning, absence of one or more parents, repeated poor health practices, economic deprivation and problems arising from a culture in transition.

In order to more fully identify and "upon identification follow-up with emphasis on rehabilitation for these families" a plan of action must include—

(*a*) Realignment of priorities of service to meet the special needs of this population group designed not only to ensure the health of family members but to reduce health hazards in children and, in turn, enhance their chances for breaking the cycle of poor health which prohibits full maturation and productive adult life.

(*b*) Bring to bear the concerted impact of the total team in services to these families.

(*c*) Provide transportation, baby sitters and homemaker services where needed.

(*d*) Maintain clinic hours most convenient to the patients.

(*e*) Provide source of nourishment when prolonged waiting for services is unavoidable.

(*f*) Provide sufficient staff so that each patient can receive more individual attention.

(*g*) Expand Public Health Nursing personnel to increase home visits and follow-up service to high risk families.

(*h*) Maintain consistent sensitivity to the dignity of the individual.

The multi-discipline and multi-agency approach is recognized as essential in services to high-health risk families. An increased number of local committees with Indian members, DIH hospital as well as field health staffs, and state and community agencies are involved. In some instances transportation has been provided for these high-risk families. Evening clinics and adjusted clinic hours are in operation. In selected clinics nourishment is provided when long waiting periods or long distances are unavoidable.

Strides have been made in setting up appointment systems to provide continuity of care by the same physician and/or health workers in the Division's health facilities. Greater emphasis is given by Public Health Nurses to identify and follow up on high-risk families.

The high-risk family approach is formalized on the Crow, Blackfeet and Flathead reservations, though there is interest on other reservations in reviving the Infant Priority Control System in a form similar to that initiated in the Billings Area in 1964. On the other reservations, the concept of high-risk families is well accepted, but no formal approach has been taken.

19. *Psychological Problems*

The Committee feels that more information is needed with respect to the psychological problems associated with placing children in boarding schools and recommends that the Division of Indian Health in cooperation with the Bureau of Indian Affairs enlist the aid of a group of consultants to thoroughly study the psychological problems in boarding schools.

Progress

(Bureau of Indian Affairs)

The Bureau of Indian Affairs recognizes the need to study psychological problems relevant to all school children and is attempting to develop a staff capacity to undertake numerous activities in this area.

A Section on Psychological Services in the Branch of Pupil Personnel Services has been approved and efforts are being made to employ certified psychologists. The Chief of Psychology Services Section in Pupil Personnel Services is expected for duty within the month of April 1968 to assume responsibility for planning, directing and implementing a school psychology program for BIA schools. It is also suggested that studies of residential schools for the deaf and blind may provide additional insights into problems inherent in such facilities.

Currently, BIA is obtaining a substantial measure of its service through college contracts. But as indicated above for staffing field installations, it is intended that a number of qualified psychologists are to be employed as part of a comprehensive Pupil Personnel Services program.

The Division of Indian Health proposed the following:

1. Enlist the interest of Dr. Eli Bower, well known NIMH school mental health specialist, to discuss need and plan for a study. Dr. Bower will not be back in this country until the middle of September.

2. Ascertain if Dr. Greene of Las Vegas (New Mexico) Highlands University would be willing to share with the Indian Committee of the AAP the results of his five-year study of problems of BIA Boarding School students in Albuquerque.

3. Ascertain if mental health aspects were studied and reported by the National Advisory Committee on Indian Education—BIA's.

4. Prepare report for BIA-DIH monthly meetings of Division Director and BIA Commissioner to determine whether further studies are needed.

5. Discuss with BIA Education Division, the studies and recommendations of Dr. Bower, pediatricians, psychiatrists and others, and strategies to utilize the findings and recommendations.

6. Prepare report for next meeting of AAP's Indian Advisory Committee.

DIH progress report as of May 1968 shows the following:

1. Dr. Bower, NIMH school mental health specialist, was not reached.

2. The five year study of problems of BIA Boarding School students in Albuquerque conducted by the New Mexico Highlands University has been completed and is in the process of publication. A preliminary progress report is being forwarded to the Division.

3. Alcoholism is a serious problem among Indian youth. Program activities concerning alcoholism generally are being compiled jointly by BIA and DIH as the first step in developing Headquarters agreement as to a plan of attack upon this problem, including the segment found in boarding schools.

4. The Portland Area has suggested that consideration be given to expanding educational facilities in Alaska to provide for Native students there rather than new construction for this activity in Chemawa, Oregon. This planning would relieve many of the mental and emotional health problems associated with traumatic long distance separation from cultural and home ties.

5. In the Billings Area psychological problems are basically treated through the consultation of Dr. Dangerfield at Intermountain, and of Drs. Barter and Robinson on the Crow-Northern Cheyenne Service Unit (Busby). Dr. Barter consults once every two weeks. Dr. Robinson, of the VA hospital at Sheridan, Wyoming, consults one-half day a week. The approach has been to develop the competency of the local staff, including the school staff, in recognizing and handling problems.

6. Inter-agency and DIH inter-area workshops and educational sessions with Indian participation have stimulated organized community action to study and prevent mental health problems including suicides among Indian youth.

20. *Budget Support for Educational Programs*

While the Committee was not in a position to determine funds needed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to effectively carry out an adequate educational program, since successful education relies upon good health and good health relies upon successful education, the Committee recommends that the Bureau of Indian Affairs seek the necessary funds through the Department of Interior for upgrading their educational programs for the American Indian and Alaska Native.

Progress

(Bureau of Indian Affairs)

The Bureau of Indian Affairs concurs with this recommendation and, in addition to the supplementary funds received through Title I ESEA which have proved extremely valuable, the Division of Education is seeking increased Congressional appropriations for school programs and operation on both the fiscal year 1968 supplemental and 1969 budgets.

In addition to utilization of Title I (ESEA) funds for support of special programs for educationally deprived children, serious and detailed exploration has been given to planning by BIA specialists for other aspects of ESEA. For example, planning special program funding under Title III (Supplementary Educational Centers and Services) and the upcoming Title VI (Initiation, expansion, and improvement of educational programs for handicapped children) continues. In addition to these aspects in the field of Education, related cooperative planning should parallel in the Medical area, viz., Comprehensive Health Care under the Children and Youth Projects in Children's Bureau (HEW), Title XIX (Medicaid), U.S. Public Health Service Chronic Disease and the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development. Also, current legislation like National Teachers Corps, OEO, Social and Rehabilitation Services and U.S. Office of Education is being looked at in depth.

21. *Cooperative Approach*

Since the Division of Indian Health and the Bureau of Indian Affairs have much in common with respect to the American Indian and Alaska Native, the Committee recommends that they continue to have meaningful dialogue through routine meetings at the Headquarters level and that they initiate routine meetings between their field personnel on a regularly scheduled basis at all field locations.

In this regard the Committee would like to emphasize its interest in the problem of school health of Indian children and in offering its services, as a group or individually, for cooperation with either or both the Division of Indian Health and the Bureau of Indian Affairs in bringing about further progress in this important area.

Progress

(Bureau of Indian Affairs and Division of Indian Health)

Currently the Division at Headquarters level has intensified its program of cooperation with the Bureau of Indian Affairs to review mutual problems, develop guidelines, and coordinate budgeting and program planning and construction. This type of cooperation needs to be further developed at the Area and Service Unit level. In one Area this cooperative planning has been significantly developed and sustained with tangible results shown by better educational and health management of children. In other Areas such cooperative planning continues to increase but for the most part has revolved around problem solving situations.

In order to "continue to have meaningful dialogue through routine meetings at the Headquarters level" and "initiate routine meetings between field personnel—at all field locations" and to accept the valuable assistance of the AAPC, a plan of action should include—

(*a*) Increased DIH and BIA Headquarters cooperative program planning.

(*b*) Leadership at the DIH and BIA Area level to provide the impetus for a regularly planned program of coordinated effort.

(*c*) Insurance at all levels that consistent transmission of the result of this cooperative approach be made to all staff involved in implementing services.

(*d*) Acceptance and utilization of the services of the American Academy of Pediatrics for periodic program evaluation; for assistance in justification of program requirements; and to provide consultation related to specific problems at all operational level.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs wholeheartedly supports this recommendation and will seek to have a meaningful dialogue permeate all levels and result in continued communication on areas of mutual interest and concern.

The analysis of various program components and recommendations of the American Academy of Pediatrics Committee on Indian Health are appreciated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs as a basis for continued efforts to improve school programs and operations. We trust they will feel that the time and effort devoted to the preparation of this forthright document was justified as the Bureau of Indian Affairs seeks to implement changes suggested and meet the challenges contained therein.

Progress report as of May 1968 shows the following:

1. Regular meetings between DIH–BIA headquarters staff have proven beneficial in the development of joint agreements and operational plans to attack problems of Indian and Alaska Native health, welfare and education.

2. Joint planning at the Area and local levels has increased and improved the quality of services children receive—

(*a*) In-service training is provided the BIA instructional aides to enable them to identify illness and promote health practices in the school environment.

(*b*) Several service units have established various types of school health committees or councils to consider student health problems.

(*c*) Concentrated effort is being placed on developing methods to solve the problems inherent in the transfer of school health records, with pertinent health information, from one school to another.

(*d*) Regular BIA and DIH monthly and/or quarterly meetings provide a means for evaluation and problem solving at the community level.

3. With the establishment of the DIH–MCH Advisory Committee a closer working relationship exists with the American Academy of Pediatrics Committee on Indian Health. At the recent first biennial meeting of the MCH Committee the proposed recommendations for the improvement of MCH were reviewed and considered by members of both committees before final submission to the Division.

MEMORANDUM

NAVAJO INDIAN HEALTH AREA OFFICE.
May 7, 1968.

To: E. S. Rabeau, M.D., Director, Division of Indian Health, Attention: Emery A. Johnson, M.D., Deputy Director, 804 Willste Building, Silver Spring, Maryland.

From: Indian Health Area Director, Navajo Indian Health Area Office, Window Rock, Arizona.

Subject: Progress after November 11, 1967—On the Recommendations of the American Academy of Pediatrics Meeting Held May 11, 1967.

As requested in your teletype of April 10, 1968, we report that the following progress has occurred:

NIHA Interim Reports

1. Recommendation

Instructional or Dormitory Aides

Since November, 1967, consultation with boarding schools and programs for training of instructional aides have increased greatly. During this time a program of intensive consultation with all members of the guidance department of the Toyei School on a weekly basis has been carried out. In addition, members of the Mental Health Program have held meetings for the purposes of consultation about psychological problems in various schools on an average of approximately three per week.

The Indian Health Area Director, Deputy Indian Health Area Director, Psychiatric Consultant, and members of the Mental Health Program Staff, Navajo Indian Health Area Office, met with Dr. Campanelli, BIA Education, BIA Headquarters, Washington, and the BIA Navajo Area Education Staff, in Window Rock two weeks ago, and DIH Staff re-emphasized the importance of increasing the quality and quantity of Instructional or Dormitory Aides in boarding schools.

2. Recommendation

Dormitory Structure

No interim report indicated.

3. Recommendation

Health Instruction

In early 1967, a joint committee composed of BIA Branch of Education and DIH Navajo Area Office staff was formed. The purpose of the committee was to explore and outline a plan of action to develop a program of family life education (including sex education) acceptable to the Navajo.

The plan proposed called for a review of what was being done in the schools and the development of a special project which would allow the use of a consultant or the addition of a staff member to do a complete review of what was presently being done, what needed to be added or strengthened, and what additional content should be included.

The proposed project did not materialize, and due to change in personnel in the BIA Branch of Education, Navajo Area, the committee has not been active in the intervening period. The position is now filled and it is expected that activities will be resumed. The objectives of the committee may be broadened.

In the intervening period, however, other activities have developed and considerable progress has been made.

A Curriculum Coordinator has been added to the Navajo Area, Branch of Education, BIA staff; Curriculum Committees have been established for the following:

(1) Guidance and Home Living
(2) Science
(3) Social Studies
(4) Language Arts
(5) ESL
(6) Music and Arts
(7) Special Education—Health and Physical Education

A committee for each of the subjects named is functioning at the Area level. The have an established monthly meeting and may meet more often if needed. Each of the five Agencies on the Navajo has its own committee on these subjects which functions at the agency level. A representative and/or an alternate is designated to be a member of the area level committees. Agency level committees' members are drawn from the schools and represent large, medium and small schools.

Reports go from the agency level to the area level committee and are again discussed and consolidated. The Area Education Office has a Curriculum Balance Committee which coordinates the activities.

At first it was planned that Health would be included as one section of the Science Committee work. It has now been decided that it will need to be a *separate group.*

These committees do research, recommend pilot studies, review and recommend materials, and make recommendations for additions or changes in the curriculum goals. The exchange of information and ideas between schools and between agencies, and the involvement of the school personnel, has been one of the valuable outcomes. This has been in addition to curriculum development.

Other developments in the health curriculum field include a plan to develop family life education as a part of the on-going curriculum and a course in the family life education for Instructional Aides.

The BIA Branch of Education has arranged to have a course in Family Life Education taught as one of the courses for the summer course for Instructional Aides given at Fort Lewis College, Durango, Colorado. *Visual materials and other materials from the Navajo Indian Health Area Office, DIH, will be used by the instructor.*

The instructor will be a local public school principal who has spent much time in developing a course for his school, and has worked with the parents in planning the course outline.

The Instructional Aides attending Fort Lewis are almost all from the Navajo. They expect to have about 200 this summer.

For the implementation of a program in family life education, the BIA Branch of Education plans to offer two approaches to the schools. One approach is to include the content or subject in all grade levels; the second approach is to select one grade, as the sixth grade, to present the subject. Both methods have been used successfully. It is recognized, however, that the schools have different situations and problems, and all reservation schools have a unique problem. The school will be able to select the approach they can best handle successfully at this time.

At the same time the School Board Liaison Officer is working with school boards and members of the community. The BIA Branch of Education wishes to avoid a recurrence of a situation which developed in one area on the reservation when one school moved too quickly and without adequate preparation, and failed to inform and involve parents.

Other activities supporting the school health instruction program are the day-to-day contacts and assistance given to the teachers by Service Unit staff, namely the public health and school nurses and the health educators. Other requests are directed to the Area Health Education Branch.

The NIHA Health Educator works with the members of the Branch of Education staff to establish a channel for the exchange of information, joint planning and cooperation.

The first reservation-wide project has been the preparation and distribution of materials on Sylvatic Plague for use in the schools. The BIA Branch of Education is distributing to all BIA, Public and Mission schools one set of these materials, a reference manual, flip chart, outline of basic concepts to be taught, with a covering letter signed by the Chairman of the Navajo Tribe, the BIA Area Director, and the PHS–DIH Indian Health Area Director, and a letter from the Assistant Director, Navajo Area, BIA, Branch of Education.

We have discussed briefly at this time other subjects that might be approached in the same manner, as Safety and Accident Prevention.

While the activities that are included in the last two paragraphs are good and do help in establishing a relationship or climate for coordination, there is need for a more planned, directed and consistent approach to the DIH and Area goals for school health on the reservation.

4. Recommendation

Cooperation with non-Bureau of Indian Affairs Schools

The number of requests for materials and technical assistance from the public schools on the reservation is increasing.

The NIHA Health Educator has assisted three public school systems during the past months in planning health projects and with materials. Two recent requests were for assistance in planning and materials for incorporating child care and related topics in home economics classes, and for materials and references on the subjects—narcotics, smoking and alcoholism for teacher reference and use.

5. Recommendation

Substitute Families

No interim report indicated.

6. *Recommendation*

School Switching

No interim report indicated.

7. *Recommendation*

Placing of Students

No interim report indicated.

8. *Recommendation*

Health Records

On April 3, 1968, a meeting was held at the NIHAO, Window Rock—regarding: Transfer of Student Health Records to Off-Reservation Schools.

Persons in attendance.—Public Health Service: George E. Bock, M.D., Indian Health Area Director; Robert C. Vander Wagen, M.D., Deputy IHAD & MCH Consultant; Roger W. Haskell M.D., Chief, Office of Program Services; Mrs. Juanita Browning, Chief, Nursing Branch (P.H.); Mrs. Jean McCollum, Area School Nurse Consultant; Miss Ruth Shurter, Chief, Social Service Branch; and Clayton H. McCracken, M.D., MCH Consultant (Billings Area). Bureau of Indian Affairs: William J. Benham, Ph.D., Assistant Area Director (Education); Mr. Abraham Tucker, Liaison Officer, Education; and Miss Laurine Ruleau, Education Specialist.

Dr. McCracken, MCH Consultant, Billings Area, Division of Indian Health presented the student health record transfer problem as it pertains to the Navajo students at the Intermountain Indian School, Brigham City, Utah. Of 700 new students arriving at Intermountain last September (total number of students—2,100, none had health records upon arrival. As of the date of this meeting, only something over 200 health records for these 700 students have been received. Dr. McCracken indicated that a significant number of students had health problems which should have been brought to the attention of the Intermountain staff at the time of arrival, or even sooner: convulsive disorders requiring medication, active tuberculosis, infectious syphilis, otology problems, trachoma, hyperthyroidism, etc.

Everyone agreed that this represents a serious problem and that all possible efforts shall be made by both agencies to remedy the situation.

Dr. McCracken indicated two (2) major objectives to accomplish:

1. Receipt of the student health record, preferably before the arrival of the student, but at least not later than one week after the student's arrival.

2. Some means of having a recent physical examination performed on students who are known or who are suspected of having a disease or health problem requiring treatment and/or continual surveillance and follow-up.

Following Dr. McCracken's presentation, lengthy discussion centered around the Bureau of Indian Affairs methods of receiving and evaluating student applications assigning them to specific off-reservation schools, setting up buses and bus rosters, etc. Equally discussed were the difficulties encountered by PHS in keeping health records current, transferring the records when students transfer, performing physical examinations on departing students, etc.

The result of this discussion was that all of the participants were fully informed as to the nature and extent of the problems involved in the continuity of health care for new students being sent to off-reservation schools. With this information available to all participants, the problem-solving, decision-making phase of the conference began, and finally terminated with the agreement that the following procedures would be adopted to accomplish the objectives set by Dr. McCracken:

A. *For the coming academic year (1968–1969)*

1. Receipt of the school health record as soon as possible at the off-reservation school. It was recognized that due to the fact that some students simply show up with their application at the bus departure location, it would be virtually impossible to send records to the off-reservation school before the student arrives. Another complicating factor is that the final destination of many students is not known until bus departure time. Therefore, it was decided to aim for an arrival of student health record at the off-reservation school no later than one week after the student arrives. Following are the methods which will be used to insure that this can happen, as well as assignment of responsibilities.

(*a*) When the BIA receives a student application, a copy will be sent immediately to Mrs. Jean McCollum, Navajo Area School Nurse Consultant, PHS Indian Hospital, Winslow, Arizona, hereinafter designated as the "central pool for health records."
Responsibility—BIA

(*b*) Using these applications, the school records will be sent for and assembled at the central pool.
Responsibility—PHS

(*c*) Immediately after the bus departures, a copy of the bus rosters will be sent to the central pool.
Responsibility—BIA

(*d*) School health records will then be mailed immediately to the appropriate off-reservation school.
Responsibility—PHS

2. Physical Examination for the Departing Student—Considering the number of students involved, the various time delays and the fact that health records are available for screening, it was decided that routine physicals on all departing students would not be feasible. In order to cast a net that would catch the vast majority of students with health problems, the following procedures will be undertaken:

(*a*) Advise all 8th grade students, and others who are considering applying for off-reservation schools, that early submission of application is recommended.
Responsibility—BIA

(*b*) As soon as PHS receives the copy of student application, the health record will be screened for known health problems.
Responsibility—BIA for sending copy of application
Responsibility—PHS for screening the health record.

(*c*) As a result of the screening, where indicated the student will be contacted and given physical examination at PHS facility.
Responsibility—PHS

(*d*) The results of the physical examination with findings and recommendations will be placed in the school health record, and a copy sent immediately to the off-reservation school to which the student is most likely to go, according to the information given by the student verbally and on his application form.
Responsibility—PHS

(*e*) It is possible that a very rapid screening can take place at the bus departure site to discover obvious health problems, communicable disease, etc.
Responsibility—PHS will evaluate feasibility of this procedure and decide whether or not it can or needs to be done. Should this decision be affirmative, PHS will carry it out.

3. Publicity and Communications—Attempts will be made by both agencies to inform fully all levels of the health and education systems of the procedures outlined above.

(*a*) BIA schools, dormitories and teachers: BIA responsibility.
(*b*) School nurses, Field Medical Officers, SUD's: PHS responsibility.
(*c*) All other schools (public and mission)—BIA responsibility.

B. Future academic years

It was generally agreed that the only practical way to insure the implementation of an entirely adequate and satisfactory system of providing health information to the off-reservation schools would be by computerization of school health records. Mrs. McCollum indicated that she is already working on the ways and means of accomplishing this.

9. Recommendation

Infirmaries

There has continued to be excellent joint planning of school health center infirmary needs between the BIA and NIHA staffs here on the Navajo Reservation. On July 1, the new School Health Center at Fort Wingate, New Mexico, will be in operation, which is the result of such joint planning. (See Recommendation 15 below)

10. *Recommendation*

State Health Planning Council

The Navajo Indian Health Area Office has corresponded with appropriate State officials concerning representation on the State Health Planning Councils in the States of Arizona, New Mexico and Utah. At the time of this writing, a representative from the Albuquerque Area Office is on the Council in New Mexico. Utah and Arizona have not made any selections to their Councils which may or may not exclude the possibility of a representative from Indian Health.

The IHAD, Navajo Indian Health Area, has been elected to the Board of Directors of the Arizona Tuberculosis and Health Association, soon to be named the Arizona Tuberculosis and Respiratory Disease Association. At the Saturday, April 27, ATHA Board Meeting, it was decided by unanimous vote of the Board to send a letter to Governor Williams of Arizona. This letter said "The Arizona Tuberculosis and Health Association knows respiratory disease is a major health problem in Arizona, and the Indian population of Arizona has a high incidence, prevalence and mortality from respiratory diseases including tuberculosis, pneumonia and bronchitis".

"The Arizona Tuberculosis and Health Association feels that any effort in Comprehensive Health Planning for Arizona should include representation from the Division of Indian Health and the Association."

It was suggested that the IHAD, NIHA, would be able to represent both organizations, and the IHAD, Phoenix Indian Health Area, would be able to represent the other Indians of Arizona.

"To have comprehensive health planning, there should be comprehensive health representation."

This Area has been very active in the Office of Navajo Economic Opportunity Head Start Schools on the Navajo Reservation, bringing comprehensive health care services to this group of Indian children. Some of the difficulties we have encountered include: Head Start Schools being widely established across the Navajo Reservation in chapter houses, abandoned BIA facilities, trading posts, and other less than ideal buildings, which necessitated extensive re-programing of our comprehensive health services. Our Environmental Health staff conducted environmental health surveys, performed by professional sanitarians. Fifty-three comprehensive surveys were conducted during Fiscal Year 1967, forty-five follow-up surveys were conducted during FY 1968, and sixteen new comprehensive surveys have been conducted thus far in FY 1968.

Many deficiencies were identified, and comprehensive reports and recommendations for correction were distributed to ONEO, the Chairman of the Navajo Tribe, the chapter organizations sponsoring the Head Start School, the Indian desk of the Office of Economic Opportunity, and our own DIH field personnel for follow-up.

It was recognized upon completion of a limited number of these comprehensive surveys that operational deficiencies were the result of inadequate training of ONEO personnel. Consequently a training program for ONEO cooks and teacher aides was conducted by DIH staff during February and March, 1967. The training session consisted of a 40-hour course which was equally divided between Environmental Health and Nutrition. The Environmental Health portion included 8 hours of general environmental health training covering topics such as heating, lighting, ventilation, and water supply and sewage disposal. Twelve hours were spent in food handlers' training.

During the month of February 1968, environmental health training was presented to all Head Start School employees by DIH personnel in ten seminar sessions spotted throughout the Navajo. The seminar sessions were limited to 4½ hour presentation on environmental health which covered general environmental health and housekeeping as well as food handler training. This was presented to approximately 350 teacher aides, teachers, and bus drivers.

Other preventive health services have been provided by our Service Unit staffs including immunizations, physical examinations, with correction of health deficiencies as indicated.

We are very cognizant of the opportunity to provide comprehensive health services to this group of 3, 4 and 5-year old Indian children who previously were seen intermittently by our health staffs, and then usually with acute illness that precluded preventive services.

11. Recommendation

Transportation

Transportation continues to be a major factor in many if not all of the health problems on the Navajo Reservation. At one time we suggested the possible use of BIA and other school buses at times when they were lying at the schools. We continue to feel this could be made a reality.

A major sub-factor in the transportation problem is the lack of an adequate system of roads, as President Johnson stated in his message relating to the problems of the American Indians on March 6, 1968—"For example, on the vast Navajo-Hopi area there are only 30% as many miles of surfaced roads per 1,000 square miles as in rural areas of Arizona and New Mexico."

The IHAD has repeatedly asked the Navajo Tribal Council to pass a Traffic Code. It appears such a Code may be passed during this Calendar Year.

12. Recommendation

Special Educational Services

As mentioned in BIA reply, presently there are special education classes at Teec Nos Pos, Aneth and Toadlena in the Shiprock Agency, at Dilcon in the Fort Definance Agency, and preliminary plans for a special class for children with hearing impairment at Crownpoint. NIHA has participated in evaluation of the children selected for all these classes.

NIHA staff agreed to perform health evaluations during the spring of 1968 of all children in the Tuba City Agency schools identified through the teacher-referral forms as educationally handicapped. This is now in process. The hope and expectation are that similar evaluation will be performed for the remainder of schools on the Navajo in coming months.

The IHAD has been in conference with the Assistant Area Director, BIA, and appropriate BIA staffs, discussing how necessary it is to continue our joint efforts, and we have been reassured the input of BIA will continue.

13. Recommendation

Utilization of Research Findings

The NIHAO has been involved in developing some behavioral and cultural research concerning the Navajo Indian. Recently during the Second Annual Conference on Alcoholism on the Navajo Reservation, research work done by Robert J. Savard, Ph.D., while he was assigned to the USPHS Indian Hospital, Fort Defiance, Arizona, on "The Navajo Alcoholic—A Man Yearning for Social Competence",—was presented. Behavioral patterns identified by Dr. Savard will be used in formulating additions to our present alcoholism program.

Dr. Jerrold Levy's research has contributed much to program approaches emphasis and understanding used in the Navajo health program.

The Cornell Many Farms Research findings have added to our program.

In the course of consultation with the boarding schools, members of the Mental Health Program have brought to BIA's attention the various published reports of applicable research in this area and particularly at Toyei some of these findings have been put in practice by members of the guidance staff.

Recently, with the approval of the Navajo Tribal Council Advisory Committee we have arranged for a research project in oral pathology, to be done by the Dental Department of the University of Minnesota.

14. Recommendation

Staffing

Recently the IHAD, NIHA, re-emphasized the importance of adequately trained and adequate numbers of dormitory personnel, in a joint meeting with BIA, Washington, BIA Navajo Area staff, and NIHA staff.

15. Recommendation

Pre-School Health

The NIHA follows the American Academy of Pediatrics Committee on Indian Health recommendations to "exercise continual health supervision and surveillance" and "provide a complete assessment and examination of each child prior to entering school", as follows:

(*a*) ***Child Health Nursing Conferences:***

1. Nursing Conferences are now being held at 33 different locations monthly by Public Health Nurses on the Navajo Reservation.

2. A large School Health Center has just been completed at Fort Wingate, New Mexico and will be in operation in a few weeks. Permanent PHS staff provide 24-hour outpatient comprehensive health services.

3. Three School Health Stations Special, located at Lower Greasewood, Shonto, and Kaibeto, Arizona, are now in operation. Permanent PHS staff provide 24-hour outpatient comprehensive health services.

4. Eight School Health Stations located at Rough Rock, Dennehotso, Dennebito Red Lake, Leupp and Dilcon, Arizona, and at Toadlene, New Mexico, and Aneth, Utah, are operated from 1 to 5 times a week. PHS staff provide intermittent outpatient comprehensive health services on an itinerant basis in facilities *not* owned by PHS.

5. Twenty-three School Health Clinics are operated in the 8 Service Units at various intervals. PHS staff provide intermittent outpatient comprehensive health services on an itinerant basis in facilities *not* owned by PHS.

(*b*) As shown in the attached memorandum, subject: "Indian Boards of Health", there is much activity on the Navajo, working cooperatively with Tribal and community groups to encourage utilization of preventive health services.

(*c*) Fiscal Year 1968, the Field Health and Hospital staffs were increased. There are at the present time 9 Pediatricians in the 8 Navajo Service Units. Unfortunately next year, because of the shortage of Pediatricians, it appears the number will be reduced to 6.

(*d*) The NIHA has a Board Certified Pediatrician as Maternal and Child Health Consultant, a Supervisory Public Health Nurse as a School Health Nurse Consultant, and two School Health Nurse Consultants employed by ONEO.

(*e*) We are recruiting for an Area Nutritionist, however studies, research and programs previously in effect have been continued and utilized by all staff in the MCH program. (Also see section on Head Start Schools—Recommendation 10 above.)

The Area Medical Social Consultant and her staff, working with the Mental Health Team, have had input into the pre-school program.

(*f*) Staff is becoming more aware of behavioral and social needs of children and families. This appears to be related to increased emphasis during Area and Service Unit orientation programs plus new knowledge being accumulated by DIH Mental Health Teams which employ Indian Mental Health Aides. We have learned much by listening to our Navajo Indian staff, community representatives and health committees.

(*g*) Staff development to insure an increased sensitivity to the multiplicity of elements involved in child growth and development during this Fiscal Year, included—

1. Work shop—4 days—on Denver Development Guide scheduled for 25 during May, 1968.
2. Work shop—2 days—by Utah State Health Department and Children's Bureau for 15, June, 1968.
3. School Nurse Work shop—11 days—for 8 Nurses—University of Colorado, Boulder, June, 1968.
4. Pediatric Conference, Gallup, February, 1968.
5. Indian Health Committee, American Academy of Pediatrics, Meeting, Albuquerque, New Mexico, May, 1968.

(*h*) Community programs specially designed to benefit children, utilized in this Area, include—

1. Arizona and New Mexico—Crippled Children's Services.
2. Head Start Program (ONEO).
3. Special Education Programs.
4. Rough Rock Demonstration School.
5. Accident Prevention School Programs.
6. School Safety Programs.

(*i*) Programs dealing with child neglect including abandonment, frequently associated with alcoholism, include—

1. The Navajo Indian Health Area Alcoholism Program, augmented by ONEO, has had very gratifying results with those patients treated. Unfortunately there remain a tremendous number of severe chronic alcoholics, estimated at over 5,000, who have not received treatment. It is the consensus of the workers in this program that probably over 20,000 persons are affected

by alcoholism directly or indirectly. Disrupted homes of alcoholics frequently result in cases of child neglect and abandonment.

Of the 760 (plus) alcoholics thus far treated in this program, over 45% are still abstaining from drinking alcoholic beverages, and many have returned to or found new jobs, and are productive people. It should be noted these "cure" results do not include the treated alcoholic who only intermittently falters and drinks and at other times is a productive or potentially productive person.

As mentioned earlier in this memorandum, research done on this and other Indian groups, is being utilized in planning more efficient and effective programs. The Area Mental Health Team is greatly involved in this program, but more staff is needed to make a substantial impact.

(*j*) More and more emphasis is apparent on the correction of defects found in children at all ages. One of our greatest needs is correction of ear disease resulting from infection in early childhood. The backlog of cases needing this kind of treatment is enormous, as shown in Dr. Burton F. Jaffe's paper. There is much emphasis on prevention, however many factors preclude greater effectiveness.

We are at present identifying the total need concerning all defects, and we anticipate greater Contract Medical Care programming to supplement DIH and Crippled Children's program impact.

(*k*) Two editions of "Nutrition on the Navajo", including food practices and nutrition-related health problems and illnesses, written by our previous Area Staff Nutritionist, have had wide distribution and a re-printing is contemplated. This publication has been highly acclaimed by visting nutritionists and investigators.

Cases of Kwashiokor, Marasmus and other severe nutritional diseases are not uncommon on the Navajo especially in the Western portion of the Reservation. Last year the Pediatrician at Tuba City identified a few cases of Folic Acid deficiency in newborns, apparently resulting from Folic Acid deficiency in the mother. (Cases fo this kind have been described as occurring in Africa.)

We sent Age, Weight, and Height Data to Dr. James P. Carter at Vanderbilt University for a study now underway.

(*l*) As mentioned above, increased emphasis is anticipated in correction of the defects associated with Otitis Media.

At the present time there is trachoma detection practiced in all 8 Service Units. Each year Trachoma Experts are brought to PHS Indian Hospital, Gallup, and a course in Trachoma detection, diagnosis and treatment is given to all new staff. In addition, there are now 4 Ophthalmologists on the Navajo Reservation, heading up 3 Trachoma Control Teams.

For years the Navajo Tribal Council has appropriated large sums of money to provide eyeglasses to Navajo school children. Two years ago they appropriated $125,000 and this year, $80,000. Unfortunately this amount of money does not begin to meet the need, for the optometric services contracted for by the Navajo Tribal Council this year would reach only 4,000 students. In view of this, the NIHA acquired two Commissioned Officer Optometrists to augment the program by providing refraction services and arranging for the Navajo Tribe to purchase eyeglasses from American Optical Company through our DIH contract. In this way, three times the number of eyeglasses at $7.00 a pair, could be purchased, compared to the $20.00 cost under the contract the Tribe has with a private optometrist.

Unfortunately, again our impact was not marked, primarily because of the long wait experienced in obtaining equipment. Next year we will have three optometrists on duty and we are hoping to be in a position to provide adequate optometric services so that all Navajo school children in need of glasses will receive them. It is obvious that a child with uncorrected visual deficiency is handicapped educationally.

Recently in cooperation with BIA Branch of Education, we completed a study in Crownpoint schools identifying hearing defects. An interesting result of this study was that many of the children identified as having severe to complete hearing loss by competent specialists, and then given the indicated treatment, had amazing restoration of hearing, and only a small number were found to have permanent impairment. These results are being more extensively investigated in an effort to determine all factors contributing to the results.

We are also studying the possibility of augmenting the Navajo Tribal Council prostheses program.

(*m*) Program plans in all Service Units have as high as high priority, plans of action that provide a multidiscipline approach, in a concerted effort to alleviate family problems affecting the health of children. Unfortunately, insufficient numbers of staff, and the additional needs of materials, plus other factors such as economic level, transportation, home sanitation, etc., make the impact much less than is needed. NIHA Field staff have as high priority, home visits to families with repeated hospitalizations, and multidiscipline approach is brought to bear to the extent possible.

(*n*) As mentioned above, during Area and Service Unit orientation, much emphasis is placed on respecting the Indian culture, the Indian's dignity and his intellect, and by mutual involvement including understanding, planning and implementing health programs, there will accrue greater improvement of the beneficiaries' health status.

(*o*) During the present Fiscal Year, the NIHA has participated in training Navajo people as health aides in various special categories including—

1. Tuberculosis case aides (ONEO staff loaned to us).
2. Mental Health case aides (DIH Mental Health staff).
3. Veneral Disease case aides (State Programs from CDC grants).
4. Community Alcoholism workers (ONEO staff, training by ONEO and NIHA, and coordinated in DIH–ONEO Alcoholism Program).
5. Environmental Health aides trained in Plague control.
6. Trachoma Control health aides.

16. Recommendation

Student Responsibility

No interim report indicated.

17. Recommendation

Health Team Approach

Various NIHA categorical disciplines are involved in providing health services in boarding schools and stimulating students to take up a health profession as a career.

The NIHA Mental Health Team

Approach to school problems has been one of team effort wherever possible. Our consultations have involved a psychiatrist, a psychologist, a mental health nurse and three paraprofessional mental health workers. In addition, we have in a number of cases involved the school nurse and other members of the school staff as well as general medical officers in dealing with school problems.

Representatives of other agencies are also included as part of the health team when appropriate. An example is the inclusion of BIA School Services rather than DIH Social Service when Child Welfare Services are needed since they are designated.

The Navajo Indian Health Area Office has actively promoted and assisted in Career Days.

In 1965, the DIH exhibit for the Tribal Fair featured "Health Careers for Navajo Youth."

Kits of materials on Health Careers were prepared and distributed to all high schools on the reservation and to each Service Unit for use by health personnel with students. These were distributed in 1966 and in 1967.

"Health Careers" was also the theme of a DIH exhibit prepared for the Navajo Science Fair, March 1967.

During the last 3 years the Area Office staff and respective Service Unit staffs have participated in the Health Career Days held by the high schools in three areas. These areas are the Window Rock, Ganado, St. Michaels, Sanders, and Chinle High Schools. The Career Day is alternated between schools,—Tuba City and Kayenta. Some years these two schools hold a combined day. This year they are each having their own Career Day. Service Unit personnel are participating, and materials are being supplied by the Area Health Education Branch.

We average three major Career Days each year. Service Unit personnel such as Directors of Nursing also do a great deal through their individual community contacts, Candy Stripers, etc.

Candy striper programs have been instituted at the Winslow and Crownpoint Hospitals. Gallup Hospital has a Future Nurses' Club and a Women's Volunteer Service. Volunteer groups are active in the Shiprock and Tuba City Service Units.

Hospital tours for school children have been successful in the Fort Defiance, Tuba City and Gallup Service Units.

All Service Units have employed Navajo students in the Neighborhood Youth Corps programs and have provided supervised training in health program activities.

During the past year, NIHA has attempted to provide a comprehensive health program for the Rough Rock Demonstration School, Rough Rock, Arizona. This has been a rewarding experience for the School Board at Rough Rock is composed entirely of Navajo people of the community, and their input into the total school program including health services has been outstanding.

18. Recommendation

High Risk Families

NIHA plans of action for high risk families have included the following: In some Service Units priority services for the "problem family" are identified early by use of a Kardex System and the health team approach is utilized, and has been found to be effective in Service Units which have the necessary staff to provide it. Gallup Service Unit has used this approach for over five years, and the staff praise the accomplishments made.

At the Gallup Hospital the pediatric service has initiated studies on Estimated Probability of Illness with a follow-up system coordinated with the Service Unit Field Health Program.

Clinic hours at Fort Defiance, Winslow, Crownpoint and Gallup have been extended to be more convenient for patients and to provide higher quality of services resulting from more staff time available per patient.

Most Service Units provide nourishment to clinic patients such as diabetics, etc., where abstinence from food is contraindicated.

Fort Defiance has a canteen in operation, operated by a blind person, and Gallup has offered parking area space for a portable canteen.

The NIHA is developing criteria of ideal staffing patterns and service delivery to clinic and high risk families in the home.

As stated earlier in this memorandum, the NIHA has reiterated, and practices the philsophy of the Division of Indian Health, and repeatedly through staff meetings and orientation sessions, emphasizes the importance of involvement, empathy, respect, and the dignity of the individual.

An experimental program is planned for summer 1968 for about 20 "high risk" or "multi-problem" families, using 4 COSTEP social workers. Families identified from current PHN case loads will be studied thoroughly to learn the extent and degree of health and social problems. The agencies that know the family then will be asked to meet and plan for getting needed resources to the family with optimum effect and minimum stress. This may be possible through a single worker acting on behalf of all agencies and providing a consistent, frequent source of counsel and support. The experiment may provide a basis for more effective operation to the 12 to 15 helping agencies that are sometimes involved with a single family.

19. Recommendation

Psychological Problems

The NIHA Mental Health Team has had the help of two distinguished consultants in their work with school problems. Dr. Edward Greenwood of the Menninger Foundation met with the Mental Health staff in discussing these problems and also participated in a meeting including a number of members of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Branch of Education staff from the Window Rock and Fort Defiance offices. In addition, Dr. Bergman met with Dr. Joel Greene and his staff in discussing their findings in their long-term study of the Albuquerque Indian School.

(See discussions earlier in this memorandum concerning dormitory personnel.)

20. Recommendation

Budget Support for Educational Programs

No interim report indicated.

21. Recommendation

Cooperative Approach

Excellent rapport exists between Navajo Area Bureau of Indian Affairs staff and Navajo Indian Health Area, Division of Indian Health staff, at the Area and Service Unit levels, as shown throughout this memorandum. We have suggested that the high echelon Executive Staff Meetings of the Navajo Tribal

Chairman and his key staff, BIA Area Director and NIHA Area Director and their key staffs, be reinstated.

The first Navajo Community Development Seminar, sponsored by BIA, on February 26, 27, 28 and 29, 1968, was well attended by Navajo leaders, BIA staff, and NIHA had representation from all Service Unit Staffs, both Indian and non-Indian employees.

The NIHA Mental Health Team work with boarding schools is in cooperation with the staffs of the various schools, as well as the BIA Area Office, Branch of Education, in Window Rock. This is particularly true in the case of the Toyei project, which is being carried out jointly by the Mental Health staff of Division of Indian Health and by a number of educational specialists and one agency superintendent of education of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

The Navajo Indian Health Area and the Navajo Tribal Council are very appreciative of what the American Academy of Pediatrics Committee on Indian Health has accomplished and continues to accomplish. We in Navajoland thank them.

Ah Sheh Heh!

GEORGE E. BOCK, M.D.,
Medical Director, USPHS-DIH, Indian Health Area Director.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE FORT HALL INDIAN RESERVATION

(By Sven Liljeblad, Idaho State University, Pocatello, Idaho)

INTRODUCTION

The following report was originally prepared in 1961 at the request of the Honorable Henry Dworshak, United States Senator. Excepting for slight abridgment and revision of obsolete figures and statements, it contains with a few additions essentially the same materials as did the original report.

The observations presented in this paper are derived from a number of years of ethnological studies among the Indians of Idaho and Nevada, studies in which I have placed particular emphasis on the languages and the oral traditions of these peoples. Although my particular area of interest has not been involved with contemporary problems of community organization, economics or politics, I have accumulated some knowledge and understanding of the local situation which may be useful to those who have recently asked me for my views. Parts of the following paper have been taken from an earlier, as yet unpublished study entitled "The Idaho Indians in Transition," but the materials presented are in the main a series of generalizations based on observations I have made over the years and which seem to be pertinent to the kinds of questions which have recently been raised by various individuals concerned with Indian affairs.

In relation to such anthropological studies as seem relevant the manuscript deals essentially with the problems posed by assistance programs concerned with the local Indian population. I hope that those who asked me to provide these observations will find them of some use.

The manuscript, as it first appeared, has been scrutinized and in various ways improved by Dr. Joseph A. Hearst, Dean of the College of Liberal Arts, Idaho State University, and by Dr. Warren L. d'Azevedo, Professor of Anthropology of the University of Nevada. It has been carefully read and corrected by Mr. Frell M. Owl, Superintendent of the Fort Hall Indian Reservation from 1955 to 1961, and more recently by Mr. John L. Pappan, Superintendent of the Reservation from 1964 to 1968. In questions pertaining to the United States Indian Field Service and to present-day reservation conditions in general, much of what follows in these pages is a fruit of the criticism, amendments, and firsthand information these two administrators provided.

Area and Population

In 1960, the total restricted area of the Fort Hall Indian Reservation comprised 523,900 acres. In 1950, restricted lands on the Reservation totaled 524,900 acres. There was a steady growth of tribal holdings during the decade. Thus, in 1950, the restricted area was subdivided into 192,900 acres of tribal, 293,600 acres of trust allotted, and 38,400 acres of Government-owned land. As of June 30, 1959, there were on the Reservation 204,600 acres of lands in tribal ownership, 277,900 acres trust allotted, and 41,400 acres held by the Government. As of that date, the Fort Hall Indians also had the use of 8,700 acres of Government submarginal land.

The Reservation has a great wealth in natural resources, including extensive and productive phosphate deposits. The proportion of tribal to allotted lands is fairly even, and the use of these lands both for pasture and for farming was about equally divided between the Indians and non-Indian lessees until the last fifteen or twenty years when there seems to have been a general tendency in the favor of non-Indian development dictated, of course, by difference in competence. However, there is no promotion of one policy at the expense of the other. Operations are decided upon for practical reasons. As a promising development toward tribal prosperity there is in recent years on a grand scale a development of tribal holdings toward greater productivity serving as an example to be followed. With the exception of accrued royalty there is now a general tendency toward growth of tribal property. Thus in the last two years or so tribal income has doubled. This tendency is particularly noticeable in regard to mining leases with a shift from individual holdings to tribal land.

In 1960 the Agency estimated the Indian population of the Reservation at over twenty-six hundred individuals. The population is growing rapidly, and the "drifting-out" process is negligible. Thus, in January of 1950, according to the Agency census, there were 2,156 Indians living on the Reservation. In 1958–1959, the Department of Education reported a total of 2,275 enrolled Bannock and Shoshoni Indians of the Fort Hall Reservation of whom 1,828 resided on the Reservation. Actually, however, the number of the local Indian population at any given date is unknown. Presumably, there are at the present time, nearly three thousand persons of full and part Indian descent and of different tribal affiliation living at Fort Hall, by far the largest Indian community with a Shoshoni-speaking population. There can be no controlled statistics of actual residence since the population is exceedingly mobile: many families, or individual members of families, live now on one reservation (or other type of Indian settlement) and now on another. For obvious reasons, figures from the agency roll are much larger than those from the tribal roll. Prior to 1952, no degree of blood was required for tribal membership, only residence. In 1952 it was proposed by the tribal council that the requirement for enrollment be qualified so that new membership would be open only to persons of "half or more Shoshoni or Bannock blood". No other Indian community in this part of the country applies such a strict rule. The ordinance was approved by the Superintendent but has in reality not been applied. Despite some confusion concerning the ruling principle, the Tribe decides its own membership policy. The Agency, on the other hand, follows the more liberal rules of the United States Indian Service.

The present-day settlements on the Fort Hall Reservation do not display a uniform or common pattern. There is a certain tendency toward grouping of related families wtih houses in immediate vicinity of each other. Originally the people settled along the creeks in clusters of four or five households living fairly closely together. The similarity to the pre-reservation winter camps is apparent. In the yearly circuit of one thousand miles or more after the introduction of equestrian habits and with the new and highly mobile equipment that buffalo hunting by horse brought about, people frequently wintered in the Fort Hall bottom lands in groups of related families held together by a common residence. Today, and doubtless as a result of the allotment process (which on the Fort Hall Reservation was carried out in 1906–1916), settlements are fairly evenly distributed over the central part of the Reservation leaving large tracts in the periphery unsettled.

The ensuing development of nomadic habit is still running its course. The mobility existing today in the intermontane Indian population is underestimated in the sources we have for population statistics, including both agency and tribal rolls. The migratory habits of the Indian population on many western reservations, including Fort Hall, are no doubt the reflection of an old life way rooted in an obsolete economy. To various degrees, it remains seasonal and circuitous. Individuals and families move unexpectedly from one locality to the other and back again—not only within the reservation territory but also from one reservation to the other. The uncertainty in finding the Indians "at home" has in the course of years put an extra burden on agency personnel, public health service representatives, and school authorities.

The rapid growth of certain Shoshonean (Shoshoni and Paiute) communities in recent years, for example, Fort Hall, Duck River Valley, and Pyramid Lake reservations or the Reno-Sparks and Carson colonies, at the expense of smaller units such as Fort Bidwell, Summit Lake, McDermitt, and the little Washakie reservation in Northern Utah, is the result of a spontaneous consolidation of the Indian population congregating more and more at major centers of exclusively Indian community life.

Subsistence

Older Indians have much to tell about seasonal famine in the pre-reservation days; but to my knowledge, the present generation of Fort Hall Indians has known no chronic food shortage. There are families with small means, be it noted, who live from hand to mouth, with the result that for part of the month they have no money left for food. Occasionally, I have been a visitor in homes where, apparently the daily diet has been temporarily limited to potatoes, "Indian grease bread," and coffee. Sometimes I have noticed the lack of proper food in families with small children. In these instances, insufficiency is occasionally due to the reluctance of conservative Indians to report their needs to agency personnel; commonly, it is due to conservatism and poor management on the part of the housewives and to inadequate means for food storage and refrigeration, rather than to food shortage as such. More often, I have been the guest in Indian households—also very poor ones—where as a rule there has been plenty on the table even though served in old tin containers in absence of plates. The prevailing diet on the Reservation is rich in protein, inasmuch as many families use their legal right to augment their food supply by hunting at any time when their economy otherwise fails.

Parenthetically, I wish to mention that press reports sometimes seem to reflect a widespread dissatisfaction among the Indians which I found most noticeable in the winter of 1960–61 when expressions of discontent seems to have culminated. It is not limited to Fort Hall, nor is it entirely new. Of the various Shoshonean reservations where I have been, it is more pronounced in such Indian communities as Fort Hall and McDermitt where the drop in Indian-owned cattle has been most drastic. Since 1953 the number of Indian stock operators at Fort Hall has dropped from some two hundred to about half a hundred. In 1961, the Fort Hall Stockmen Association had only twenty-five members; the Bannock Creek Stockmen Association (on the western part of the Reservation) had only fifteen members. In 1951, Indian-owned stock amounted to approximately 10,000 head of cattle; in 1960 only about 2,600 head of the cattle grazing on the Reservation were Indian-owned.

It is, however, no longer true that most arable lands on the Reservation lie waste; nor is it any more true that leases for allotted land are small and uneven. In the last few years more and more of the old sagebrush lands have been put under plough. In all areas with settled population—in Bannock Creek, in the Ross-Fork district, in Gibson, and in "the Cedars"—there are new fields, and since 1965 the rates for royalties have steadily increased. Over the last five years tribal income has increased from about 360,000 to about 990,000 dollars—almost tripled.

Traditional food habits, to a much larger extent than is generally realized, are still maintained not only at Fort Hall but by Idaho Indians in general. Deer meat is still jerked and eaten later in pulverized form. The marmot, which white people kill for sport, is eagerly sought by the Indians in early summer when its meat is fat and tasty. Rabbits are killed in large quantities during the winer months and kept frozen. The bulbs of the camas lily and the roots of *Valeriana edulis* are still preserved and stored as in the olden days. Almost every housewife keeps a supply of sun-dried chokecherry cakes.

Clothing among the Fort Hall Indians—a peculiar mixture of old and new which conspicuously sets them apart from other people—leaves much to be desired. Desiderata do not concern any change in the way they dress but rather the want of clothing in general.

Preserving a style introduced by the early traders, women who have a sense for tradition hold to the brightly colored kerchiefs for the head and fringed shawls or blankets. They themselves and notably, then, older women make their wide calico dresses more or less of the same cut always worn by their mothers and grandmothers. Many women, both old and young, still wear moccasins. White people frequently take these dress patterns to be signs of backwardness or poverty. Actually, they are neither. They are a matter of traditional culture standard, of preference and of taste. The majority of young women and all girls in their teens follow modern dress habits, as do most men. Among the latter there are, however, a good many in different age groups who persist in following dress habits which are entirely Indian. They braid their hair and wear kerchiefs around their necks. I mention these habits because they are indicative of the general attitude of these people. Such traits are seen today only on the larger reservations like Fort Hall or Fort Washakie. In small Indian Communities, for instance on the Shoshonean reservations in Oregon and Nevada, where the Indians live in close contact with their white neighbors, these habits have long since been abandoned.

The best dressed portion of the Fort Hall population are children and youth of school age. Many persons make great sacrifices to provide their children and grandchildren with suitable clothing. Otherwise, the Indians have been accustomed to look to sources other than purchase in nearby towns for obtaining clothes. In 1869, when the Reservation was founded, and for many years thereafter, the Indians received a substantial part of their annuities in clothing. In the early part of this century, the request for old clothes and other second-hand commodities in the surrounding white communities by begging Indians from the Reservation became increasingly common. Even today, there is a constant flow of cast-off clothing from the towns to needy families on the Reservation.

Presumably the largest organized distribution of donated clothing to the reservation people has for many years been that of the Episcopal Mission at Fort Hall. This mission has served for more than fifty years, and at times the clothing program of this local church has reached very large proportions. Today considerable quantities of used clothing is distributed by the Tribal Council and by organizations in the nearby cities, sponsoring rummage sales of donated clothing. In Bannock Creek organized charity work, including distribution of food and clothing, has been carried on over a period of years by the Mormon Church.

In the mind of thoughtful people the dumping of clothing, even if still in demand by many elderly Indians and needy mothers, is a disgrace. It should be recognized that there are other ways of helping the reservation people out of their misery.

It is my impression that white visitors to the Reservation who come away deploring the substandard life of many of the Fort Hall Indians and believing that they suffer from near starvation do so because they are struck by the conspicuous lack of modern living quarters. This, indeed, is a serious impediment to cultural progress in general and certainly has much to do with the present restlessness among the youth, alcoholism, the fragility of the family, and the notoriously bad health conditions. Homes where five to ten individuals of three generations live in one-room cabins are common on the Fort-Hall Reservation. There are persons, both old and young, who simply do not have permanent homes but move about from one temporary residence to another.

Generally speaking, housing is poor on the Indian reservations in Idaho, something the Indians themselves have not been aware of until quite recently. A people who in the memory of man lived a nomadic life cannot be expected to pay much attention to the ideal conditions of permanent residence. As in any other community where mere survival is a problem, food is more important than shelter. When the means are available, the wish to improve is not lacking. There are today, modern, even prosperous, Indian homes on the reservations in Idaho which, at their best, in no respect differ from the homes of their white neighbors. Such homes—it must be said—are the exception rather than the rule among Idaho Indians. Judging from my own, rather superficial observations, the housing situation is tolerable, even good, on the Nez Perce reservation, less so among the Coeur d'Alene. On the two Shonshonean reservations in the Southern part of the State it is miserable. On the Fort Hall and Duck Valley reservations, log houses, mostly one-room cabins often with earth floors and sometimes augmented by a provisory brush-covered square sunshade for summer use, were quite common fifteen or twenty years ago. On Fort Hall Reservation there are people who, at least temporarily, make a tent or an old boxcar their home. Two-room frame houses, constructed in wholesale in the beginning of the century are still in common use. Taken as a whole, the housing situation on the reservations gives a very depressing picture of poverty. It should be remembered, however, that there are many persons living on these reservations today who were born in the "moon hut" by mothers who were raised in a tipi or a grass hut.[1] It should also be noted that the improvement in the last three or four years has made a remarkable headway as the result of a government-sponsored housing project. Quite often today, when visiting a family, even an old couple, who not long ago lived in a wretched hut, one unexpectedly enters a new and modern house.

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[1] The term "moon hut" refers to the menstrual lodge, a small structure, generally a small tent, still to be found at the places of conservative families.

Public assistance

Tribal income is used for administrative purposes—generally. Although according to authoritative reports the median annual family income of the Fort Hall Indians at least until most recently has been about $200 per capita, the average income of most of the population is less. Apart from income derived from allotted grazing and mining leases, family income is extremely uneven. Most working individuals do seasonal or occasional work for wages. The two sources of cash income yielding the largest figures, namely the royalties on mineral leases and the proceeds from cattle raising, accrue only to a few. There is little doubt that in most cases the entire family income goes for food.

It is my understanding that as compared to the surrounding white communities, a disproportionately large sector of the Fort Hall population receives public assistance. In this there is a most important disturbing factor which obscures the official control of such assistance. According to a deep-seated tribal practice, a self-sufficient individual may have to share his earnings (at least temporarily) with a wider circle of dependent relatives than his immediate family. Property and income derived from land lease, farming, wage work, or any other occupation, eventually even from old-age assistance or social security or other individual public support, may be shared continuously according to indigence—or allegedly according to indigence—by any relatives who happen to be living together at the time.

Also in this sector there is in the most recent years a notable progress. In addition to—or as a result of—the increase in family net income in the winter of 1966–67, the welfare load decreased by 65 percent. Beside increased income and favorable weather, there was from the side of the Agency a stepped-up counseling with individual families. It seems as if the same hopefulness will hold true also for the final statistics of the winter 1967–68.

Medicine and health

Concern for health and physical well-being has always occupied a prominent place in the society of the Shoshonean Indians, in their aboriginal status as well as now. Curing beliefs and practices were the core of their religious system and are still so today. A rather elaborate medical practice both of rationalistic and supernaturalistic nature always existed. Modern medicine is the one feature of the white man's culture which they have most readily accepted. Nevertheless, shamanistic practice by Indian "medicine men" for minor and major ailments are still today performed on the Fort Hall reservation.

In the sixty years or so that the Sun Dance has been performed at Fort Hall, it has become a public institution of great moments not only as an outlet for religious needs but also as a medium for group enthusiasm and social solidarity. Today, there are four Sun-Dance grounds on the Reservation and at least two performances annually. Year by year, the number of youths in the ranks of the dancers has increased. Seeking cure of illness for oneself and one's relatives is in almost every case the individual motivation for participation.

An intertribal institution of much greater scope and of a durable socio-political importance is the Native American Church, popularly called the Peyote movement. This faith, in which Christian tenets and ideas of a native religious order coalesce, was introduced at Fort Hall about 1915. As in all other attempts by the American Indians to create religious institutions of their own to meet the need of the present day, the Peyote movement is founded on an aboriginal cult which has been repeatedly redefined according to new notions and new cultural settings. The spread of the cult occurred at a time when deplorable health conditions, extreme poverty, and uncertainty caused by land allotment prevailed on the reservations. A minimum of dogmatic statements necessary to form a common doctrinal platform, although never codified, has developed uniformly through intertribal exchange of thought. Moreover, the doctrines of Peyote are few and vague, and they satisfy any demand for denominational and even secular individual freedom. The partaker may, besides his adherence to the Peyote movement, be a member of any other church, or of none, and yet feel in harmony with the group. Abstinence from alcohol occupies a prominent place in his code of mores, evidently because alcohol consumption has caused so much trouble on the reservations. Chastity and family obligations are also of great concern, apparently for similar reasons. Friendliness and helpfulness between members of the group and toward neighbors are much stressed.

Yet the curative power of Peyote is the vital point. Presumably most converts join for this reason. By following the Peyote Road, health and advanced age are believed to be assured. In most cases, a meeting is sponsored by a person troubled about his own health or a case of illness in his family. He appoints the leader and defrays the cost. The Indians themselves refer to the peyote cactus as a medicine. The concept of the healing Peyote is that of a divine panacea for the great majority and for the sophisticated few that of spiritual power of healing through mental effort.

The Peyote movement is still running its course and will continue to do so for many years to come. It is my own belief as well as that of the Superintendent that the use of peyote is on the increase. One sometimes hears the fear expressed by individuals, who are former rather than present devotees, that the meetings today have a social function which was unknown in the early days of the movement. Again, many young people devote themselves to this native institution with full attention to its religious and psychotherapeutic values. Afraid of being regarded in class with glue-sniffers and drug addicts, these quiet and earnest pietists sometimes disclose a shyness compelling them to hold their meetings in faraway districts.

It is worthy of note that neither the Sun Dance nor the Peyote movement have met with the approval of the Nez Perce or Coeur d'Alene. On the two southern reservations in Idaho, the Native American Church controls public opinion to no small degree and is, therefore, to be reckoned with as an important political factor. I do not share the commonly expressed fear of people who, evidently, have no personal contact with the movement that Peyote is detrimental to modern health service. On the contrary, the very fact that the movement is led by progressively-minded and acculturated individuals and that the emphasis is on what the peyotists themselves term "a clean life" makes them open-minded and ready to accept the benefits of modern health care. Notably the movement, as it has developed at Fort Hall, has in my opinion been a blessing to these people under trying circumstances in which they now live. It is also of interest to see that whereas other Christian denominations have made but little headway in their teaching at Fort Hall, the intensely evangelistic program carried on by the Pentecostal churches on this as on other reservations in recent years has been received with great enthusiasm. It is, apparently, the divine healing promised by these churches which has attracted the attention of the otherwise in all religious matters much reserved Shoshoni.

When the medical service for the Indians was transferred in 1955 from the Bureau of Indian Affairs to the Public Health Service, this step was received with gratitude and satisfaction by the Fort Hall Indians. The former practice of supplying medical care through appointment of a contract physician, which had already been warned against in the Meriam Report, had proved unsatisfactory. From 1955 on, a vigorous sanitation program has been in effect on the Reservation; a local office was opened for public health and medical care; mothers became accustomed to bringing their children to this clinic; and the people sought the advice of the public health nurses and benefited from the dental service. Above all, the Indians were allowed to go to doctors of their own choice and still have their medical care paid for, since most of them were (and are) unable to pay themselves.

As medical care—modern as well as primitive—is in the first line of public attention among these people, more so than it is in the white man's society, in a wide sense, medical control to them means social control. The educational value of the new order soon became apparent. Similarly, the "Indian doctors" themselves began to turn to their professional white colleagues and to the town hospitals for medical help. The movement progressed so far that one of the local physicians took the pains to learn the Shoshoni language sufficiently well for the purpose of diagnosis. His popularity among the Indians became immense.

The success of modern medical information among the Fort Hall population during the five years after 1955 was unprecedented. The Indians felt that to be on a par with white folks in free medical service was the greatest step in progress thus far taken toward their admission to the white man's society. When the Division of Indian Health in 1960 reversed the order and again appointed a contract physician to serve on the Reservation, the immediate reaction was a partial withdrawal by the local Indians from modern medicine and a regression to their own practices.

Today, again, with the establishment at the Agency of a modern and well-staffed health clinic, the Fort Hall Indians of all creeds and ages submit to modern health service. Still, there is a certain amount of reluctance from the side of the people and some difficulty to practice preventive medicine on the side of the Public Health Service. The two most common diseases, tuberculosis and diabetis, are still poorly understood by the people. Shamanistic practice is still more common than one may think: both dislocative, sucking, and singing practices occur but never at the same time. Mental dislocation, beliefs in the direct communication with the supernatural, and on the whole shamanism in all its performances functioned until quite recently as a way of releasing emotions without personality disorder and in a socially acceptable form. It cannot easily be replaced over night.

Education

Education of the Fort Hall Indians, as defined here, is the general level of modern cultural attainment which they have reached at this moment. This includes the ability (or inability) to speak and write English and the theoretical and practical knowledge of school subjects and trades; but it does not pertain exclusively to the formal training provided by public educational institutions. No. such institutions (the Federal schools for Indian youth excepted) are prepared to teach the Indians what they need to know beside formal school curricula and secondary technical training so that they may make the transition from a secluded life as reservation Indians to full participation in the life of the American nation. Education in the sense of native enculturation—the instruction which parents and grandparents lovingly bestow upon their offspring according to the standard of tribal tradition—is disregarded. However, this latter type of education, which quite often seems more convincing to the younger generation than that which they learn in school, should not be overlooked. It is, still tday, an important constituent in the formation of public opinion. I have sometimes listened to old persons explaining in the vernacular the meaning of traditional Indian thought and behavior to their grandchildren, who often honestly agree that "Indian ways" are to be preferred to "white ways."

The common conception among white people that education levels on the Reservation coincide with age groups is erroneous. Broadly speaking, it was so twenty or thirty years ago; but nowadays it is not so. There are old persons among the reservation Indians with a very good education, and there are middle-aged ones without any. There are young people, persons in their twenties, whose English is so poor that their speech contains substitutions from the Shoshoni grammar (the lack of discrimination between genders, for instance) which sometimes make it incomprehensive to speakers of standard English. Naturally, most completely illiterate individuals and those who do not speak any English at all are found in the higher age brackets—people in their sixties and older.

The best educated Fort Hall Indian I have ever met was an old man, now deceased. As were many of his contemporaries, he was a graduate of Carlisle. Although he lived in a log cabin, he had a good little library, and he was a good writer. He was to some extent familiar with anthropological literature and used its technical terminology correctly. When discussing the folklore of his tribe, he sometimes drew comparisons between Shoshoni motifs and those of Greek and Roman mythology. His knowledge of Shoshoni traditions was unsurpassed. His prime interest was history, and his reading in American history was considerable. He devoted the years of his advanced age to systematic studies of Shoshoni history. He felt that he was too old to participate actively in tribal political affairs after the adoption of the constitution in 1936, but he followed with keen interest the speedy and hopeful developments at Fort Hall during the last years of his life.

Surprisingly many individuals of this generation, survivors of whom are now in their seventies and eighties, were not only bilingual but truly bicultural as well. Many of them were good farmers and stockmen, and some of them were men considerable means. Their homes were modern for their days, and they did their best to give their children a good education. In fact, most of them were graduates of Government Indian schools. And yet, they looked upon themselves as Indians and lived accordingly. Not only were they the founding fathers of the Tribal Constitution and judges in the Tribal Court, but some of them also became the pillars of the Native American Church and others became the patrons of community centers promoting old-time religious and recreational activities such as tribal dancing and gambling. A common characteristic of all these early progressives was the respect they commanded among the less acculturated Indians whose sentiments they usually shared. They proved in their own personal careers that the two cultures—the tribal Indian and the modern American—are compatible and may blend successfully.

The promise that—after the Indian Reorganization Act—the successful adaptation, which had already been made by so many educated Indians, would soon embrace wider circles and ultimately the entire group has not materialized. The growth of enthusiasm for cultural integration at Fort Hall has been unexpectedly slow, as has it in many other Indian communities. The cleavage between the progressive-minded individuals and those lagging behind in the acculturation process has widened to the extent that they are no longer on speaking terms with one another. There is a noticeable indifference, particularly in the younger generation, to improving their living conditions and their social status in general.

Accompanying this lack of motivation for bettering their lot are widespread petty criminality alcoholism, and high suicide rates among the young people. The moving cause of these evils, as has often been said, may be the frequently unwarranted unemployment of people in their productive years; but there are no doubt more deep-seated latent causes. Most people on the Reservation today are undecided and do not know what course to follow, since to them there seems to be no straight course of time. As I see it, the paralyzing grip in which they are caught has its origin in their ignorance of the world in which they live and with which they have to cope. Although they are wards of the national government, many of them have a very unclear conception both of their status and of the Federal Government which some of them, ignorant of a more suitable term, refer to as "Western DC."

Compared to the Nez Percé Indians, the majority of the Fort Hall population seem poorly prepared to take their place in the greater American society. For an eventual reorientation of Indian policy, it would seem to be of some interest to consider the cause of this difference between two neighbor tribes. This cause is historical rather than ethnographical and has directly to do with education enforced in one case and neglected in the other. It is true that some of the small Shoshoni groups, which were brought to Fort Hall in 1869 and subsequently, were on a much lower cultural and social level than were the Nez Percé in 1855 when they entered their history as reservation Indians. But the key group at Fort Hall constituting by far the greater part of the population—the Bannock and Fort Hall Shoshoni—were a people with an overlay of Plains culture to the same degree as the Nez Percé and with a social organization very similar to that of the latter.

When in 1871 President Grant entrusted the duty of educating the Indians to various church groups, the Nez Percé reservation was assigned to the Presbyterian Church which had priority on this reservation because of the former mission at Lapwai established by Henry Harmon Spalding in 1836. Through the creditable efforts of the early mission the Nez Percé Indians were already in their late pre-reservation days familiar with farming and animal husbandry, not to mention that quite a few of them had obtained a certain amount of literacy. After 1871, under the joint supervision of the Office of Indian Affairs and the Church, the boarding schools prospered and schooling in farming and trades progressed. Aboriginal domestic patterns and tribal customs were stamped out, not infrequently by forceful means.

Whatever may be said today about this radical cultural turnover which was sometimes inconsiderate, even ruthless, and certainly inconsistent with the right of self-determination, it did work to the full satisfaction of these white cultural emissaries. Even after the Church had lost official control over the management of the Reservation, the missionaries at Lapwai continued indefatigably their efforts to gain converts, promote literacy, and prevail upon the Indians to substitute the white man's customs for their own. Through the patient work of these devoted people, the Nez Percé made excellent progress, thus, the Nez Percé Indians at an early date became well schooled and adapted to the white man's ways, but they were completely stripped of their own traditions—and unnecessarily so. Today, perhaps, among youth they are on a level with their white neighbors in most educational matters.

At Fort Hall, President Grant's rehabilitation policy did not work at all. The missionary activity on this reservation, including the education of children, was assigned to the Methodist Episcopal Church. The apparent disinterest of this group in their Indian mission was primarily at fault; but so also was the migratory life of the Fort Hall Indians, who continued for many years after the Reservation was founded to move about in search of food under the necessity of making a living. A provisional schoolhouse, built by the Agency in 1874 and used mainly as a church for the Agency personnel, was of no use to the Indians who were still completely illiterate in 1880 when the first boarding school opened on the Reservation. Many parents resisted sending their children to the white man's school. At the turn of the century, when funds were appropriated for a modern school plant near the Agency, it was reported that only 252 of the fifteen hundred Indians on the Reservation could read and write. Some of these individuals had received their education in Indian boarding schools off the Reservation, above all at Carlisle in Pennsylvania, which compared favorably to other institutions of this kind. A few Carlisle graduates from about this time, people who became quite successful in their home communities, still lived on the Reservation a few years ago. The day schools operating on the Reservation—the type of reservation schools which which the Collier administration favored—indeed served their purpose both as schools and as community centers, but they were in existence only for a very brief period of time. Many Indian mothers today favor their reinstitution, presumably because of the care of children provided by these schools.

My understanding of the population at Fort Hall suggests that the present-day characteristics of their schooling are as gloomy as its history. In theory, the Indians now have as good an opportunity of securing a modern education as do white people. In reality, there is a great difference. Even though presumably all parents today are bilingual, Shoshoni is the only language spoken in many homes on the Reservation. Many children, therefore, enter school unable to speak or even to understand English. Twenty years ago, when the reservation day schools were in operation, this deficiency was of no consequence.

Quite commonly white educators—and among them most commonly college people—enthusiastically argue in favor of putting primers of some indefinite kind in the native languages into the hands of both teachers and children. Unaware of the fact that neither English nor Shoshoni are spoken in the homes of these children but an odd creolized language without the structure of either (that is, without a definite grammar and with a lexical inventory varying from speaker to speaker), these educators display an academic naiveté that could be detrimental to progress. What these small children need is for all a pre-school contact that would guarantee their communication and verbalization ability in a definite system (for obvious reasons, in idiomatic English).

Today, however, for many Indian children, their first day of school attendance is also their first encounter with white people, whom a fair number have learned by hearsay to defy and suspect. Lacking from the very beginning a medium of communication with the teacher, who may be poorly informed about the cultural background of the Indian child, average Indian children cannot be expected to make the same progress in school as white children. Unlike their white classmates, Indian children often lack the encouragement of their parents and do not have the same opportunity to learn when out of school. The critical moment comes between the ages of ten and fifteen, when cultural uniformity is essential to group participation, of which classwork is a kind.

In proportion to the number of school years, there is an increasing number of failures among Indian children. At the first opportunity, an Indian child may drop out of school because he has done inferior work, been reproached by the teacher, felt in disharmony with his white classmates, or otherwise been discouraged. He may meet with no objection from his parents or from the parental substitutes who are often grandparents, that is, individuals two generations removed from the child's own generation, with the accultural disadvantages this always entails. Until most recently, very few individuals in the population on the Fort Hall reservation finished high school. Of the 2,156 Indians who lived on the Reservation in January of 1950, the Agency reported only three as being college and fifty as being high school graduates. In an enrolled Indian population of 1,530, there were as of that date on the Nez Perce reservation 58 college and 546 high school graduates.

On the Fort Hall Reservation to this day it is surprising to find many parents who wish to get their children through high school at one of the far-off boarding schools which the Government provides for Indian youth. Forty years after the Meriam report this seems somehow out of place. For good reasons the Report explicitly recommended that "the movement away from the boarding school already under way should be accelerated in every practicable manner," but to this the following caution was added: "Because of the nature of the Indian country, the boarding school will for many years to come be essential to provide secondary education of a type adapted to the needs of Indian youth." The particularity referred to in this recommendation does not any more exist, at least not to any appreciable degree; but since the contemptible boarding schools are still in great request, there must be some kind of "needs," even if these needs turn out to be suspect. Today, presumably, the need is not dictated by local conditions as such but rather by the cultural isolation in which the children in the last twenty years or so have grown up. About this fatal deficiency in the contemporary Shoshonean society there will be more in this paper; suffice it here to say that parents are painfully aware of their disciplinary, tutorial and, generally, cultural inadequacy. Concomitantly with this helplessness there are also striking examples of plain unwillingness and evasiveness in regard to parental responsibility.

There are also parents with modern views and a sense of duty who prefer to have their children, particularly children of high-school age, sent to Government or Catholic boarding schools for Indians in far-off places. As a motivation they mention their desire to have their children educated away from the Reservation with its growing juvenile delinquency. Scholarships are available for most students if they file applications in ample time and are willing to go to such schools where scholarships are offered.

Despite prevailing indifference to local educational efforts, for the present only about thirty-five students from the Fort Hall Indian Reservation go to boarding schools. As compared to earlier years the drop is remarkable. Recently the Superintendent mentioned that he found this tendency healthy and hopeful. So far a centennial tradition of boarding school system has taken away much of what one would naturally expect to find of responsibility among parents. Today there are also other grounds for the reluctance to carry out parental responsibility, but this certainly is one.

Since, beside school education, there are the concomitant and quite influential parental and grandparental didactics mentioned previously, young people will not readily change their outlook on life unless child education is backed by vigorous adult education. This, if any, has been the sore spot at Fort Hall from the very beginning and has remained so to this day. In 1953, the superintendent at Fort Hall expressed interest in the success on a minor scale which the Mormon adult education program had scored among the Bannock Creek Indians, although in a very limited way. Why could this not be done, the superintendent argued, on a much larger scale and at a central place or several places on the Reservation? Neighboring the Reservation is a large college. In that same year, 1953, I was present in the office of the president of the College when he discussed with the superintendent the eventual inclusion of Fort Hall in the extension program of the College. Both gentlemen agreed that this was something which by all means ought to be done. The president felt, however, that he could not very well ask his faculty to lend their services without remuneration. And there were no funds. Eventual ways of raising money were discussed, but nothing became of the project. The Latter Day Saints were not paid for their educational services in Bannock Creek. At this late date, professional educators would presumably do better. In the one case the driving force is charity—which the Indian in the depth of his being resents—and in the other it is interest. Of these two, the latter must always have priority. Regardless of who is going to do it, the task is absolutely necessary and of great urgency.

Tentative attempts have been made, however. The Indians themselves, in their tribal lodges, have tried to approach the problem by showing educational films as part of their tribal recreational program. This activity has been inspired and, apparently, organized by the Agency, the employees of which have participated. Since 1957, a small office for adult education existed at the Agency. To begin with, it seemed to work quite promisingly; but the two first teachers, who certainly must have been competent, having previously done similar work among the Navaho, left after a couple of years. In the opinion of the superintendent acculturated Indians apparently gained more from this program than less acculturated ones. It is my understanding that the project was supported only lukewarmly by the Indian Bureau. It soon became the target of ridicule, the deadly weapon of Indian conservatism. The Indians, so they said, felt that it had meddled in tribal political affairs rather than attending to its academic program. Rightly or wrongly, they claimed that they had come to understand that the purpose for its existence was that of preparing them for the termination of Federal Indian service, and nothing can be more obnoxious in their judgment. At any rate, the attempt was too futile to deserve emphasis.

Despite all these impediments and as a late result of many years of trials there is now success. In education as in most other fields of patient and persistent Indian administration the accomplishment was late but is now in view. The situation has changed fundamentally in the last decade. Within the last five or six years and under a highly competent and energetic head, the division of education at Fort Hall has scored a great success. First now the dividends can be seen of what has been paid. Most children at Fort Hall today attend the schools of the Blackfoot district. Hence, it is in the statistics of the public school system of Blackfoot that the present tendency will show best. In the Blackfoot high schools the graduating class of Indian students in 1969 will be almost twice as big as the one of 1968.[2]

Still the interest and cooperation of parents are wanting. "The Indian people must take a more active part in school affairs. The PTA meetings are a farce. The people who are on the school board, on the other hand, are interested, but we must have more Indian parents involved."

Kinship and inheritance

The conditions which exist on the Fort Hall Indian reservation are the net result of the interrelation between Indian administration during the past century, and an equally long period of cultural resistance. Administrative policy has been inconsistent. The Indian resistance, even though it has changed character, has been consistent.

As the main educational institutions for Indian youth during the latter part of the nineteenth century, the boarding schools placed great emphasis on instruction in husbandry and included an agricultural department for the boys and a home economics department for the girls. In order to encourage an Indian to use his newly acquired knowledge of farming, he should—so it was thought—be provided with landed property of his own. Land allotment could, of course, have been accomplished as it still is in many places, for instance, on the Duck Valley reservation in Nevada and Idaho, by individual free use of allotments on inalienable tribal land, with the use of a certain piece of land being transmissible within a family. Terminology covering this usage varies, for example, "assignment," "possessory right," "occupancy right." As for the Idaho Indians, optional allotment of land for agricultural purposes was provided for through their treaties. A person or a family was allowed to select a tract on the reservation and keep it in exclusive possession "so long as he or they may continue to cultivate it." This concession was generally put into practice and worked to the satisfaction of all. But it seemed logical that full individual ownership of allotted land without encumbrance would stimulate thrift and economic progress. Under provision of the General Allotment Act of 1887, allotments to all tribal members were made on the reservations in northern Idaho between 1889 and 1895, and on the Fort Hall reservation between the years 1911 and 1916.

The Idaho Indians at this date had no objection, circumstances permitting, to taking up plowing. Much land had already been improved on all the reservations—not only on the agency farms, but also independently by the Indians themselves. And as for raising livestock, this was what they wanted most of all to do. But the idea of a segregated life on family farms was something new which did not immediately appeal to most tribesmen. They preferred to group themselves in extended camps according to the traditional principle of nearness to relatives. Under aboriginal conditions, the minimal unit for economic co-operation had been larger than the nuclear family and was based on kinship. Thus, the characteristic type of family life for the majority of Idaho Indians was not limited to that of a married couple and their common offspring. Nor was the family extended exclusively through one line of relationship either on the father's or mother's side, but allowed for any possible linkage through close kinship. Since no preference could be given in matters of inheritance, it was unthinkable that land could be transmitted through any one individual for use in the next generation.

A household among Idaho Indians was (and frequently still is) a considerably more complex assemblage of individuals related by blood than is a household on an American farm. Frequently, it would have been meaningless to attempt to determine who would be the head of a more or less permanent household consisting of two or several brothers and their joint families, or two or several sisters with theirs, other possible combinations discounted. Intrinsically, the family itself was and remains a more flexible but less stable unit than in the modern American society. A family may and often did constitute a union of two spouses, one or both of them having offspring from several consecutive marriages. Added to this was the fact that the society under certain conditions tolerated informal substitution of persons carrying out family obligations, the substitute always being a sibling or a parent. The children of a deceased woman may become her sister's children—in fact, they may be so regarded and brought up by her regardless of whether their real mother is dead or not—if this sister adheres to tribal traditions; and the children left by a deceased man may become the children of his brother on the same presupposition. As a correlative, it was less inexcusable and more common than in a modern American community to leave one's family in the care of a sibling or a parent and to start a new one, once the two could not be advantageously combined as in the olden days. The preferred father substitute among the Idaho Shoshoneans seems to have been and still to be the maternal uncle, although any paternal uncle, both according to terminology and actual practice, would be a suitable substitute for one's father. Among elderly people at Fort Hall, no violation of tradition creates greater indignation and hatred of white officials today than adoption by unrelated foster parents, often whites, of orphans or children abandoned by their parents when there is an aunt or a pair of grandparents ready and willing to take care of them.

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[2] This and the following are remarks by Mr. Pappan.

The difficulty of combining two irreconcilable things—the ownership of land in severalty and the prevailing social order—invited a discord within the group that paralyzed serious efforts to use this land. In the long run, one of the two had to yield in order that the reservation might prosper. The society had survived various drastic culture changes through the ages. With the laconic remark still to be heard—"our reservation is falling to pieces," old people lamented the new policy of land division. Traditional social norms could not be denounced, and the society holds out to this day. Odd as it seems, Indian legislation has continuously winked at this fact.

The inheritance rules in the group tolerated no individual prerogatives: inheritance of land, therefore, threatened to become a matter of limitless division. Placing complete confidenée in the ownership of land, but disregarding its eventual uselessness, the law prescribed that every individual living on the reservation at the time allotment was carried out should have an equal share of land—old people and infants, widowed persons and orphans, each anl all. At the beginning, then, a family sometimes found itself owning several disconnected allotments on various parts of the reservation. The law did not allow a person to sell or lease his allotted land as long as it was still under trust. The allotment of a deceased person descended to his heirs in accordance with the law of the State or, according to a later provision, as the Secretary of the Interior decides in each case. Since tribal sentiment prohibited an allottee from leaving a will, and since inherited land for the most part was not suspectible to partition, most of it being open cattle range, it was held in common by all the heirs.

By the time inheritance had played havoc with the poorly consolidated family-owned units, an original allotment could be owned by several persons who did not live together and who had no other interest in common. Instead of holding the title to a farm, a capable man of good will may be the part-owner of a constantly varying number of parcels which he could not possibly use himself. To the dismay of the Indians and to the accomplishment of many headaches for the agency clerks, this situation caused a predicament on the reservations which has increased with time and which is often referred to today as "the heirship problem." For example, on the Fort Hall reservation at present, about thirteen hundred allotments from a total of about nineteen hundred are in heirship status. Of these allotments, there are in the neighborhood of one thousand which belong to anywhere from two to forty heirs.

At the time the Indians had their lands surveyed and allotted, they depended on the returns from these lands for their subsistence to an even greater extent than they do today when other means of earning a living are available. When, for various reasons, the Indians failed to use their resources themselves, white men stood ready and eager to lease or buy their lands for farming, grazing, lumbering, and mining purposes. Concession to the agencies for arranging the lease of unused allotments and the sale of inherited land appeared to be the only practical way of insuring the productive use of such lands and of providing needy people on the reservations with emergency funds.

Beginning in 1891 and continuing through a succession of years, the law was amended by several enactments allowing lease of Indian lands and sale of allotted and inherited land in each case with the approval of the Secretary of the

Interior or his representatives. The original purpose of the allotment policy, to make the Indians independent and self-sustaining farmers, was thus defeated.

Even though many Idaho Indians have continued to farm their lands, most of them have fallen into the habit of making a meager living from lease money and a few odd jobs. On all the reservations in Idaho except the Duck Valley reservation, where the Allotment Act was never applied, non-Indian operated acreage exceeds that operated by Indians. Even on the Fort Hall reservation, where allotment came late and where much land is communally owned, the excess of land operated by white lessees over Indian-operated land is considerable. On the Nez Percé and Coeur d'Alene reservations, where allotment came early and left only insignificant remnants of tribal land, Indian-operated units today are exceedingly few.[3]

Preoccupied with his desperate attempt to make the Indian a true copy of himself, the white man forgot what would seem to have been an indispensable condition of success: to come to an understanding and to co-operate with tribal organizations and Indian leaders. In 1892, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs made the following downright dictum: "Citizenship, accompanied by allotment of lands, necessarily looks toward the entire destruction of the tribal relation; the Indians are to be individualized and dealt with one by one and not *en masse.*" From the viewpoint of the Indians, it was the lack of motivation rather than the lack of opportunity that caused such an ambitious program to end so miserably. Apparently, the mere substitution of one form of land ownership for another did not produce prosperity but induced idleness and evasiveness and often resulted in the loss of land.

Erasing existing social organization by the mere force of legislation would not prepare the Indians for citizenship and political participation. Since only very few of them had any personal connection with the society surrounding them, "the destruction of their tribal relation" would have left them in a social vacuum in which men cannot live.

However, the society did persist. No other feature of the aboriginal culture has had a greater durability than the family structure. This social system is not compatible with the new notions of property, and there is today an economic-societal ambivalence that one often wonders about. Individual possession of land for sixty years or more has left its trace in the sentiments of the group and most people have come to place great interest on landed property.[4] Even though some people have not liked allotted land, they have put great significance on it and they do not readily give it up. If there is one thing today the Fort Hall Indians are truly sophisticated about, it is the administration of property, and there are all the evidences that they have been honest in obtaining what they have. For all, they want to keep their inherited land. Certainly property means much to them. People are not agreeable to will landed property to somebody in particular. At the Agency old people are often seen reluctantly being brought in by their children trying to force them to will their property. Not long ago two brothers were living with one woman. One of them died and his property descended to the son. When also he died, and first then, the other brother spoke out: "This boy who died was actually my child."

Legal status and political participation

In the aboriginal society, there was no need for a formal body of laws. Subsistence activity, property rights, and interfamilial co-operation were regulated according to common practice. Personal conduct was controlled by minute rules of behavior, public disapproval and ridicule being sufficiently feared to prevent deviation. Offenses and interfamilial disputes were settled between the families involved. Public decisions rested on full agreement between responsible members of the group.

When band organization with formal councils had developed, unanimity was required for decisions affecting the total community. The leadership of influential men was much strengthened toward the end of the native period when disputes with the whites became a crucial issue. In addition, after the Indians had gone on the reservations, individuals of exceptional authority continued for some time to be spokesmen for public opinion, particularly in disputes with government officials. With the general collapse of organized tribal activities in the 1880's, old-time leadership among Idaho Indians lost its main justification for continued existence. Only at Fort Hall, where people still congregated for traditional festivals and dances, and where new forms of native religion borrowed from other Indian communities were soon introduced, did public-spirited persons continue to assert themselves as organizers of such events and as leaders of such movements.

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[3] **Thus, on the Nes Percé Reservation recently of approximately thirty range units, Indians operated perhaps six. (Mr. Owl's note.)**

[4] **This and the following are Mr. Pappan's observations.**

As long as they possibly could, the Indians in Idaho continued to exploit the remnants of their former resources in the co-operative manner with which they were familiar. In the 1880's and 1890's, when movements in force—even in small groups—outside the reservations were thwarted by agency regulations, the basic subsistence pattern was destroyed and with it the native political organization. There was neither time nor motivation for developing new economis ideals and skills. The newly introduced individual ownership permitted the Indians to sell or lease their allotments, thus living on unearned income. The Government supervised the use of their lands and handled their business. Inertia took the place of frank expression of public opinion. There were no matters of vital importance which they felt free to decide by themselves, no more occasion to meet in council or to exercise the formerly much fostered art of public speaking. Gifted individuals, desirous of influencing the course of events, who under other conditions would have provided the necessary leadership for new forms of wholesome community activity became the most persistent conveyors of detractory gossip and ill-concealed antipathy for the white man's education and health services.

Under the rule of an omnipotent agent, the reservation people lost all initiative. They became accustomed to looking to him for getting their lease money, settling their domestic quarrels, and having their children punished. With the disintegration of the old forms of social control, young people assumed a great deal of misused freedom. Petty criminality and disorderly behavior found their cause largely in drunkenness. Lost in monotony and idleness on their reservations, many individuals fell victim to the illegal traffic in intoxicants.

Contrary to the prevailing tendency in the Indian administration of the time, the Meriam Report focused on the development of the community rather than the protection of property; but in conformity with prevailing tendencies, it did not give full recognition to the great difference in both a cultural and a political sense which still existed between the different Indian groups.[5] The Report overlooked the fact that, in spite of all efforts to eradicate differences, tribal integrity remained strong enough in many places to warrant some form of limited self-government whereby a local Indian group would become self-sufficient and learn once more to take care of themselves. It was stated axiomatically that the Indians would merge with the population of the states in which they lived, and that state and local non-Indian governments would be the proper agents to "simplify and expedite the transition." The tenacity of the Indian communities, surprising as it was to most people, was not entered on the credit side.

Notwithstanding, beginning in 1934, and relying on exactly this stamina of the Indian peoples, extensive revisions of the Federal Indian policy were made with legislation founded on new principles. Still, it is quite evident that the rebirth of the spirit of enterprise in the Indian communities with the aid of modern organization that was hoped would be achieved by the enactment of the Indian Reorganization Act has materialized only to a limited degree. In the few years that the Indians have operated under their constitutions, they have learned a great deal about parliamentary procedure and modern justice. They are well on the way to adapting themselves to modern business practices and public relations. They have profited greatly by being included with the general public in educational, health, and welfare services; and their dependence on these agencies has helped to bring them out of their cultural isolation. But they feel that they are not yet ready to take their place in the general society without continuous guidance and aid from the Indian service. At present, they are much opposed to termination of Federal control of Indian Affairs, which they feel is an essential guarantee for their progress as a group—as do most of their white friends who have thought the problem through—and for the retention of their landed property until they have reached a state of competence and self-reliance adequate for free competition. Above all, they feel very keenly that removal of Government trust from their property would be a serious threat, not only to tribal integrity but to individual security as well. In fact, the repeal in 1953 of the law prohibiting the sale of Indian owned cattle except under the permit system for the Fort Hall Indians turned out to be a step in the virtual elimination of the Indian herds.

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[5] In 1926, the Department of the Interior commissioned a private research organization, the Institute for Government Research, to make a detailed study of the social, economic, and educational conditions of the Indians. The report on this study was completed in 1928 by Lewis Meriam and Associates and published the same year under the title *Problem of Indian Administration*.

There are, however, various aspects of their legal status which are not necessarily interdependent. Thus, independent of their trust property, is the problem of law and order. Since 1953, a state has had the power to assume jurisdiction over its Indian population, and some states have done so. In Idaho, there is as yet no legislation to this end; and in this state such a proposal would, presumably, be met by the Indians themselves quite differently according to their situation and experience. In northern Idaho, where the Indians have no legislation and courts of their own, but depend entirely on Federal and local courts, they could come under the law and order of the State without deprivation of existing tribal rights.[6] The Fort Hall Indians, on the other hand, who are satisfied and happy with their tribal court, would undoubtedly oppose bitterly any legislation which would deprive them of the right to live within their reservation in accordance with their own laws and customs.

A serious block to progress which is still to be surmounted by the Indians before they can make their presence felt in the political life of the greater American society is the want of unified leadership in their own ranks. This is closely related to the lack of familiarity with majority rule. There is still an inclination to abstain from voting rather than to take sides in questions where unanimity or near unanimity cannot be reached. Broadly speaking and making proper allowance for those who fill both roles, one may say that there are two kinds of influential men among Idaho Indians today—the one type of leadership being unofficial and which emanates from former headmanship and band organization, and the other which is founded on the principle of modern election. It could be expected that traditional leadership would be representative of the old people's wish to keep life going in the old grooves, and that official leadership would always favor a progressive policy. Actually, the split in leadership is not so evenly patterned. As mentioned before, there are the well educated older people.[7] At social gatherings, one may hear old and venerable men, some of them the founding fathers of the tribal constitutions, with old-time eloquence urge the youth to learn the white man's techniques and use his skills but to remain Indians in spirit. This great demand which the old and wise make upon their young tribesmen is not easily fulfilled. It involves the necessity for earning a living in a modern way without deviating from the Indian way. Many young individuals who are conscious of the potential clash of contrasting ideas which this demand implies do what they can to be bicultural. Some of them succeed in doing so, also at the council table. The Indian ways of today are not the Indian ways of yesterday.

There is, however, another type of Indian leader to be found among elected officials. These men are well educated and are generally the most capable representatives of their tribes. They hold the political key positions. Occasionally, they have been employed in the United States Indian Service. They have succeeded in breaking through the wall to the white man's society but they have preferred to remain Indians. They have a sense of public responsibility and have carried the brunt of contention in the outward strife with the white man's institutions. They can talk in his terms, compete with him successfully and apply his own business techniques, co-operate with him, and if need be, combat him within his own political institutions. All this they have done and successfully. But often their call for action falls on deaf ears.

The fear implanted in their people after a century of the white man's dictatorship takes its toll among them. Their ability, honesty, and enthusiasm can never be questioned; but too often when they are not trusted by the rank and file of their own people, their acting as intermediaries begin misrepresented as extending a helping hand to the distrusted whites. The rift between these leaders and large sections of their community is greater than one may think at first glance. Unknowingly, they identify themselves with the white man's world, though they represent themselves as Indians. Some of them do not speak the language of the group. Often they are well-to-do compared to their poor tribesmen. They live in modern homes and may be married to white women. They are impatient with the slowness and hesitation of the people they have taken it upon themselves to lead. They are often indifferent to the religious and ceremonial forms which to the majority of the Indians are the essence of tribal existence. The greatest hindrance to their function as political leaders in a society which rejects competition is the very fact that they have proven themselves successful in competitive ways. Instead of being admired and followed, they meet with suspicion and envy.

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[6] With "tribal rights" is here meant the constitutional privileges of the IRA tribes. Actually, many tribesmen are less concerned with these "rights" than with such treaty rights as to free hunting, fishing, trapping, etc. These "rights" are not disturbed when a state takes over under Public Law 280. (Mr. Owl's note.)

[7] The variation in this age is enormous. What a blessing it would be to have the old and experienced ones acting as an advisory committee to both the Council and the Superintendent. (Mr. Pappan's note.)

Both the complexity in the situation of these leaders as intermediaries and the one-sidedness of the political course they have taken are predetermined by the dominant policy of the national Indian administration which gives the norm they feel compelled to follow—and it is here that the ultimate cause of the conflict rests. In treaties, agreements, and statutes of the past and in current policy, the Government has protected the Indian ownership of land, promoted the conservation and the use of natural resources on the reservations, raised the standard of health and living conditions, provided the Indians with an educational opportunity equal to that of non-Indian citizens, and aided them in the arts of modern government; but only intermittently has the Government taken cognizance of their cultural autonomy.

When associating with the reservation people, one is often dumbfounded by the open scorn whereby many of them speak about the Tribal Council and its individual members, people whom they have voted into power themselves. The fact that they have picked their own representatives seems to make very little difference once these representatives begin to speak out. It is often persons interested in and preoccupied with idle talk about reservation politics who sit back and are critical. In this political atmosphere nobody with ability and ambition, however competent, would reach very far before he is disendowed. The tribal-meeting concept as it has developed in recent years has not been politically productive. In reality the tribal meetings perform very little, probably less now than twenty or twenty-five years ago. Last year, when the Tribes had to vote on acceptance or rejection of the settlement with the United States Government of the Shoshone-Bannock Claims, four hundred people came to the luncheon preceding the meeting. It is doubtful that there were at the meeting proper the one hundred-fifty legal voters present necessary to make a quorum. Either something was missing in the 1934 legislative master piece or, more likely, something in amendatory Indian legislation happened later that brought the process to a standstill. Today people not only do not know what general course to follow, but the climate on the Reservation is such that it is difficult for them to decide even in everyday practical matter.[8]

Through the extraordinary efforts of the one outstanding administration in the 1930's, concessions were made to the Indians for keeping their socio-economic groupings, their languages, and their religions—in short, their essential identity. The Indian communities, instead of being dissolved, were to be strengthened so they could support a healthy and spontaneous community life. In recent years this policy of encouraging the growth of Indian culture has been renounced by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in favor of "gradual integration," which is not a clearly defined sociological concept but rather a speculative political idea. In their great concern for the Indian and his welfare, the authoritative donors have bestowed upon him everything which assumes priority in the white man's culture, but they have disregarded the value system of the recipient. They have thought of his home, his health, his hungry stomach, and his formal training; but they have forgotten his soul.

The durability of the indigenous society

The Indian, even if politically "assimilated," may still continue to be an acute problem in the American society. At Fort Hall, there are today few signs of actual assimilation, but a great many to the opposite. "Assimilation" in the meaning of racial assimilation is largely a matter of the past. Today, with few exceptions, Indians marry Indians, although intertribal marriages are quite common. Individuals at the fore of the acculturation process have a tendency to depart from the Indian communities, leaving a continuously growing nativistically oriented majority behind. Spontaneous developments on the reservations in recent years show an actual growth of the so-called nativistic movements, that is, a consolidation of Indian thought and ideals in novel forms.

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[8] This attitude of the community would be a significant part of the difference between the Nez Percé group and the people at Fort Hall. (Mr. Pappan's note.)

The Idaho Indians retain, beside their native languages and basic social structure, a great many indigenous culture elements from pre-Caucasian time. They also retain various cultural features which they have borrowed from other Indian peoples or from the whites at the time of contact, and which have become firmly incorporated in their own cultural system. The idea was once put forth—and perhaps the opinion is now very general—that "the isolation imposed on the tribes by the reservation system" has not only barred them from contact with the white population but has also "severed cultural ties with their own people and created cultural islands." Quite to the contrary, with modern travel facilities the contact between Indian groups in the western United States as elsewhere has increased; and the diffusion of culture traits, especially ceremonials, festive dress patterns, and art styles, has continued to flow from one reservation to the other. In particular, the Idaho Indians have been continuously influenced by the westward movement of culture traits, the Plains Indians being—as they have always been—the donors.

Notwithstanding the acceptance of modern education and technology and contemporary ways of life, many Idaho Indians participate today in intertribal customs and institutions of a more recent origin, derived from both Indian and white sources, but maintained by Indians only. There is not simply an accelerated transition to white culture but also the manifestation of the steady attachment to Indian ways. There are even efforts at revivalism and innovation of native ideology. In these processes, the conservation of old cultural forms is less conspicuous than the rise of a new syncretic Indianism with largely ritualistic and ceremonial constituents.

The most deep-rooted indigenous elements of culture which have resisted reorientation are social, religious, and folkloristic in nature. As in other folk societies everywhere in the world, these elements remain unchanged in many individuals who otherwise have adjusted to the requirements of modern civilization. The retention of traditional social behavior regulating the interaction between the members of the group is universal within it, the system beng constitutive of the society which without it would lose its identity. Traditional concepts of the supernatural survive the introduction of new religious systems. Old customs associated with birth, illness, and death remain in the small and closely integrated society as optional but are still considered appropriate observances.

The tenacity of the old social structure has sometimes proved to be inconvenient to public officials, since it does not always agree with the routine of a service which is regulated according to a system of individual distribution of fees, gratuities, and assessments. Nevertheless, the durability of this structure, favoring a strong family solidarity and reciprocal obligation betweens kinsmen, meets the need for social security in a rapidly changing world and meliorates the conflict between the generations.

Although the nuclear family is the minimal economic unit at Fort Hall today and most people have established their living quarters accordingly, it is frequently diversely expanded. There are usually one or several unattached relatives domiciled with the family. There may be more parents than one couple and more children than those of two parents and in addition a couple of grandparents with a joint residence. Beyond this in the absence of a common residence, the bilateral extended family potentially constitutes a durable social unit for mutual help and assistance, as it did during the wandering life in prereservation days. The increased fragility of marriage bonds among young people has added importance to consanguinal ties—for instance, to sibling or to grandparent-grandchild relations. Parental control shifts easily form the parents to the uncles and aunts or grandparents. The elementary (conjugal) family is in many ways unstable in comparison with the kin group held together by blood relation. The grouping to meet basic needs on the family level has thus retained the flexibility it has always had among Idaho Indians.

At least among the Shoshoneans on the two southern reservations in Idaho, groups which ensued from former dialect and geographic divisions still exist. When the Indians were concentrated on the reservations, members of a subgroup preferred to settle in the immediate vicinity of each other. Rather than diminishing under the influence of a settled life, the group identity seems to have become stabilized and today coincides loosely with electoral districts. This informal grouping, intermediate between the family and the tribe, imparts a deeper meaning to the life of most individuals than loyalty to the organized tribe.

Not only for the present but presumably also for the immediate future, it seems important to note that revivalism of aboriginal culture forms are not merely regression to obsolete patterns. It manifests the mode of meeting existing social needs in a large sector of the Indian population which (at the present stage of acculturation) could not be satisfied otherwise. It is precisely these elements which young people with a sense of social responsibility among the Indians aim at when they try to put an efficient check on the growing aimlessness, hopelessness and inertia among their agemates. It is, therefore, fully possible that advancement of the cultural and political autonomy of the organized tribes in terms once thought of by Mr. Collier is a practicable avenue of advance.

In general, it can be said that conjugal relationship in the intermontane Shoshonean society was and still remains not only less formalized and, frequently, less durable but also less integrated with the family structure than it is in most societies. In order to define the various types of affinity within these Indian groups (regardless of linguistic affiliation) it is, therefore, necessary first to define the various family types in relation to the various types of households that existed and still exist in this area.

Family

The nuclear family, whether built on singular or plural marriage, was only a temporary functioning unit in its own right. Under aboriginal conditions it was extended in various ways to embrace also affiliation of consanguinal relatives (eventually with their spouses), members of dissolved nuclear families (whether on the father's or the mother's side), of which one parental member was consanguineous with a parental member of the family in question. Potentially then the family would constitute a unit of elements from one or several, eventually all, of the following categories: (1) two or several individuals, one of whom being of the sex opposite to that of the other one (or the others), joined in singular or plural marriage with or without common offspring; (2) parents and grandparents of either spouse or both (or all) spouses; (3) siblings (*i.e.*), brothers, sisters, and cousins (eventually with spouses) of either spouse; (4) children from a former marriage (or former marriages) of either spouse; (5) orphans left by a sibling of either spouse. As marriage bonds were (and still are) very brittle, relationship by consanguinity was (and is), immeasurably more important than relationship by affinity.

Household

The consanguinal group thus described, varying from two to thirty or forty individuals, constituted both the minimal and maximal stable economic-societal unit in the aboriginal Shoshonean Society. Even though the group seasonally split in seach of food, the approximate whereabouts of each member was known, and he sooner or later rejoined the group. This mobility remains to this day: and when searching for a person it is often difficult to predict where to find him: whether in the household of his own and his wife, or in any other temporary or permanent household of a relative.

Originally, but less and less commonly, the group was held together by a periodic common residence. The entire group may, then, form one common household: or it may form several, even though supplies are often shared. The term "household" is seldom used by the English-speaking Indians; instead they say "camp". Thus, a person might say: "There is no food in my camp", meaning "We have no food at home." As a survival of the seasonally united "camp" in pre-reservation days there is today in the Indian communities of our area the tendency if possible to settle in the immediate vicinity of the other members of one's extended family. This tendency was formerly the chief obstacle to neolocality at marriage and is today the main obstacle to success of the relocation program of the Federal Indian Service. Membership in a "camp" (in the widest meaning of this term), that is, in an extended family, can be obtained only by marriage.

Marriage

Under aboriginal conditions marriage was consummated without any formalities simply by the two parties moving together into the same household. This household would be one of three types: (1) patrilocal, (2) matrilocal, or—least commonly—(3) neolocal. Marriage occurred under the following provisions: the parties must ont be members of the same extended family, that is, they must not stand in uncle-niece or in aunt-nephew relation, and they must not be cousins except in a few geographically limited traditions where cross-cousin marriage was permitted.

Polygyny frequently occurred and was often sororal. Also consecutive sororal marriages occurred and have continued to do so to the present. Polyandry, always fraternal, occurred but less often. However, quite commonly even today, a man might marry his dead brother's widow. Again, in the present population, one often finds brothers who have married sisters, an old practice among these people.

Since personal property including shelter was destroyed at death, in aboriginal times there were no inheritance problems.

Recent Modifications

Under the influence of the surrounding society marriage has become formalized, and spouses living together usually register themselves as married under the control of tribal authorities. However, sometimes parties moving together and, particularly in the instance of a couple of old people living with relatives, may fail to register. Actually, the State has jurisdiction, and a couple can take up a common residence and *co ipso* be married without reporting to the Tribes. Even if "common law" marriages thus are recognized, divorce is not. For separation the parties must go to the Tribal Council who has the power to grant divorce for a fee of fifteen dollars.[9]

It is, also today, sometimes very difficult to define and, in each case, fully to identify a nuclear family. A person may well have a fixed and confirmed place in the extended family but waver in his (her) own opinion as to whether he (she) lives in married status or not. For example, there are today men who to all appearance are unmarried vagrants, but who seasonally or irregularly return to women with whom they live periodically from year to year. Likewise, there are today women who write themselves under a former name even though they represent themselves (or *sometimes* represent themselves) as married to a person with another family name.

The only reasonable criterion to judge from in regard to marriage is by inquiry: if in the community where they live a couple is regarded as being married, they are *co ipso* married.

With the accumulation of property and the construction of permanent shelters and, especially, with the allotment of land, there is today the problem of inheritance, probably the worst scourge on the reservations today. There is, as yet, no modern legislation regulating inheritance in the Indian communities.

Native ethics in these communities categorically require that property be divided equally between the closest kin of the deceased, and in this group most or all of his consanguinal relatives would be counted. Thus, a widowed person has no greater and no lesser right to sharing in the estate of the deceased spouse than any one of the nearest consanguinal relatives of the latter. Disregard of this rule on the Indian reservations in the name of modern law has created much dismay in Indian families—and for good reasons. Recognition of "Indian marriage" (*i.e.*, non-registered marital relation) as marriage before the law could not reasonably empower the surviving spouse to claim inheritance right to the exclusion of the equal inheritance right of each one of the surviving consanguinal kin. "Indian marriage" and Indian inheritance rules are compatible; "Indian marriage" and modern probate procedures are not compatible. Logically, there are only two alternatives: *either*, the law should respect Indian ethics and rule that an unregistered "Indian marriage" is a marriage, and as a consequence that assets and liabilities in case of death be equally shared by the kind group; *or*, Indian ethics would be disregarded on the grounds that such a marriage would not qualify as marriage before the law.

Factionalism

Experience tells the Indians that cutting the ties with their home community too easily leads them into depression, alcoholism, and criminality. Most of them cannot make their way into the modern world one by one except by great effort but have to do it together, as a group. But even then, there is a serious obstacle to progress which they carry in their own bosom, and this now must be mentioned. They live in segregated groups and in seclusion from the dominant society, which makes them very vulnerable to in-group antagonism. The tendency to collaborate chiefly in small groups and the lack of confidence in general leadership apparently have always characterized the Idaho Indians. Nonetheless it cannot be said that they are an unusually quarrelsome people by nature. On the contrary it can be said with great confidence that they are not. But circumstances always forced them to rely upon a very narrow margin of economic co-operation. Since tension within the small, related group had to be suppressed, antagonistic feelings turned outward. Aggressive behavior toward other groups or toward white people is meaningless today but it still exists. Formerly unaffiliated groups, penned in on the same reservation, now have to live in communal unity. From the beginning, the community split into opposing factions heading by rival leaders. This factionalism seems everywhere to be of a dual character and has been perpetuated through the years regardless of changing leadership and of issues at hand.

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[9] **There is no regulation for child support. It ought to be in the power of the Court to enforce child support. The Tribal Council could help by reviewing the ordinance. (Mr. Pappan's note.)**

There is one reservation in Idaho where the two factions clearly split the population according to earlier, prereservation group distinction and continued separation in two different residential districts. But this is unusual. Usually the factions cut straight through the society, at times even through one and the same extended family group. Age factors are insignificant, as are also acculturative conditions as such, since individuals on all educational levels are found on both sides. Although disputes may concern acceptance or rejection of novelties, it cannot be said that one group is unduly conservative and the other not so. The tension is polarized in two active key groups with a large portion of the population being indifferent. It may be latent for years, but flares up whenever the group as a whole is apprehensive or feels its equilibrium threatened. It often has a paralyzing effect on group decision. Well-meaning white people, without fully realizing what they are getting into, often take sides, which causes the factionalism on the reservations to become ever more bitter.[10]

Factionalism is not limited to the Idaho Indians, but occurs today on most reservations. It is an old and very common social phenomenon among North-American Indians and occurs elsewhere in the world. Its history, even within a given group, is not well known. Although the subject has been much discussed in anthropological literature, its true nature, causes, and function are not understood.

On the Fort Hall reservation at this moment, the factionalism seems even more vehement than it has before. The Indians are in despair at a discord which threatens the function of their tribal organization, and with which they seem unable to cope. Although it remains the one issue the Indians must clarify and take care of for and by themselves, it adds to the general impression that these people are not ready to handle their own affairs without the guidance of an understanding authority.

Age groups and adolescent disarrangement

Attitude and outlook on life vary greatly between age groups. The gap is widening and is much greater now than it was when I first came to Fort Hall in the early 1940's. At the same time, however, there is a new factor to be counted with in studying this contrast. Until rather recently the variability was largely a matter of a highly irregular acculturation level without any precise demarcation between old and young. Today there is such a disjunction, a most critical one, manifesting itself in adolescent detachment from the rest of the group.

The historical background is clear and well known. The historical legends from pre-Caucasian time, an age of privation and constant fear of raids from the hostile tribes of the Plains, speak about a general feeling of dejection and uncertainty. The songs speak of fear and sorrow rather than hope and courage. There are no traces of bravery and heroism. Bravery backfires, but vigilance and caution pays off. Only a few decades later, with Plains civilization and equestrian bison hunting, came the difference between rich and poor, new aspirations for wealth in horses and buffalo-hide blankets, something to strive toward, a future that held out a promise. The hero of the day was the "horse-taker," the young man with enterprise and bravery. The period was short and glorious but was never to be forgotten. It awoke an echo in the wretched cottages on the Reservation still to be heard.

The anticlimax, the ultimate reason for the final despair, is equally clear and well known. The present parental generation grew up during the last world war, in part temporarily removed from the home community and never more fully able to readjust when back home again; in part constantly drinking and constantly being in troubles. These people now want to work and support their children, but they do not know how and do not have the stamina to do it. Sitting about and waiting for employment, the only white people they meet are the social welfare workers.

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[10] As time passes, more conflicts are developing involving disputes between Indians residing on the reservations on the one hand and the non-reservation Indians on the other. This is most apparent in progressive tribal groups. (Mr. Owl's note.)

Contrary to what is often stated in literature and often heard today from the Indians themselves, the discipline in child rearing in the past was demanding and stern. People knew what to ask from their children and how to support enculturation. Today parents are lost in despair and do not dare to look their children in the eye. Even in the best cases, they are poorly prepared to advise their children in a rapidly changing world. There are today parents who are willing to give their children away, and there are some who have done so. Traditionally, children go to the mother for help. In cases of divorce they tend to blame the father. More often than not, they soon find that their own helpless situation is the mother's fault. It might be the mother who left the father and married another man. Today the reaction of these children is self-destruction of some kind, ultimately suicide.

The present high suicide rates on the Reservation cannot be explained as culturally determined in terms of cultural history. The only historically known institutionalized form of suicide among these Indians is the *wiagidy*, the Shoshoni equivalent to the Crazy-Dog institution among the Crow. It apparently meant very little in the Shoshoni society which never became thoroughly militarized. Nor can it be said that these suicides are "never caused by imitation." In fact they are to a very high degree. Seeking a mutual support in lieu of parental guidance these young Indians, most of them in high-school age, today form ingroups some of which quite formally, even in an almost observant way, function as harbingers of death. It has been observed by the Indians themselves, so I have heard, that increased tension in this sector of the population resulting in brawls at the gambling places or other localities for public gathering is notoriously followed by suicide attempts.

To what degree—if at all—these juvenile ingroups and the fluctuating suicide rates are correlative is a knotty problem. At the time of this writing there is a noticeable dip in the otherwise upgoing suicide curve. Most of the leaders in the suicide-bound sodalities have recently died by own hand. My chief informant on these matters believes that recent incidents of young boys being beaten-up at the gambling lodges are the forerunners of a new suicide wave.

The dilemma of these rebellious Indian youth, frequently raised by grandparents or by uncles and aunts, would presumably be best understood as a rebellion against two communities, the Indian one and the white one, a desperate fight against a double set of values, Indian standard and white standard, without having a value system of their own.

Suggestions for improved assistance programs

There are many as yet unproved reforms which could, under the present system of Indian administration, be immediately introduced. Assistance to the Indians for the improvement of housing would gradually reduce appropriations for health. Extension of professional social work would have a broad beneficial affect. Courses in the specific problems of the Indian child could be included in the training of teachers in schools attended by Indian children. Presumptively, at the present juncture much would be gained by reverting such allotted land which is not manageable by the present owners back to the tribal estate.

At present, landless Indians have and sometimes use the right to squat on unoccupied tribal land. To the extent tribal holdings could be consolidated and improved, this right could be extended under a formal program to promote small holdings and sites for housing purposes on inalienable tribal land. But, since the Indians do not own the necessary agricultural machinery, nor do they beyond their very limited tribal funds have any individual savings, they would need more generous credit and more technical aid and instruction than they now have in order to improve their lands.

Structural changes in the largely obsolete rural economy on the reservation could be facilitated by improved occupational mobility and the development of new occupational skills. But since the Indians have no industries of their own, this would mean occupation off the reservation, which most of them resent. There has been one attempt made by progressive elements among the Fort Hall Indians at creating light industry on the Reservation. A workshop for production of trailers was established but lack of credit and technical aid caused it to fail.[11]

Some enterprising people do leave the reservation, but most of them only temporarily. At the present time, about twenty-eight per cent of the enrolled Indian population of Idaho are not domiciled on the reservations. Quite a few of them live in towns near the reservations. Tribal members who either spontaneously or by force of circumstances take up residence off the reservation tend to stay together and to maintain close contact with the home reservation, to which they often drift back. Very few are ready to or dare to leave for good and start a new life in the white man's community. This must be done spontaneously without enticement and subvention. The relocation program of the Indian Service has become as unpopular with the Fort Hall Indians as was to be expected.

The aims of modern Indian service have been defined as follows: "The Indian Affairs Office acts as the official guardian of the Indians; The Public Health Service promotes their health and physical welfare; directs the Public School, the education of Indian children; encourages their native arts and crafts; reclaims their land and develops the natural resources in timber and minerals. It promotes their economic development both tribally and as individuals through a program of proper land use, supervises their funds, adjusts heirship matters, and handles all Indian affairs of the government." (Boyd and Rips, *United States Government Publications*, 1949, p. 247.)

Now, one may wonder what the Bureau of Indian Affairs today is doing about all this. The promotion of Indian health and physical welfare and the direction of the education of Indian children have been transferred to other agencies. Despite the Indian Arts and Crafts Board, if such a thing exists, at least as far as the Fort Hall Indians are concerned, the only encouragement of their native arts and crafts of which I know is limited to local traders and other interested private individuals and organizations, and pre-eminently the Idaho Historical Society. Apart from this, the promotion of arts and crafts among the Fort Hall Indians is entirely in the hands of their own Arts and Crafts Committee. The reclamation of Indian lands and the development of natural resources on the reservations have remained duties which the Bureau has continued to carry on most energetically. It is an often heard opinion that the Bureau has done more to improve the landed property of the Indians than to improve the Indians themselves; and yet, the promotion of "economic development both tribally and as individuals through a program of proper land use" seems somewhat behind schedule.

I was explicitly reminded of this fact by my Shoshoni interpreter some time ago, when we drove through a lane dividing white holdings from those of the Reservation. On the one side there were fertile fields of beets and alfalfa over which sprinklers sprayed. On the other side, as far as the eye could see, the sagebrush grew as exuberantly as could be wished in order to show that it was rooted in good soil. With a sigh, the Indian pointed to this poignant contrast and said: "Look, there is the white man's land, and there is our land!"

It would be difficult to deny that the Bureau through the years has remained a faithful guardian of a poorhouse. It could perhaps also be said that although the Bureau supervises the funds of the Indians, it has not always succeeded in making these funds productive. Any statement that the Bureau has adjusted heirship matters sounds most ironic, since it is only too well known that nothing has as yet been done to solve the heirship problem despite recent legislative attempts.

Charges of this kind against the Bureau of Indian Affairs, which could go on almost indefinitely, may not be justified. I do not know the range of the Bureau's powers, but I assume that the Bureau is an entirely administrative, in no way a legislative institution.[12] Hence, the Bureau has to follow what the law prescribes, and the field forces of the Indian Service have in their turn to follow what the Bureau tells them to do. This is not easy. I believe that there can be no more difficult branch of modern administration than the Indian Service. I have seen several Indian agencies at work, and I have a great admiration for the field workers in these offices, from the superintendent to the last clerk.

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[11] Finally fire of questionable origin destroyed the plant. (Mr. Owl's note.)

[12] Advisory would be a better term, and more so as time passes, particularly with tribes organized under the provision of the Indian Reorganization Act. (Mr. Owl's note.)

At Fort Hall, I have seen ten superintendents come and go. All of them were hardworking men of great ability. For the last two in their ranks, I feel not only great admiration but also profound gratitude. From them I have learned more about the contemporary North-American Indians than from any other persons. They both had an intimate knowledge and a sincere interest in this vast field. Once there was much to be criticized in the field work of the Office of Indian Affairs. Today there is, I believe, no valid reason for such criticism. The fault, if there is one, must rest at a higher level and certainly has legislative roots. It may be found not with the Bureau itself but with its advisors.

The next to the last of these advisors was the Brookings Foundation, and the last one was the Hoover Commission. In the recommendations of the latter, less professional than those of the former, the same unrealistic hopefulness about "integration," which characterized the General Allotment Act, shines through. In 1949, it ought to have been obvious that acculturation in many tribes is slow and of recent date in many areas has gone into reverse, and that assimilation culturally, socially, and economically will in all probability require methodical and specialized educational, social, and regulative work for several generations to come.

However, to give up all hopes for the ultimate success of the old and venerable Office of Indian Affairs may be premature. Personally, I believe that this office has been the most successful promoter of acculturation to be found anywhere in the world, perhaps with the exception of its Canadian counterpart, from which a great deal could be learned. The educational duty of the Office, which today is the most essential one, has been discharged for only ninety years. Albeit under quite different geographical and political conditions, but under much more favorable cultural ones, it took almost four hundred years for the Swedish state to include the Laps in the Swedish society firmly. And yet, the Laps were in cultural contact with the Scandinavians for at least two, perhaps three, thousand years. The Idaho Indians first saw white Americans exactly 163 years ago. The Indians, largely thanks to the Office of Indian Affairs, have done reasonably well and particularly so in the 1940's. It is true of late that the Bureau has become a more expensive organ than any other institution with the same number of clients. But if speed is desirable and even required in our day, one has to pay for it. Of necessity, it is much more expensive to travel by air than to pilgrimage. Considering the fact that it is part of the pay for a continent, an annual installment of $179,397,000 does not seem exorbitant. With proper management of Indian human resources that price would soon drop substantially.

Even if the Bureau of Indian Affairs were to be abolished, there must still be an Indian service and coordination of this service. To delegate this service and its local co-ordination to state boards, for example under the provisions of the Johnson-O'Malley Act, would actually mean the substitution for the Federal Bureau of a variety of local bureaus whose combined activity would certainly be no less costly to the nation than the present form of Federal service, and presumably, no more expedient. Instead of being reduced in number, personnel trained for Indian service would be multiplied. There is also the consideration that the Indians themselves would vehemently oppose any such anrrangement, since they would fear that state interests would not be compatible with their own interests.

One of the leading principles in the original Wheeler-Howard Bill was professionalization of the Indian Service. To some extent this principle characterized the Indian Reorganization Act, but it was not allowed the time to show its superiority. The recommendations of the Hoover Commission did not favor this principle inasmuch as the Commission recommended that "pending achievements of the goal of complete integration, the administration of social programs for the Indians should be progressively transferred to State government." Disregarding the obvious fact that state governments, lacking experience and a professional staff, are for the present not competent to handle social programs for the Indians, one must shudder at the terrific burden such a policy, if fully carried out, would impose on states and counties with a large Indian population as compared to states and counties with only a small and already assimilated Indian population.

However, the Hoover Commission, drawing from the experience of two crucial decades of Indian administration, could rightfully emphasize the need for decentralization and penetration into strictly local problems. But the subsequent establishment of regional field divisions was a half-measure that did not reach far enough. It did not strengthen the authority of the superintendencies. How can a superintendent be the best of advisors to his clients when, before he has had the time to become a true expert on their problems, he is removed to another reservation where different conditions prevail?

There is, then, the alternative that the Department of the Interior retain control of the Indian affairs of the Government—whatever these would finally be—but that the duty of preparing backward Indian populations for active citizenship be entrusted to an entirely new institution. This would allow for greater flexibility in dealing with local Indian populations, which differ on the various reservations both as to cultural heritage and as to present acculturation status. With "flexibility" I mean a policy so organized that it would at any given time reflect the continuously changing and sometimes conflicting sentiments in the Indian population but at the same time work toward cultural assimilation by deliberate planning. Unless concessions to shifting local opinions were allowed for, no spontaneous efforts to improvements on the part of the Indian majority could be expected. Unless these efforts were directed with consonance and patience by a competent outside authority in accordance with a program aiming at cultural assimilation, they would not be consistent. Such a program must, of course, be educational in the broadest sense of the word.

Without forced removal of Indians from their present settlements the potential earning power of the Indian population is proportional not only to elementary and higher education and vocational training, but also to occupational opportunity. Neither the Federal Government nor the states can build industries for exclusive management by Indians. As a transitional measure, before the Indians have become accustomed to participating freely in industrial life, such industries could be organized in areas with backward Indian populations by co-operative corporations aiming at promoting Indian production and working with capital provided by debenture stock under Federal guarantee. Some such sister organizations could be non-profit associations. In this connection, I think of the Scandinavian home craft associations which in my own native country have made domestic industry very productive under the direction of the Swedish Society of Arts and Crafts. If the Indians persist in keeping together and making common cause, why not let them? It would be easier to stimulate their will to work if they were allowed to work together on their own projects with the necessary outside aid than if they have to work together with white men on the white man's projects .

Although I am not in the position to substantiate my general impression that the credit organization of the Bureau of Indian Affairs has been more generous to individual Indians of particular choice than to the organized tribes, and although I know that there is also evidence of the opposite, I have heard only too often expressions of distrust in the Indians' ability as organized groups to carry out co-operative projects. And yet, this is the way they would work most successfully. What they need and cannot provide for and by themselves is management and training in modern cooperative techniques. Why not, then, institutionalize these essentials beyond the control of a political-minded bureau? The request of the Northern Cheyenne in 1959 for a "Fifty Year Unallotment Program" is illustrative. I read this moving document in "Indian Affairs News Letter" of the American Indian Fund and the Association on American Indian Affairs, (Number 34, November 1959.) What touched me was not the request for tribal consolidation of allotted lands, but the appeal to authorities other than the Bureau of Indian Affairs for support: "We also ask the Association on American Indian Affairs and the College of Montana to cooperate with us on a program of social and economic development for the Northern Cheyennes."

Direction of a program of Indian self-help could not easily be administered by a central office alone. A common national plan, unless it allowed for a high degree of local variation, could not be applied. Not only diversity of resources and contrastive geographical conditions but, above all, tribal characteristics and sentiments, to which the Indians are predisposed through their own traditions, make the different groups differently biased. No two projects would come out the same in the heterogeneous Indian communities. Even on one and the same reservation, it would sometimes be futile to impose a uniform plan.

Perhaps the basic reason for the difficulty which the area offices meet in attempting to keep a close eye on local disputes is just that: the ubiquitous contrast in sentiment between different subgroups on the reservations. As an example, the prolonged strife between the Miller Creek Paiute and the Shoshoni on the Duck Valley Reservation could be mentioned. The Shoshoni, who were the first to settle this reservation, tend to be individualists, every man going his own way, while in contrast the Paiute—who were forcefully brought to the Reservation at a later date—tend to keep a tight and closed front and to sacrifice their personal differences to follow their leaders, irrespective of their distaste for the issue at hand. To use another example: the Shoshoni at Fort Washakie and the Arapaho at Ethete, although sharing a reservation, would not readily joint in a common project. It seems essential, therefore, that Indian self-help be locally specialized.

But local Indian industries and their management, however successfully maintained, would not supersede contemporary Indian administration. Even a brief visit to an Indian agency would soon convince anybody of this fact. The daily drudgery at such a place is unbelievable. So much happens in the course of a single day in the various offices, tribal as well as governmental, that if it was itemized it would comprise an extremely long list. People come from all over the reservation with troubles which they cannot handle themselves. And there is very little that most of them can handle by themselves. A person might not even be capable of going to town to buy himself a pair of shoes on his own. A people, who from long cultural standing are accustomed to talking over every single detail of daily activity face to face with an understanding leader, could not continue to exist in any orderly way if they suddenly found themselves without one.

Just as the promotion of Indian production could rest in the hands of a private organization responsible to the United States Government, so could land management, social work, and Indian administration in general. Since the approach to social problems, tribal diversity notwithstanding, essentially must be the same in all backward Indian communities, it is fairly obvious that such an organization must be a nation-wide institution whatever else it could be. It is also obvious that the overall control of Indian service must be vested in the Federal Government for the protection of Indian rights.

The administrative obligations of the Indian Service today are badly in need of clarification and gradual local revision by intensive economic-societal research in those Indian communities which are lagging behind. A new organization would, therefore, compare with a national research foundation but at the same time be responsible to the executive branch for Indian service. It would necessarily be more segmented along professional lines than is the present Federal Bureau. Preferably, a new organization should not be a governmental bureau susceptible to sudden political turns, but one with a greater principal authority and consistency than a politically determined institution can possibly be.

The all-inclusive structure of a new system of Indian service, then, would be a private, non-profit confederation of specialized local organizations with an integrated rehabilitation program headed by a national board of experts under the control of the Department of the Interior.

Some useful recent references

By far the most comprehensive study of the Fort Hall Indians and their reservation is the report on research done on the Reservation by the University of Idaho (Moscow, Idaho) under a Federal contract entitled "Socio-economic Analysis of the Fort Hall Indian Reservation" (contract 14–20–650–641). The project was financed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The study was made by several members of the faculty of the University under the direction of Professor Norman Nybroten, College of Business Administration. The result was presented in 1961 in various reports by the Idaho Bureau of Business and Economic Research, University of Idaho, Moscow, Idaho, notably in the following four: H. C. Harmsworth and N. Nybroten, "Human Resources, Relations, and Problems on the Fort Hall Indian Reservation"; N. Nybroten and R. H. Farmer, "Credit, Finance and Business Relationships Affecting the Fort Hall Indian Reservation"; R. M. Berry, "Educating the People on the Fort Hall Reservation"; K. Lindeborg, "Economic Analysis of Minimum-Size Farms for Various Levels of Income on the Fort Hall Indian Reservation." The final comprehensive report was published as the Idaho Bureau of Business and Economic Research Report No. 9 under the title "Economy and Conditions of the Fort Hall Indian Reservation," edited by Norman Nybroten (Moscow, Idaho, 1964).

A formal discussion of the topic, "Federal Indian Policy and the Fort Hall Indians," by Sally Jean Laidlaw, was published as *Occasional Papers of the Idaho State College Museum*, Number 3 (Pocatello, Idaho, 1960).

Some material concerning the present conditions of the Fort Hall Indians can be gleaned from Health Services for American Indians, Public Health Service Publication, No. 531 (U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1957).

A good study with professional aspects of the health conditions of the Fort Hall Indians is Louis G. Bush, "Medicine at an American Indian Reservation," *The Journal of Pediatrics*, Vol. 53, 1958.

The two most detailed studies of the Fort Hall situation have not yet reached print. Thus, firstly, there is "The Fort Hall Story," a report prepared by the Fort Hall Business Council and presented to the Indian Affairs Subcommittee of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs when conducting Hearings at Fort Hall in 1957. "The Fort Hall Story" was edited and in part written by Dr.

Joseph A. Hearst. It has had a limited local distribution in mimeographed form but is a valuable source of information. "The Fort Hall Story" is presently under revision by Dr. Hearst. Originally, a commentary on "The Fort Hall Story" by Superintendent Frell M. Owl was included in the published Hearings.

Secondly, there is a manuscript of great interest which is known to very few persons even though it is a public document of importance. This is the report by Mrs. Mary Lou Skinner to the United States Public Health Service on her research work at Fort Hall in 1956–1961. Mrs. Skinner was one of three health educators assigned to explore the present health practices of the Inidans on three reservations (Fort Hall, Wind River, and Uintah-Ouray). Mrs. Skinner's report was filed as a typewritten manuscript in ~~a few~~ copies on August 7, 1961, with the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Regional Office, Public Health Service, 50 Seventh Street, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia. The main copy of this manuscript is today kept by Mr. Francis Reierson, Health Educator, the U.S. Indian Service Area Office in Portland, Oregon. One of the few additional copies in existence is in my own possession. For some odd reason, this informative and thoughtful work has never been published or received the recognition it deserves. The manuscript comprises 199 pages plus appendices (55 pp.) and 2 plates. It contains a detailed educational analysis, discussion of health problems at Fort Hall in 1956–58, reports on Indian practices related to health and medical care and on the attitude of the Indians to modern health programs.

Finally, there are for two neighbor reservations (and representative for the area in general) two reliable studies on a statistical foundation of Indian acculturation, education, occupation and employment. "We Need To Be Shown," a Study of the Talents, Work Potentials and Aspirations of the Pyramid Lake Indians, by William Gomberg and Joy Leland for the Bureau of Indian Affairs (1963), and "Conflict and Schism in Nez Perce Acculturation," a Study of Religion and Politics, by Deward E. Walker, Jr. (Washington State University Press, 1968).

FINAL REPORT TO THE OFFICE OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND YOUTH DEVELOPMENT, DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

(By Southeastern State College, Durant, Okla.)

Youth development staff

Director	Leslie Lewis
Associate Director	Jack Cazzelle
Training Specialist	Jim Barnette
Recreational Specialist	John Gecks
Dorm Counselor	Susanne Heard
Secretary	Willita Farmer
Clerks	Three Students

This report contains confidential information. Names have been changed in an effort to protect participants, community groups, school,s and agencies.

PREFACE

This report, prepared for the Office of Juvenile Delinquency, and Youth Development, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, is the final report of Pilot Project No. 66221—A Training Program to Effect Change in Institutionalized Non-Reservation Indian Youth. It represents the findings of researchers and Bureau of Indian Affairs Personnel relative to conditions in Bureau of Indian Affairs Boarding Schools as they relate to the proposed goals and objectives which are found in the Introduction.

This report covers the period June 27, 1966, through June 26, 1967.

The included data has been amassed in several ways, e.g. video tapes, audio tapes, personal interviews, consultants' reports, and discussion and consensus among staff.

The behaviors that the project staff has attempted to identify and around which they have struggled with the youth and adults were the essence of a campus curriculum which was designed long ago to provide a home away from home for Indian Youth in grades one through twelve. Project staff involvement reflected their efforts to help Bureau of Indian Affairs Personnel determine where some of the strengths and weaknesses are in the existing structure and system.

One of the things which the project attempted to do is to identify many of the behavior patterns, many of the difficulties that people, as a result of everyday living, encounter and attempt to deal with. The struggle around the attempt to identify and the struggle around resolving difficulties are attempts to enable the Bureau of Indian Affairs to point to certain sets of factors which will enable them to take a look at the existing structure or systems of operation and identify certain things which people were doing and to examine more closely the needs of youth and staff.

The project staff has functioned in each of the schools within the existing structure of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and has made no attempt to restructure existing rules and regulations in order to function. Interaction between staff and school personnel was conducted within the bounds and limitations which area office personnel of the Bureau of Indian Affairs explained to project staff when the project moved onto the campuses of the participating schools. Within these confines the project has attempted to identify in its own way the difficulties and behaviors which exist at the schools so that the project can provide the kind of help to the Bureau of Indian Affairs which will enable them to create an atmosphere in the participating schools which is more effective in the development of youth and staff who reside and work there.

The role of project staff then was to get dissimilar groups, e.g., youth-adults, dormitory staff-teachers, together and, through interaction, attempt to resolve some of the areas of mutual concern. The function of project staff was to attempt to get the youth and adults to understand what interaction with others consists of in terms of the specific commitment which they made, to identify those commitments, and relate them to their behaviors. The purpose of this was to see if this procedure for dealing with problems is effective in creating change in behavior and attitudes of the youth and adults in the schools.

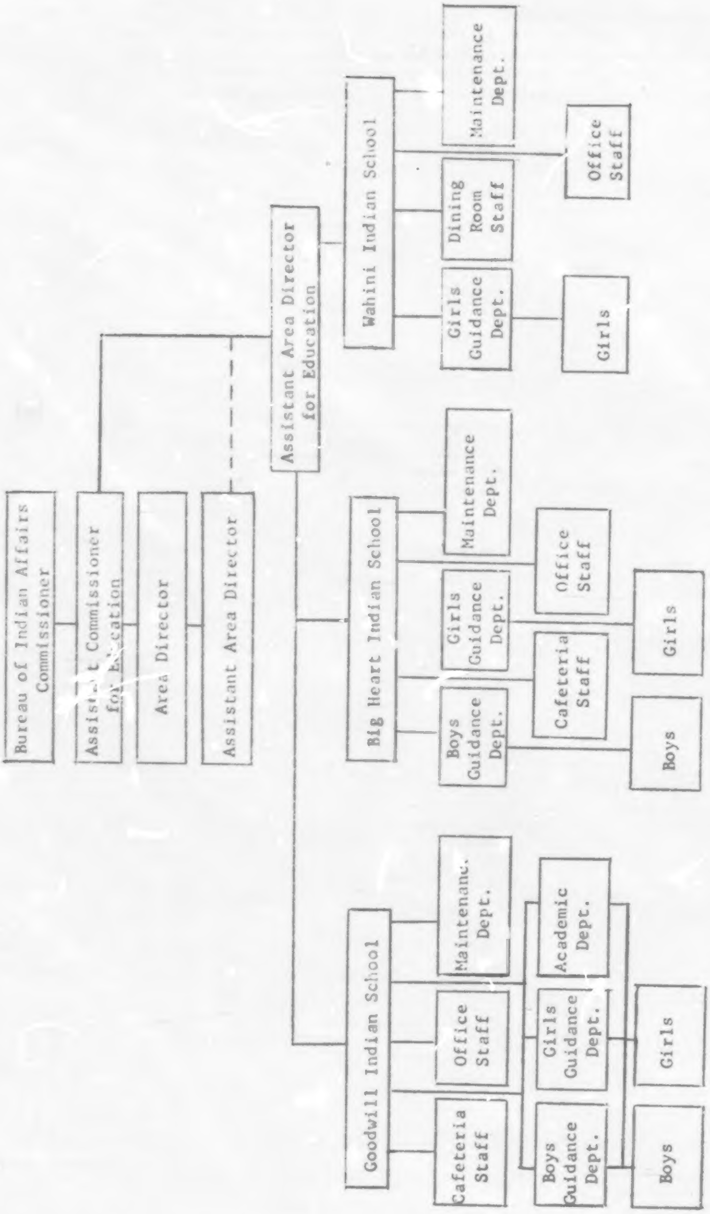
INTRODUCTION

The germination of this program is the result of the efforts of many individuals over a long period of time to arouse the interest of their colleagues, as well as the public, about the changes which are necessary in the Bureau of Indian Affairs Boarding Schools. Bureau of Indian Affairs officials in the Central Office in Washington, D.C. and Educational Specialists working with Social Service workers representing the Area Office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs initiated efforts to collaborate with the Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, a branch of Health, Education, and Welfare, and Southeastern States College in Durant, Oklahoma, in order to deal with some of the problems apparent in the boarding schools as they affected the youth residing there. The resultant efforts led to a proposal submitted in April, 1966, by Southeastern State College to institute a training program for youth and adults to effect a change in institutionalized non-reservation Indian Youth. The training program was to cover the period of time from June 27, 1966, to June 26, 1967.

The purpose of the program was to develop within participating trainee personnel an interdisciplinary approach to youth development whereby institutionalized Indian children can acquire the values and attitudes requisite to coping successfully with problems of social adjustment. Implicitly, the program was to evolve an atmosphere which would provide an opportunity for change in the functional philosophy of the participating institutions and to thereby enable personnel to facilitate program implementation. Also, the program was to provide the opportunity for transferring the training experiences of a summer training program into an integral part of an academic year progam by all trainees in the participating school.

The schools participating in the program were selected on the basis of being representative of boarding schools throughout the Bureau of Indian Affairs. They were selected by the Area Office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs because they represent different kinds of boarding school situations, e.g. Big Heart Indian School at Big Heart, Oklahoma represents grades one through twelve, is coeducational, and youth attend public schools; Goodwill Indian School at Goodwill, Oklahoma represents grades one through eight, is coeducational, and the school is located on the campus; Wahini Indian School at Wahini, Oklahoma represents grades one through twelve, houses girls only, and youth attend public schools. Also the representatives from the Bureau of Indian Affairs Area Office felt the program would have more chance for success in these schools since they had been adjudged leaders in many areas and were staffed with personnel more receptive to new ideas and change.

The hierarchy which exists within these institutions and their relationship to the Bureau of Indian Affairs Area Office and the Central Office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington, D.C., is not easily discernible but appear to be as the included diagram indicates. Social Service Area is not represented on the


Bureau of Indian Affairs Commissioner
Assistant Commissioner for Education
Area Director
Assistant Area Director
Assistant Area Director for Education
Goodwill Indian School
Cafeteria Staff
Office Staff
Maintenanc Dept.
Academic Dept.
Girls Guidance Dept.
Boys Guidance Dept.
Girls
Boys
Big Heart Indian School
Boys Guidance Dept.
Girls Guidance Dept.
Maintenance Dept.
Office Staff
Cafeteria Staff
Girls
Boys
Wahini Indian School
Girls Guidance Dept.
Dining Room Staff
Maintenance Dept.
Office Staff
Girls

included diagram because its role in relation to the schools and youth has not been understood by the project. Their position relative to youth and campus staff is unknown in terms of school structure.

The six weeks summer training program with which this project began was made to coincide with an existing guidance program which is carried on annually under the auspices of Southeastern State College and developed by Bureau of Indian Affairs personnel from the Area Office.

The attachment of the program to an existing guidance program was due to the late funding of the program and the unavailability of desired consultants. Because of pressures of time and a desire to begin the program, an attempt was made to take advantage of an existing structure during the month of July. The approach used was a traditional guidance approach to dealing with the problems of youth which was later found to be inadequate in terms of implementing the goals and objectives of the program which are as follows:

General

1. To develop in trainee personnel the feeling that each student can be accepted as he is and demonstrate that he really cares what happens to the child.
2. To help each student to see where his present activities are leading him, to arouse in him the desire to set goals for himself, and to encourage him to achieve them.
3. To enable staff members to cope with institutional problems which at one time they would have avoided.
4. To permit institutional personnel to be more flexible in the support of the role of youth interacting with the community.
5. To permit governmental structures of youth to take place within their respective institutions.

For trainee staff

1. To provide interdisciplinary and interagency orientation for workers with the disadvantaged, institutionalized Indian children in eastern Oklahoma.
2. To create an understanding of the basic dimensons of organization procedures, methods, motivations, and learning experiences which are appropriate to each of the trainees.
3. To train staff, and instructional aides of Indian agencies in methods of presenting compensatory education for the disadvantaged with particular reference to communicative skills in areas of instruction, health, and physical fitness, and responsibilities of citizenship.
4. To aid the trainees in identifying the creative abilites, interests, and needs of disadvantaged children.
5. To help the trainees evolve goals for children which are realistic in terms of individual potential, need, and interest.
6. To define the role of the trainee as it relates to the total program of aid for the Indian youth.
7. To help trainees plan together creative education and cultural experiences which will raise the aspirational level of the children whereby they may improve their self-image.
8. Enable trainees to recognize and evaluate power structures of the community of youth and to cope with it.

For youth assistants

1. To develop leadership qualities of teenage youth.
2. To develop the self-concept of the youth assistants, in order to enhance his state of mental health.
3. To give the youth assistants the opportunity for mental, physical, emotional, and moral growth through activities involving the co-mingling of racial groups to the end that they may compete successfully and become realistically aware of the world around them.
4. To provide the opportunity for the youth assistants to participate in school activities, democratic government, and community association in order that they may become constructive citizens for their school, community, state and nation.

Although the ensuing objectives are not the immediate goal of this training program, ultimately this program will provide institutionalized Indian children in the lower primary grade with the following:

1. Develop child's self-perception in order to promote emotional growth.
2. Develop a sense of involvement in order that understanding can take place.
3. Develop pride in cultural heritage.
4. To reduce the traumatic effect of familial separation.
5. To provide immediate orientation to new environment.

As a result of consultations with the funding agency and consultants, the sixth week of the training program took on new dimensions and direction. It changed from a traditional guidance approach to a group approach, not in terms of therapy but in terms of group organization and group direction brought about as a result of the trainee's own efforts, efforts of project staff, and consultants to work as a group on problems and issues which concerned them. This approach became most fruitful for achieving the goals and objectives of the program.

The last week of the program, which was held at Big Heart School, was an emotionally charged one for the trainees (youth and adults), Bureau of Indian Affairs, Central Office Personnel, and Area Office representatives, project staff, and consultants. Confrontations took place between staff and youth on issues, e.g. running away, drinking, etc. which created what trainees felt were very threatening situations.

For example, in group meetings involving all trainees, staff talked with consultants about drinking in terms of "What would you do about a youth who drinks?—not that we have this problem but we would like to know." Adult trainees used this approach with other issues and only seemed comfortable while talking about them in the abstract.

As a result of viewing the sixth week of the training program and the revelations that were made, personnel from the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the Central Office in Washington and Area Office gave their endorsement to the program and of the proposed vehicle, i.e. student government, for introducing change in the life experience of the youth as well as adults at the participating schools—change in a dramatically different way so that student government was not to be a tool of administration but youth could become involved in ways that they want by cooperatively working with adult staff in making decisions and dealing with problems on the campuses. In effect the youth could do the kinds of things they felt they wanted to do for the institutions.

The endorsement of the program by the Bureau of Indian Affairs was in terms of following through with previous commitments made when asking for this type of program which was in the form of supporting the changes which the Bureau of Indian Affairs felt were necessary.

Their commitment at the end of the summer training was for a Bureau of Indian Affairs Area Office education representative to work with the project staff and with personnel at the schools full time for a period of three months in order to orient the staff and youth about the goals and objectives of the program and to assist in whatever ways were necessary to implement those goals and objectives at the school. The social service branch at the Bureau of Indian Affairs Area Office also committed a social worker to work with the Youth Development Program at the schools.

The implementation of the program began when the project staff entered the schools prior to the academic year. For example, at Goodwill Indian School, project staff participated in a one-week workshop to help orient staff members who had not attended the summer training program. The Bureau of Indian Affairs Area Office (Education and Social Service areas) saw this orientation as a need of Goodwill Indian School, since only a small number of their staff and none of their youth had attended the summer training program.

Description of Schools

CAMPUS, COMMUNITY, STAFF, AND YOUTH OF WAHINI INDIAN SCHOOL

Wahini Indian School is located in the community of Wahini, Oklahoma. It is situated on the edge of town but within walking distance of the schools and business district. The campus consists of an office building, two dormitories, a gym, and employees' housing for a small portion of the staff. All of the buildings were constructed several years ago with the exception of the office, which is a modern brick building constructed more recently.

One dormitory is a two-story wooden structure with the upper floor housing older girls., high school age. This floor consists of a TV-study room equipped with several chairs, a table, a newspaper-book rack, and a TV, all neatly arranged; three bedrooms, which house approximately twenty girls equipped with bunk beds, wall lockers, dressing tables, etc., seem rather crowded but adequate; a bath, and a small office with a desk and chairs. Downstairs is the kitchen, rather old but very clean, and a dining hall, with several tables where meals are served family style.

The other dormitory, which houses younger girls, is also an older type wooden structure divided into four parts by two hallways. Three of these sections are primarily bedrooms with several bunk beds, wall lockers, etc. and the fourth is a TV-study-play room. The halls are lined with art work typical of grade school youth.

The gym is made of stone or brick construction with the basketball court crowded by walls and bleachers.

The office is a relatively new brick building with several rooms equipped with desks, chairs, etc. One room is used part-time by a nurse who visits once a week. The interior and furnishings are very neat, efficient, and modern.

The town of Wahini is a small rural community of 1500 to 2000 population. Activities for youth include: one theater and the usual school activities, etc. Since the dormitory at Wahini is located within walking distance of the schools the students are not furnished transportation. This does allow them some freedom to visit with town youth after school hours. However, there are strict rules requiring the youth to be back on campus by a certain time after school is out.

The staff consists of the principal, a clerk, two night attendants, two dining room personnel, instructional aides, and maintenance men. Their roles, work hours, and background correspond with staff of the same position at Big Heart and Goodwill Indian Schools.

There are approximately fifty girls in grades one through twelve at Wahini Indian School. The social background and reasons for enrollment are the same as for Big Heart Indian School and Goodwill Indian School.

CAMPUS, COMMUNITY, STAFF, AND YOUTH OF GOODWILL INDIAN SCHOOL

Goodwill Indian School, a coeducational, self-contained academic and dormitory situation which schools and houses approximately 200 boys and girls representing grades one through eight, is located in Oklahoma near the small rural community of Goodwill, which has a population of approximately 200 people, a bank, grocery store, small cafe, post office, fire station, two service stations, three churches, a little candy store, and a school building. The surrounding countryside is made up of mountainous terrain covered with a variety of trees with little valleys in between. Small farms are scattered through the valleys with farmhouses built on the hillsides.

The unfenced campus of Goodwill Indian School is located on a hilltop with the school building situated at the highest level. This building serves as a sort of hub in relation to other campus structures. To the east of the school building is located the cafeteria, a large white wooden building with rooms upstairs where some employees live and where guests stay while visiting the campus. On to the east of the cafeteria is a basketball court, the administration building, and the home of the superintendent.

On the north side of the hill is located the boys' dormitory, the home economics building, the dispensary, the boys' play area, football field, and several old but neatly kept white frame houses which house employees of the school.

The boys' dormitory is a very large brick building divided into three units with each unit having rooms for the boys, a living room containing a color TV, and a study room which can be closed off from the reading room while youth are studying. Each of the three units also has showers and toilet facilities. There are laundry rooms in the basement, a recreation room with ping pong tables which is used also for meetings, and a barber shop where an instructional aide gives hair cuts to the boys.

In the dormitories youth are assigned normally three or four to a room, but in a few larger rooms the number could be five to a room. This lends the appearance of overcrowdedness and seems to afford little opportunity for privacy or individuality. The dormitories are divided into units and the youth are assigned to units according to age and/or grade. Each unit has a separate living room with color television set, shower and rest room facilities, and a study area. These units meet separately to plan activities and deal with problems in their own areas and on an individual basis.

On the south side of the hill is located the girls' dormitory, which is also divided into units with sleeping rooms for girls, living room, television room, laundry room, recreation room, etc. This building is almost identical to the boys' dormitory. The girls' play area is immediately behind the dormitory. The small boys in grades one, two, and three are also housed in this dormitory and their play area is on the opposite side of the building from the girls' area. South of the dorm are other white frame houses for employees.

The white frame home economics building contains an apartment where one of the teachers lives, a large room used for meetings, and several ranges for cooking, refrigerators, and cooking utensils. This equipment has not been used for some time since the curriculum at the school does not include home economics.

To the west of the school building are situated the barns and a fenced area for the various farm animals, e.g. cattle, mules, etc. Youth who participate in 4-H are allowed to have sheep, pigs, or calves for projects. The maintenance shops are located on the north side of the school building.

The school building is a new modern brick structure with an extensive library and an attached all-purpose room in which class meetings, plays, assemblies, athletic events, movies, and other social activities are held. The school building appears to be well maintained and "ready for inspection" at any time. Everything seems in order for visiting Bureau of Indian Affairs personnel or others who might visit the school. Around the school building and the administration building the grass is kept trimmed, but has been allowed to grow tall in some of the play areas and around the dormitories. Flower beds often are covered with tall grass and weeds.

In contrast to the school building, the dormitories appear to be less maintained, with the walls in some of the rooms in need of paint, windows and screens in need of repair, and some damage to ceilings in the older boys' unit.

Its geographical location contributes to the picture of Goodwill Indian School as being a small isolated community. Most of the activities, i.e. parties, movies, play activities, are held on the campus and participation is usually limited to the youth at the school. Occasional trips are organized for the youth, i.e. a tour of the countryside and nearby communities, museums, etc. Activities such as athletic events (football, basketball) are scheduled with nearby schools as well as 4-H activities, which provide some of the youth an opportunity to associate in a limited way with youth from the communities. They are transported by bus to the activity and returned to the campus immediately at the conclusion of the activity, with little or no time to communicate with each other after or during the game or activity. When other youth who are not participating are allowed to attend the athletic events, these youth tend to stay together in a large group or in smaller groups and interact for the most part among themselves. Communication with town youth appears to be almost non-existent.

The same thing occurs when youth from the community come to the campus—they leave immediately following the activity and have no time to relate with youth on the campus. Occasionally the church offers some programs in which youth from the Indian School could participate. Not many of them do. Some of the youth from the Indian School are allowed to attend athletic events at the public school. Usually it is the older boys who are allowed to attend. Other than these things, no activities are available in Goodwill, Oklahoma, in which youth from the boarding school can participate. A field day is held once a year at Goodwill Indian School in which youth from schools in nearby communities come to the campus to participate in athletic competition, (softball, track); youth from Goodwill Indian School and the visiting schools have an opportunity to intermingle and associate during the day. These attempts to provide recreational activities on the campus minimally provide the opportunities for social interaction for the development of the Indian youth.

A typical day for the youth at Goodwill Indian School runs similar to the following with some variances due to differences in details, eating times, involvement in class activities, etc.

6:00 A.M.	Arise
6:30 A.M.	Breakfast
6:30 A.M.— 8:30 A.M.	Clean rooms, details, dressing for school, etc.
8:00 A.M.—12:00 P.M.	Classes
12:00 P.M.— 1:00 P.M.	Lunch
1:00 P.M.— 3:30 P.M.	Classes
3:30 P.M.— 5:30 P.M.	Details, caring for projects, recreation
5:30 P.M.— 6:00 P.M.	Dinner
	Study period; school activities such as ball games, band practice, plays, dances; movies on campus; meetings; dances on campus; personal hygiene; etc.
6:00 P.M.—10:00 P.M.	Bed

There seems to be little or no communication among units or departments regarding planning of activities, or problems concerning the youth. This sometimes results in activities being cancelled because of conflicts, or youth being punished more than once for misbehavior, i.e. youth made to stay after school for misbehavior, then later restricted from activities in the dormitory for this same act. This concept of reward and punishment on the campus does not appear to reflect the goals or the regulations set forth by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

The boarding school staff is almost entirely Indian, with the median age in the forties; many of them have attended boarding schools or have spent all or most of their working lives in boarding schools. Their approach to dealing with youth, whatever it may be, appears to be based on this background.

The staff at Goodwill Indian School consists of a superintendent a boys' advisor, a girls' advisor, an academic head, a head of maintenance, a dining room supervisor, and a nurse who is provided by a separate agency. The dormitory staffs who are responsible to the boys' advisor or the girls' advisor consists of three men and nine women. There are eleven teachers who teach grades one through eight and are responsible to the academic head. Four people work in the dining room and six in the maintenance department. Three others work in the administrative offices. The total staff then at Goodwill Indian School consists of 43 persons. In addition there are approximately eight more personnel who are associated with the academic portion of the campus by virtue of Title I monies of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. The hours of work for domitory personnel are staggered with a typical day running from 7 A.M. to 9 A.M. and 3:30 P.M. to 9 P.M. The office and maintenance personnel are scheduled 8 A.M. to 5 P.M. five days per week. The lunch room personnel are on a split schedule to handle three meals per day and clean up of the dining room. The night attendants are scheduled from 9:30 P.M. to 6:30 A.M. Teaching staff are scheduled to report to the school at 8 A.M. and their day ends at 4:30 P.M. each week day.

The domitory staff define their role as *substitute parents* but appear to have difficulty in identifying what their responsibilities are in that role. There is prevalent among staff a sensitivity to public criticism and tendency to turn on the students when trouble arises. The sensitivity is exhibited in some staff by their constant reminder to the youth that they are Indian and their behavior should be twice as good as any one else's, and by other staff members who become very upset when they feel that a youth's behavior is such that it reflects on the school or Indian people.

This constant pushing to be better than others may have a debilitating effect upon the Indian youth and places pressures on them which they may find difficult to cope with and, with no alternative to being the best, may find lack of success intolerable. If the Indian youth must be "twice as good as any other youth," then he may assume that he is twice as bad as other youth and might react with passivity or rebel in socially undesirable ways—such as "acting up" in class, running away, sniffing, etc.

The academic staff are certified teachers with college degrees. Some of the other staff members are attempting to achieve some kind of post high school education and many of them have attended guidance workshops sponsored by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Even though varying degrees of training are prevalent among dormitory and academic staff there appears to be little difference in their attitude toward youth and their approach to dealing with problems involving the youth.

"About 10% of the Indian youth who attend school in the state are housed in Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding schools. The remaining 90% attend public schools." About 200 youth reside at Goodwill Indian School and range in age from six years to 16 years of age. They attend class in grades one through eight. The youth are for the most part from Oklahoma, with some students from reservations in Mississippi. In order for youth to be enrolled at Goodwill Indian School they must prove one fourth Indian heritage.

The enrollment of youth in these boarding schools is based mostly on "parent limitations," i.e. "lack of a satisfactory home; backward parents who isolate themselves from the community; drinking and delinquent behavior of the parents; parents unprepared for the responsibilities of child rearing; and unwed parents who can't provide a stable living arrangement. All of these situations tend to create severe emotional problems in children."

"Many of these youth have been truants in public schools and have exhibited predelinquent behavior that makes a controlled school environment necessary. They have problems with which local school systems cannot cope. They come from problem homes and problem communities and bring their problems with them."

"Some of the youth come from homes where English is not spoken or is spoken as a second language. Very few of them come from homes where reading is a normal activity, and parents have no real understanding or interest in education.

Many children from these kinds of homes have very limited English vocabularies and generally lack ability in written or oral English."

These youth have been referred to as "socially maladjusted" because of social problems in their homes. "Many of the antisocial behaviors exhibited by these youth are: running away; sniffing; hostility; drinking; and a defeated attitude, one that indicates a poor self image."

This description of youth at Goodwill Indian School does not include individual profiles (as in the description of youth at Big Heart Indian School) since none of the youth from Goodwill were a part of the trainee group who attended the summer training program.

CAMPUS, COMMUNITY, STAFF, AND YOUTH OF BIG HEART INDIAN SCHOOL

Big Heart Indian School is located approximately five miles from the small rural community of Big Heart, Oklahoma. There is plenty of open space with a small lake and a beautiful landscape of hills and trees. The campus, which is surrounded by a high steel mesh fence, consists of two dormitories, a lunch room, a gym, an office building, a maintenance building, a health office, and approximately seven employee houses arranged around a square which is a park-playground. Both grounds and buildings appear neat and well maintained. Additional land area outside the steel fence provides space for keeping animals. A broad green mantle of fields and wooded area extends from the fence to the public highway. A tree-lined drive provides access to the school from the public highway.

One dormitory built of concrete blocks is of recent construction. It consists of a large center complex and four wings. One wing houses boys, grades one through six; one houses boys, grades seven through twelve; one houses girls, grades seven through nine; and one houses girls, grades ten through twelve. Each wing has rest rooms and shower facilities. Although the wings house different ages and sexes, there are no apparent differences in the rooms. Each room is furnished with four bunk beds stacked in twos, two chest-drawers with mirrors and an open closet space with a shelf at the top. They appear crowded but adequate. The beds are always made upon getting up in the morning, the title floors are scrubbed and kept clean, and things are placed in their proper place to keep them in order. The center complex consists of several rooms divided somewhat equally between the boys and the girls.

The small boys have a room used for watching television, recreation, and study; it is furnished with several easy chairs, some tables and straight chairs and a color television set. The older boys have a room for watching television, recreation, and study; it has several easy chairs, a color television set, and a folding ping-pong table. This room is separated from the girls' study and recreation room by a sliding curtain. This enables them to have one large room when needed and divides the room when each group wants privacy from the other. The girls' side of the room is furnished with several easy chairs, a piano, and some tables. The girls also have a television-study room furnished with a color television set, tables and chairs. The hall on each side has shelves with books, newspapers, and magazines. Many of the books tell of various Indian cultures. There is one large storeroom used for storing bedding, clothing, and luggage of both boys and girls.

The small girls, grades one through six, are housed in a separate dormitory. It is an older frame building. There are four large rooms with several bunk beds stacked in twos where the girls are divided by school grade levels for sleeping. All rooms are kept neat with beds made each morning before going to school by the children and everything put into place. The bath facilities are community style where all children use the same ones. The one large television-recreation room is furnished with several easy chairs, a color television set and an area for play. Dolls, games, etc., are all neatly arranged.

The lunch room is made of concrete block and is a relatively new building. It is attractive, clean, and serves good food which is palatable and appetizing. The kitchen has modern equipment and serves the children in a cafeteria style. There are approximately twelve tables which will seat ten students each. This arrangement necessitates serving the children in shifts with the younger ones eating first. The tile floors are clean. There are attractive curtains and flower arrangements around the room.

Their gym is an older building made of large stone. The basketball court is surrounded on each of two sides by three rows of bleachers and on the ends by a stage and the entrance. There is a rest room and three dressing-storage rooms. It is typical of gyms built in this area in the 1930's and still used by many public schools.

The office building is a frame building, old, but apparently well maintained. There is a large room which one enters from a hall having staff mailboxes on one side. It is furnished with three desks, filing cabinets, and usual office equipment, i.e. typewriters, copying machines, etc. The office of the superintendent has a separate room leading from the main room, which is equipped with a desk, chairs, conference tables, displays of educational materials, and closed shelves.

Staff housing consists of separate frame houses, rather old but well maintained; they are all built in the same fashion.

The maintenance building and the health office are similar in structure to the office and houses and fit well into the pattern.

Playgrounds are plentiful, all neatly trimmed and free from litter. There is an outdoor basketball court which is made of concrete slab and an abundance of playground equipment, e.g. merry-go-rounds, see-saws, slides, a small ferris wheel, etc.

The town of Big Heart is a small rural community of approximately 1500 population. Activities for youth in this community include: one theater, a teen town which has Saturday night dances, and the usual school activities: i.e. football, basketball, and school plays, etc.

There are approximately 150 boys and 100 girls for a total of 250 youth ranging in grades one through twelve at Big Heart Indian School. The home life of these youth has been described by the Bureau of Indian Affairs as follows: "The largest number of students are enrolled because of the parents' limitations. These include backward parents who isolate themselves from the community, unwed parents who can't provide a stable living arrangement, drinking and delinquent adult behavior, and parents unprepared for the responsibilities of rearing children. The home either does not provide enough stimulus to help the child fit into the community along side his peers, or else is so wrought with problems it is handicapping emotionally and intellectually." Some Bureau personnel see these youth as bringing such personal problems to the school with them that a stringent and highly regulated environment is necessary. Minimal necessities are furnished such as clothing, food, toilet articles, school supplies, etc. Approximately $1 a week is furnished to some but not all of the youth through a Christian Children Fund program and there are seven Neighborhood Youth Corps jobs available to the youth on the campus. These plus some parents sending their children some spending money enable some of the youth to have some money. Their time is so regulated that very little free time is available. A typical day is reflected in the following schedule with some variances due to differences in details, eating times, involvement in class activities, etc.

6:00 A.M.	Arise
6:30 A.M.	Breakfast
6:30 A.M.— 8:00 A.M.	Clean rooms, details, dressing for school, etc.
8:00 A.M.— 4:00 P.M.	School at Big Heart, Oklahoma
4:00 P.M. – 5:30 P.M.	Details, caring for projects, recreation
5:30 P.M.— 6:00 P.M.	Dinner
6:00 P.M.—10:00 P.M.	Study period: school activities such as ballgames, band practice, plays, dances, movies on campus, meetings, personal hygiene, etc.
10:00 P.M.	Bed

Many of these activities are done by large groups and are based on a "one go all go" basis. The employees are responsible for a group and say they must stay together as they have to care for all of them. The youth, therefore, have no individual choice in some activities. An example of this would be a movie shown on campus and all of the group must go if they have seen it or not; or, whether they want to see it or not. There is some free time on Saturday afternoon and in the evening and Sunday afternoon when they may leave the campus individually if they have arranged for a ride, or if they wish to walk to a small country store located about one-half mile from the dormitory.

The staff consists of the principal, responsible for school administration; three clerk-typists who perform routine office work, one of whom is responsible for working with the school budget; two cooks and one cook's helper, responsible for meal preparing and the general supervision of the kitchen and dining room; three night attendents, responsible for night duty which consists of washing linens and being available for the children if they need someone during the night; and four men responsible for maintenance of the entire campus; two supervisory teachers whose responsibility extends only to dormitory personnel and youth on campus; and eight instructional aides who work in the dormitory and have immediate responsibilities for care of the youth; four are for boys and four are for girls. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare provides a nurse who serves Big Heart and Wahini Indian Schools.

The dormitory personnel have related that they view their function and role on campus to be that of a "substitute parent." This role has not been clearly defined and definitions vary from time to time and with different individuals when specific questions are asked such as "What are your responsibilities?" The general definition that appears to be prevalent is that they feel responsible for the youth at all times other than during their formal academic training at Big Heart Public Schools. There are differences in opinions among staff members as to whether this includes weekends when a youth is signed out to go home and in other special situations.

The hours of work for dormitory personnel are staggered with a typical day running from 6 A.M. to 8 A.M. and 3:30 P.M. to 9:30 P.M. The office and maintenance personnel are scheduled on an eight to five workday. The lunch room personnel are on a split schedule to handle breakfast and dinner meals and clean-up. No lunch is served as the youth eat this meal at the public school cafeteria. The night attendants work from 10 P.M. to 6 A.M. Personnel from all of these areas have volunteered some of their off-time for meetings and youth activities such as dances, fund-raising activities, ballgames, etc.

In discussions with area office personnel and the school administrators, they related that nearly all the staff members are one quarter or more Indian, and most are boarding school products, having either attended a boarding school as a youth, worked in a boarding school most of their working life, or both. Their concepts of dealing with youth are based on this background. Recognition of this background led the Bureau of Indian Affairs to approach Southeastern State College and ask them to develop a program designed to bring about institutional change. An interdisciplinary approach to problem solving was suggested to implement this change.

Prior planning by Bureau of Indian Affairs and Southeastern State College representatives established criteria by which one half of the students should have demonstrated leadership potential and one half should have demonstrated delinquent tendencies. Although not explicated earlier in the proposal, subsequent discussions between Bureau of Indian Affairs personnel and project staff led to a consensus for selecting an equal number of each sex and an equal representation of all grades and students from each school.

Twenty youth were involved in the initial summer training of the Youth Development Program.

They were selected by the administration of the three schools: sixteen came from Big Heart, nine boys and thirteen girls; and four girls came from Wahini. The youth were fifteen to nineteen years old and represented grades nine through twelve. The youth who were contacted were given a choice as to attending or not attending. An administrator related she had searched the countryside, in the short time she had between the funding of the program and its starting date, for youth she felt would "do a good job for the school and benefit the most from these experiences." Since many youth were not available to her at this time, she had to "scrape the bottom of the barrel" in choosing the last few. No youth came from Goodwill as the Bureau of Indian Affairs had judged them to be too young.

The youth from Big Heart Indian School were to establish a "core" group which would return to the campuses and relate the experiences and training they had received during the summer to the youth who did not attend the summer training. Through interaction with other youth, individually, in small groups, and in youth meetings they could orient these youth to the goals and objectives of the program. School and project personnel hoped that the youth would assume leadership in interacting with adults and peers.

Following is a brief profile of youth that were involved in the summer session. The project staff gathered these data in order to compose a personal profile of each youth; these data came from the Branch of Education of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Office of Social Service at the Area Office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and from the administration of the school, from the youth, and from consultants. Background data and the data leading to enrollment in a boarding school came from written reports submitted to the project staff by the Office of Social Service and the boarding school's administration and oral comments from the Branch of Education in the Area Office. The school administration and the Office of Social Service responded to requests from the project staff for submitting data on the youth in order to acquire a more complete profile of the youth. These data were submitted in the form of written reports. Although other staff members of the boarding school were contacted several times for such information, no written reports were submitted. Project staff's addition to the data resulted from video and audio tape recordings and personal contact with youth during the training period. A portion of the profile is based on the interpretation of the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) and the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale (TSCS) given to the trainees during the fifth week of the summer training by the project staff as part of the traditional guidance use of standard instruments. Interpretations of the tests were done by a psychological consultant to the project. Test data are available for most, but not all, because some of the people were absent on the day the tests were given.

Tammy is a very attractive, physically mature, seventeen year old girl with an outgoing personality, who relates easily with adults and youth.

The parents have a long history of drunkenness and child neglect. Boarding school enrollment was recommended for older siblings before Tammy was old enough to enroll. The parents separated and the mother began to live a very loose life. Tammy was deserted and became a ward of the court. Enrollment in the boarding school followed.

Tammy was successful academically and took part in several activities. She demonstrated a great deal of leadership ability, but seemed confused as to life in general and her own self-concept.

Early in her involvement with the project she was able to relate in group situations, about most subjects being discussed. As some of the discussions became emotionally charged, she began to confront adult staff members about things they related or things they had not been doing as she viewed it. This was very difficult for her and she was quite disturbed afterward. She was able to continue her discussions with adults in spite of this difficulty and was often the spokesman for the youth until late in the year when she withdrew even to the point of not taking part in some activities which were highlights of the year.

Her leadership of the youth was unquestioned by her peers at first and she was instrumental in planning and organizing youth participation and activities. Thus, when youth ideas were questioned by staff, she bore the brunt of the challenge. Later some of the youth began to challenge her leadership which led her to feel she was opposed by staff and students.

When project staff was present, she was reinforced to continue her struggle with the problems in question. However, project staff was unable to have continual contact with her at the school, which probably was an important factor in fluctuation from leadership to withdrawal. Her complete decline in leadership corresponded with complete withdrawal by project staff from this campus.

The interpretation of the standardized test (MMPI) suggests possibility of delinquent behavior, perhaps of a sexual nature. There are several indications of problems with family—probably of a rebellious nature. There are some signs of rejection of women—and perhaps of the feminine role to some extent.

While she appears to have a rather poor concept of herself, she seems to be willing to accept and approve of this behavior. This seems to substantiate the sociopathic characteristic mentioned above.

There are also signs of a lack of integration; she may compartmentalize her feelings and behavior.

Jeff is a tall, well-built, nice looking, eighteen year old boy, well mannered and rather quiet. He is next to the oldest of several children, most of whom are enrolled in the boarding school. His mother does not believe in Indian superstitions and they were not taught to the children. The family moved about a great deal causing Jeff to miss school, and he is now two years behind in age-grade classification. This school problem added to financial difficulties and along with a drinking problem of the father led to boarding school enrollment when he was in the eighth grade.

At the boarding school he is regarded by the staff as being ambitious intelligent, and a "nice boy" who doesn't get into trouble.

He was not elected by his peers to represent them in student government even though he had been chosen by boarding school staff to take part in summer training. However, he still became involved in many of the activities, not in a leadership role, but as a conscientious worker.

He was non-verbal in group situations and even reluctant to converse on a one-to-one basis. He would respond individually after many opportunities had been offered. He seemed to be easily led by his peers though at times one got the feeling he was quietly leading them.

Gary is a rather slim, medium height, average looking, seventeen year old boy who is very polite, courteous, but quite nervous.

The family history shows separation of the parents, a father with a history of chronic alcoholism and time in jails and penitentiaries, and the mother living with another man. Gary and a sibling ran away from home. Gary was placed on probation for lawbreaking, but failed to "respect his probation." Boarding school enrollment followed.

Gary has a history of "nervous stomach" which seems to follow a pattern of appearing when something unpleasant happens.

The boarding school feels that Gary realizes he has done things that cannot be condoned and that he wants to do better even though he has committed some acts of misbehavior at the school.

He became involved in activities of the youth and was often among the leaders. When trouble arose he was quick to withdraw. After about two months of school he received permission from the court to return home and dropped out of boarding school.

The interpretation of the standardized test shows many signs of delinquent behavior. At best, the MMPI profile shows bizarre and unusual thinking. It also suggests that "acting-out" may be the approach taken by the client.

His concept of himself shows some variability from one area to another. He seems to make more negative statements about his ability as a person and his relationship with others.

There are indications that he is overly concerned about health matters and probably worries a great deal about things in general.

He is possibly experiencing some psychotic reactions at the present time, such as delusions or even hallucinations.

Freddie is a well-built, nice looking, seventeen year old boy who is easy going, full of fun and wit, and possesses a great deal of leadership ability. He is at ease in dealing with adults and youth.

The mother has had a number of children by several different men, some out of wedlock. Although presently separated from the present husband, she has repeatedly accepted him back. His drinking had led to mistreatment of her.

Freddie is successful academically in school and participates in many activities. He is not considered to be a "troublemaker" at the boarding school.

He has been a leader in planning and organizing activities and is often a spokesman for youth in dealing with adults. He seemed to be capable of confronting adults with youth's ideas even when they were fairly extreme. He did withdraw from time to time during the year, but was rather quick in returning to leadership.

The MMPI profile may not be valid. However, it strongly suggests a great deal of rebellion against family and probably against society as well. This could well be expressed in a hostile manner.

He seems to have a poor concept of himself and seems to be willing to make many negative statements about himself.

There is a possibility of some psychotic experiences.

Susan is a physically mature, attractive, eighteen year old girl, rather quiet with a pleasant smile. She is next to the oldest of many children in the family, most of whom are in a boarding school.

Enrollment in a boarding school was brought about by financial need, parents' marital problems, and father drinking.

She was regarded by boarding school staff as a slow moving girl, poor in school work, but outstanding in athletic ability. She was graded very low in attitude and work habits in her academic work.

Susan's problems were not detected by the enrolling agency or the boarding school. Drinking became an outlet for her which led to trouble with the police and the boarding school staff.

After project staff showed acceptance of her as she was, she became involved in many activities although not in a leadership role. She was placed in a responsible position during one activity and performed wholeheartedly in spite of criticism from youth and adults.

When faced with problems which to her were difficult, she often would drink. After each escapade she would feel very remorseful and seek adult forgiveness. She seemed to be moving toward seeking adult help prior to drinking when problems arose. However, she did not always find the help she felt she needed and would revert to drinking.

The interpretation of the standardized test (MMPI) is probably not valid—it may indicate a "true" response set.

TSCS shows very poor self-concept.

Both inventories (MMPI and TSCS) indicate the person is very willing to make negative statements about herself.

There are many signs of potential delinquency, but the validity of the MMPI must be questioned. There are also many indications of a very pessimistic attitude which might lead to deviant behavior.

Eddie is a seventeen year old, well-built, nice looking boy. He is capable of conversing well with adults, but will do so only after a period of "finding you out." His self-concept has been damaged by his experiences at home and his conflict with the law.

Information as to why he was enrolled at the boarding school is not available, but he has been there since he was in the first grade. He had a good record through grade school. During a summer visit to his mother's, he found her living with a man and seemed to lose interest in himself and became resentful to authority. The next summer he was arrested for car theft, became a ward of the court, and returned to the boarding school.

He is active in sports and average academically in school. He has leadership ability which has at times been used to the utmost, but at other times he has completely withdrawn. He seemed quite proud of his work with smaller boys, but lost this position as punishment for misbehavior at the boarding school.

When confronted with a problem, he seems to take time to think it through before taking action. However, at times, even though he has decided certain things need to take place, he refuses to follow through if it is in conflict with adult ideas. This type of behavior seems to be contrary to violations of the law, if he has thought his actions through and realizes the consequences.

The validity of MMPI must be questioned. However, both inventories indicate that Eddie is quite willing to make negative statements about himself.

His self-concept is very low. He seems to feel somewhat more adequate physically than in other areas, but this area is still low. He seems to feel especially inadequate with regard to his moral self.

There are many signs of delinquency and antisocial behavior in the instruments (MMPI and TSCS). There are also signs of depression, anxiety, and pessimism. This may lead to acting-out behavior.

He developed into a leader during the year and then completely withdrew even to the point of not taking part in some rewarding activities.

Wayne is a well mannered, pleasant, sixteen year old boy, rather small physically, but strong and successful in sports. He does average work academically and has never been reported in trouble for misconduct.

The mother abandoned Wayne and a large number of siblings. The father lived with another woman who had children of her own and they have some offsprings of their own although there was no marriage. This led to boarding school enrollment and since this time the father is serving time in the state penitentiary. Wayne has not kept as close ties with his father as have his siblings.

Wayne makes friends easily and is popular at the boarding school. He is active in many activities but not in a leadership role.

He is rather non-verbal in meetings but seems to talk with others between meetings, have his ideas interwoven into their thinking, and then support them during the meetings.

Kathleen is a pleasant, outgoing, nineteen year old girl, who converses easily with adults and youth. She is one of several children all of whom have been in a boarding school.

Location of the father is unknown and the mother has a history of drinking. She lived with another man two years before a second marriage took place.

Kathleen is viewed by boarding school staff as being very active in activities, but having a tendency to quit if demands are made of her, displaying an attitude that "the government owes the Indians a living." Her performance as to details or jobs in the boarding school has drawn many complaints from boarding school staff.

Her leadership ability has been demonstrated in fund-raising activities, trip planning, and student government participation. She began to receive criticism from others and they began to call some activities "Kathy's activity" as she put some of her ideas in action, giving some youth the feeling they had no part in it. She continued working, in spite of this criticism, until completion of the activity but would withdraw on the next activity. Then she would again move toward a leadership role.

The interpretation of the standardized tests shows a poor concept of self, and a willingness to make negative statements about herself. This is seen in both inventories.

MMPI suggests hostility toward women and some rejection of the feminine role. Also it probably shows a competitive attitude toward men.

There are indications of a lack of integration of personality. MMPI suggests a denial of something which may account for this.

Yvonne is an attractive, pleasant, congenial, seventeen year old girl who is rather quiet but very dependable. Boarding school staff does not consider her to be a leader, yet they said many of her peers come to her for advice.

"A history of drinking and neglect by parents and dropping out of school by Yvonne led to enrollment in the boarding school. Older siblings had become delinquent due to weak parental supervision."

Her school work is average and she is active in several activities. She is well liked by adults and youth and is judged by boarding school staff as not being one to cause or be involved in trouble.

Leadership did not become apparent in the many activities planned and organized by the youth, yet she seemed proficient in doing any task she decided to do.

The validity of the MMPI must be questioned. This may be due to a "true" response set. However, it may indicate a good deal of anxiety to which the person is over-reacting. This may be a "cry for help"; she may be worried about herself.

Both inventories show that the person is quite willing to show herself in a bad light—she says many uncomplimentary things about herself. She seems to evaluate herself quite low with respect to her behavior and her moral self.

If the MMPI profile is not invalid, it suggests much bizarre thinking, anxiety, and suspiciousness. In this case, the individual could experience psychotic reactions. It is possible that she has had some experiences of this type and is very concerned about herself.

Tim is a well built, eighteen year old boy who is quiet, moody, and shows little enthusiasm in school, doing below average work. He has not been involved in trouble with authorities.

Enrollment was due to financial difficulties of the family and death of the mother. The father is physically handicapped.

He has not demonstrated leadership ability but he takes part in many activities, often being a good worker on ideas developed by others. When he gets excited over something, he becomes verbal and expresses his viewpoint, but this does not happen too often. He is much more quick to relate on a one-to-one basis rather than in a group situation.

He often said he was going to "get busy" and start doing better in his school work, but improvement did not follow.

Stacy is a rather tall, attractive, very pleasant seventeen year old girl. Academic and social information is not available.

Enrollment was brought about by family financial difficulties as the father was physically disabled and the mother was doing unskilled work. Also racial feelings were high in the community in which they lived.

Stacy seemed well adjusted at the boarding school and also on home visits during vacations.

She left the boarding school at the beginning of the school year and did not participate in the program after the summer training.

The interpretation of the standardized test shows this person to be quite critical of herself and is willing to make many negative statements about herself. She appears not to be satisfied with herself, especially in the moral area and her adequacy as a person.

She appears to be introverted, socially insecure, and self conscious. There are also indications of a lack of personal integration and an overproductivity of thought and action.

There are few signs of overt hostility or antisocial behavior; however, there is strong suggestion of poor relationships with women and a competitive attitude toward men.

Becky is a physically mature, serious minded, very cooperative, eighteen year old girl who does average school work and does not take part in activities, seemingly getting very little pleasure out of life.

"Both parents were alcoholics, spending time in jails and providing an extremely unstable environment for their children. After the death of the mother they were enrolled in a boarding school. Adjustment was not difficult as time prior had been spent in an Indian Orphanage."

Becky works well with younger youth in the boarding school, her younger siblings being a part of the group with which she works. She is very cooperative with adults and does not cause any trouble.

She was quiet in student meetings and would seemingly go along with whatever ideas emerged. She became active in implementing some of the ideas but not all. Project staff was unable to discover what criteria she used to determine support or rejection of an activity.

The interpretation of the standard tests shows several indications of defensiveness, but still willing to evaluate herself in a negative way. She seems to have a rather poor self-concept, especially in her relationship with other people

Antisocial tendencies are indicated, but her introversive tendencies may moderate these. Some anxiety and rigidity is indicated, as are signs of overconcern with health matters.

There also appears to be a lack of personal integration.

Vickie is a rather plain, but attractive eighteen year old girl who is quiet but very pleasant. She is two years retarded in age-grade classification.

Her mother was killed in an accident and the court named a guardian which provided limited opportunities. Proper supervision was not provided so boarding school enrollment followed.

No information is available as to feelings of boarding school staff toward Vickie. She left the boarding school at the beginning of the school year and did not participate in the program after the summer training.

The MMPI profile indicates some antisocial behavior; however, this is likely to be expressed in a passive way. There appears to be some anxiety and some depression.

She does not make a negative evaluation of what she "is" and what she "does," but she does indicate a dissatisfaction with herself—low self-acceptance. She places a negative evaluation on herself in terms of her morals and her family relationships. Both inventories strongly suggest conflicts with family.

She also appears to be rather introverted and not very sure of herself.

Frances is a petite, outgoing seventeen year old girl, friendly to adults and youth, and quick to express her likes and dislikes. She does a little better than average work in school and has never been a discipline problem.

The parents divorced after many years of marital conflict. The father, who drinks excessively, is remarried. The mother does not assume child-rearing responsibilities. Boarding school enrollment followed.

She is close to her sibling at the boarding school who is weak physically. She displays a feeling of responsibility to look after him.

Although she would express her ideas in youth meetings, she did not assume a leadership role in any of the activities. She would not speak out when students and staff were interacting even though she had helped to form the youth's concept of the issue being discussed.

The interpretation of the standard tests shows some signs of defensiveness and rigidity. There are some indications of antisocial behavior, but probably of a passive-aggressive type. She may be passive to the extent of being masochistic.

The TSCS indicates a quite positive evaluation of her "social" and "family" self; on the surface this seems to be in conflict with the MMPI. However, the passivity indicated by the MMPI may explain this apparent conflict; all of her antisocial feelings are probably channeled into passive-aggressive behavior. Consequently, if there are problems, she probably attributes these to others.

René is a rather heavy set, quiet, nineteen year old girl who is rather pleasant and easy going. She does not demonstrate leadership potential, but seems anxious and willing to take any small part in an activity.

Enrollment was brought about by father's desertion of family, mother's death, father reclaiming the children, but not providing proper atmosphere by not working and continually drinking.

René had difficulty with academic work and did not take part in many school activities.

She participated in all youth meetings and activities connected with the project, but did not challenge or voice her opinions. She was always in agreement with whatever the group expressed regardless of who was in a leadership role.

The interpretation of the tests shows this person is probably delinquent or has strong tendencies in this direction. There appears to be conflict with authority (probably in the home) and rebellion.

Some defensiveness is shown by both inventories; however, the person is still willing to make many negative statements about herself. There are also signs of rigidity and of being very unsure of herself. Evidence of excessive anxiety and worry is also present.

This person could also be having some psychotic experiences or on the verge of doing so.

Beverly is a physically mature, very pretty and pleasant, fifteen year old girl. She has an outgoing personality and relates well with adults. She has great difficulty developing friendships with her peers at the boarding school as she possesses no physical Indian characteristics. Her siblings at the boarding school had the same problem.

Enrollment in boarding school resulted from a divorce of the parents, neglect from the mother, and inability of the father to provide for the children.

She is active in sports and does well academically in school. She has demonstrated leadership ability in spite of criticism from peers.

She was verbal in group meetings both with youth and adults. She was capable of organizing her thought and actions into meaningful form and became one of the youths' spokesman.

When the excitement of a new activity wore off and the work and repetition was left, she continued to live up to her commitment to see it through and would ask others to do the same. Even if she felt a situation would be threatening to her, she would do what she thought had to be done.

The interpretation of the standard tests shows strong suggestions of delinquency, possibly in the area of sexual matters. Her concept of herself is quite low in the area of moral behavior.

There are also indications of excessive anxiety and worry. It is possible that she shows some hostility in an overt manner.

Also possibility of psychotic experiences or at least some bizarre thinking and overproductivity in thought and action is shown.

Darlene is a very quiet, reserved, eighteen year old girl displaying little initiative or concern for the future according to boarding school staff. "She has dropped from some activities, been uncooperative in the dormitory, refused to wear glasses fitted for her, and been truant from school. If she is forced to interact with adults or youth she becomes cross to everyone."

Enrollment was brought about by physical disability of the father and both parents drinking excessively.

"Although her grades in school are low, she does not ask for any tutorial help." Leadership was never displayed, but she did some good work in some of the youth's activities during the year.

She appears to have a very poor concept of herself and shows a number of signs of delinquency and psychopathic behavior. The MMPI suggests that she is rather hostile and may express this in overt behavior. It is also possible that this person could show signs of psychotic behavior, but the validity of the MMPI is questionable. She may engage in a rather extensive fantasy life.

Virginia is a very attractive, pleasant, somewhat shy, eighteen year old girl, very cooperative, and anxious to please adults.

Although both parents are living and have a substantial income, all children are enrolled at the board school. The father is physically disabled and both parents drink excessively.

Virginia is outstanding in sports and successful academically. She is considered very dependable by boarding school staff, mature for her age, with no apparent interest in dancing and other things most teenagers enjoy.

Virginia did not display leadership ability in any of the activities of the youth, but was a consistent worker in all of them. She seems to be a self-satisfied individual in the relationship she has with youth and adults.

The interpretation of standard tests shows indication of some hostility toward women and perhaps some rejection of the feminine role. There is probably a competitive attitude toward men.

Some dissatisfaction with self is suggested, especially in moral areas and in terms of adequacy as a person. Also there are indications of compartmentalization or a lack of unity within personality structure.

She appears to feel adequate in some areas and there is no indication of antisocial or delinquent behavior or of excessive anxiety.

Clarence is a physically handicapped, slow-learning, shy, nineteen year old boy who seems uncomfortable when talking with anyone. Sickness, a number of school changes, and an unhappy home environment resulted in a "slow start in school."

Enrollment in boarding school followed divorce by the parents and many shifts from one hostile parent to another.

"Clarence exhibits extreme nervousness manifested by body twitching. He is quite self-conscious, cannot take scolding, but responds positively to kindness."

He attempts to become a part of activities and other youth at the boarding school encourage him to do so in whatever capacity he can.

As the youth activities continue through the year, he became more verbal in youth meetings but normally would talk with individuals after the meetings. On a few occasions he related to project staff some ideas which project staff would use in the next group meeting giving him credit for them. This seemingly encouraged him to begin to express his ideas to the group.

Factors Associated with Schools

The physical location of the boarding schools is one of many factors which leads to an isolated situation in which values and attitudes requisite to coping successfully with problems of social adjustment are not acquired by the youth who reside there. This, added to a reluctance on the part of individuals in charge to permit social interaction, e.g., imaginary lines which are enforced on campus to separate boys and girls—lines which they are not to cross except under supervised conditions plus physical difficulties such as transportation, travel budget, etc., greatly limit the opportunities for the youth to mature socially. At Goodwill Indian School where the school is located on the campus, the major emphasis for these "socially maladjusted" youth is on academic subjects, and little opportunity is provided for social interaction either in or out of the classroom. One consultant who spent several days at Goodwill Indian School described the academic department of the school as being "traditional and limited in structure, curriculum, and teacher attitudes." Transl[illegible] this means that the academic program is dull and irrevelant. The general assumption of the academic department is that school is for reading, writing, and 'rithmetic, in the narrowest sense of that cliché. Anything that is of genuine interest or relevance to the students is a (possibly pleasant) usually accidental by-product, not in general an integral part of the program.

It is true that grades one through six are ungraded—at least on paper, and that modern math is being taught, and that there is a good deal of audio-visual and other materials available at Goodwill. These are positive factors, but they are far outweighed by other factors. In general, the curriculum is as dull and irrelevant to the children as is the case too often with curriculum in public schools in America. One example of this at Goodwill has to do with an eighth grade American history course. It is taught by a pleasant, but very traditional teacher. The course is very traditional, and thus dull and irrelevant for most of the students in the course—it is this way for most public school students in America for that matter. If it were not so pathetic and horrible, it would be funny for Indian children to be subjected to a traditional secondary school course in American history which begins with Columbus's discovery of America, proceeds conventionally to the Pilgrims' landing and experiences in New England, and then continues on chronologically, in dull and often irrelevant and inaccurate fashion to some point in time nearer to the present. We wonder what Indian people really think about the First Thanksgiving, about the Westward movement of white settlers, about the arrogant and common (white) assumption that Columbus discovered America?

Another example centers around a major concern of the teachers that the children generally do not speak English clearly and correctly. As such, this is perhaps a valid concern. But this concern is very narrowly conceived—and met. Little or no serious recognition is given to the reasons why most of the children cannot speak clearly and correctly. Consequently, attempts to remedy the situation are at best inadequate. Repetitious class and small group readings of a poem—even a fairly light and humorous poem, as in one case was observed—may help a few students, but in general will have no positive effect—and may have a positively negative effect by further deadening student interest.

In another example the teacher of a fifth grade class was introducing a unit in Oklahoma history. As a part of this history she told the class it would study the history of Indians in Oklahoma. She then proceeded to talk about the five civilized tribes, and asked if any student could name them. One student dutifully did. Then she turned to one boy, who she said came from a tribe other than one of the five civilized tribes, and asked him to tell which tribe that was from, which the boy did. Then she went on to other points. At no time did she bother to explain the word civilized. Did she mean that all the other tribes were not civilized? We are aware that this reference to these five tribes is common, and originates far back in time—and is a term that was applied by non-Indians to these five Indian tribes. Regardless of all this, the term is condescending at best and ought to be used *only* in quotation marks and with adequate explanation. This teacher's way of approaching the five civilized tribes is indicative of the lack of any serious attempt to help the students meaningfully identify with their Indian culture. Moreover, this also illustrates the lack of understanding of how utilization of this identification can help the children to become self respecting (and self directed) parts of the total American Society. These illustrations would seem to indicate that students are generally being subjected to the staff's interpretation of the dominant white culture and values in an unquestioning and unfeeling way. A consultant did, however, indicate one small note of encouragement. "One teacher was quite blunt in expressing to me her great concern over this matter of lack of identification and the way in which the school seems to encourage this. She had the second graders doing all sorts of work on Indian cultures and traditions, and was making some serious attempts to stem the non-identification tide, but she also indicated that she feared that her concern for this matter was not widely shared at Goodwill Indian School."

These descriptions of classroom activities also seem to illustrate a lack of opportunity for social interaction and discussion among students, i.e. teachers ask questions and students are to provide the prescribed answers which are correct or incorrect and the students seem to have little opportunity to reflect their own ideas and opinions. This approach tends to prevent any meaningful dialogue about the subject from taking place between student and teacher.

The extra-curricular program at Goodwill was described by a consultant as "fairly extensive—if over-organized and manipulative (e.g. 4–H, Boy Scouts, sports, etc.) which the children seem to enjoy generally." These recreational activities, however, do not provide the opportunities for the social interaction needed for the development of the individuals involved. Youth for the most part are excluded from the planning of these activities. The general attitude of the staffs at the schools seems to be one in which they feel that they must provide everything for the youth; consequently, youth are not permitted to become involved in meaningful discussions which center around their everyday life experience. Another factor which influences the social interaction is the feeling, expressed by school staff members, that if the youth are kept busy then we will have less problems (a prescriptive approach). Apparently, the staff feels that it is their role to plan for the youth and keep them busy.

One barrier to the opportunity of social interaction and development of the youth seems to be the general attitude of the staff (both academic and non-academic) toward the youth at the schools. One of the most frequent comments overheard by consultants and project staff went something to the effect, "you cannot expect much from—or do much with—these children; they come from such 'difficult backgrounds.' The people making these comments made clear that they thought they were revealing great understanding. In fact, they were revealing the way in which they use their "knowledge" of the children's difficult backgrounds as an excuse for why the children need so much "direction" from the staff and cannot be self-directed in any meaningful way."

For the most part, the children at the schools are generally passive and have expressed unhappiness with most of their experiences at the schools, e.g." I don't like it here," "My social worker didn't tell me it would be like this," "They (staff) pick on us," "They (staff) hit us and slap us," "We can't have any fun." Their expectations are generally low and little is done to raise these expectations. Consequently, most of the children either passively accept their lot or rebel in socially undesirable ways—such as "acting up," running away, sniffing (glue or gasoline), destroying property, etc. When the youth "act out" in these ways against this environment, they are punished for the misconduct without the reasons for the misconduct coming to the surface. Staff members apparently do not concern themselves with why a youth misbehaves, but are more concerned with retaliating against him for the behavior. This behavior on the part of the staff members is not necessarily by design to inflict physical harm on the youth but to deter "misbehavior" suggesting this is the only way the staff knows how to function. The many workshops and training programs in which school staffs have participated included "How to Help the Troubled Child and

How to Manage His Behavior," "Recognizing the Troubled Child and the Meaning of This Behavior," "Understanding Self and Others in Group Living," "Problems in Understanding and Guiding Children," etc. which seem to have had minimal influence upon the way school staffs deal with youth and their problems because conditions which exist now in the schools are apparently the same as those which have existed for the past four or five years when the training was taking place. The youth who does succumb or "play the game" is reinforced by being labeled a good youth without regard to what happens when he leaves the school and the fact that he cannot function socially. Some of the youths have learned to "play the game" while others have found it difficult to learn the rules and consequently have a great deal of difficulty and seem to "create problems."

The system of reward and punishment used on the campuses has not seemed to reflect the goals and by-laws of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The pattern of reward and punishment follows from—is a function of—the general staff attitudes. One consultant described the attitudes of the staff toward the children as being "generally narrow and superficial and often hostile." There seems to be little concern for the children as human beings and little positive concern for their Indian culture or heritage. The pattern of reward and punishment is generally in line with these attitudes. The chief criterion for the reward and punishment is has the child satisfactorily complied with the (not necessarily fair or valid) demands of the staff?" The general attitude toward the children seems to center around the assumption that they should receive a traditional "education" of "reading, writing, and 'rithmetic"—the pattern of reward and punishment in general is designed to help achieve these staff-perceived goals in the easiest, most effective way. Another element which strongly enters into the pattern of reward and punishment is the personal feelings of any one staff member—how he feels about children as people, his perception of the purpose of the school and his own role in the school, etc. Finally there is also the element, in the pattern of reward and punishment, of the considerable degree of autonomy with which staff members operate. This means that there is considerable leeway allowed individual staff members to reward and punish according to personal codes—or whims—and not entirely according to directives from above. There apparently has been no established policy on the matter of reward and punishment other than the Bureau of Indian Affairs official policy against corporal punishment.

One incident was witnessed by a project consultant at Goodwill Indian School when he entered a classroom to find two children, a boy and a girl, "running" up and down while standing in the same place, alongside one wall. A short time after the consultant entered the room the teacher, having set all the other students to work, came over to talk with the consultant. The consultant described the teacher's behavior as being "without embarrassment" and being positively and without exaggeration ecstatic in relating the very "clever" punishment which he had devised for these two children who had run away from Goodwill. His plan was to have them run in place one hour for every hour that they were away from class. The teacher made very clear to the consultant that his reason for punishing the children was because they were absent from his class "for no good reason;" this punishment, he felt sure, would not only deter them from doing this again, but would be a good example to the other students. The teacher was evasive when asked if the children had run directly from his room or had been absent from his class because they had run from school for reasons which had nothing to do with his class. The teacher's only answer was that the particular punishment he had dreamed up for these two children would be more effective than any other punishment, and he saw it as his role to punish them. Not all punishments are necessarily as sadistic as this one and another teacher indicated she did not approve of this kind of treatment for children. Nonetheless, for reasons which have been indicated—including the general attitudes of staff toward the children and the degree of autonomy allowed the staff in making many decisions—this punishment is one extreme variation of the general pattern of reward and punishment. In other words, this pattern is not merely allowed but in effect encouraged. Thus, a particular staff person has considerable leeway to give vent to his own particular whims in deciding how the children are to be dealt with. As has been mentioned before, and the students have expressed privately to both consultants and project staff, hitting, and being beaten up was a regular part of their experiences at the schools. The youth related that some of the instructional aides, the boys' advisor, and some teachers commonly used physical punishment. The youth's quick answer to *why* is, "Because we do something 'they' don't like." Extra work also is often used as a form of punishment, e.g. youth have been made to pull weeds, scrub floors with toothbrushes, sweep streets, etc. Group punishment seems to be commonly used, e.g. if a youth failed to clean his part of his room, all youth in the room lost T.V. privileges for a week. This atmosphere strengthens or reinforces strict obedience without question and provides little opportunity for development of the ability to decide what is right or wrong and follow up on an individual decision.

There appears to be very little recognition of the concept of seriously rewarding the children on the basis of the intrinsic value of their work or their attitudes; by "seriously rewarding" is meant a general pattern and atmosphere in which the children assume positive rather than negative (i.e. punitive) recognition. The youth cannot help overhearing themselves referred to as problem children by staff members at the schools. One result is that when youth grow up hearing that they are problem children because they come from socially maladjusted homes, and therefore, it is the responsibility of the boarding school to teach them the proper values through strict controls and regulations, the youth develop the idea that this is the only way that human behavior can be controlled.

Another case occurred in which one teacher helped a youth whom she had described as being a "bit difficult" in class, i.e. he "acts up" in class sometimes and also that he was a poor writer and reader. Yet, she said he came to her for help in writing this letter and worked on it an hour after school. What is more she said the end product was "pretty good." She was very pleased that the boy had come to her for help and wished he could do as well in his regular classwork. Obviously, the boy felt comfortable in coming to her; but, just as obviously, she was unable to make the connection between his attitude toward the letter and his contrasting attitude toward his schoolwork. Until such a connection is made and utilized, i.e. until the schoolwork becomes more meaningful to this boy (and most of the other children), his work and behavior in class will most likely continue to be negative. To put it another way, the concept that the school work itself should be as meaningful, valuable, and interesting as possible is not accepted by—not truly understood by—most of the teachers. They do not understand that unless the classroom work is related by the teachers to the personal experiences of the child, children like this boy will continue to "act up" and do academically poorly. More important they do not seem to understand that the present curriculum and teaching techniques in general only contribute to deadening the feelings, the self-respect, and the possibilities for some genuine self-direction on the part of these children.

This case and the case in which the teacher devised the "clever punishment" for the youth who had run away illustrate the general situation in the acamedic department as well as Goodwill Indian School as a whole; attitudes range from little recognition of the children as human beings to some awareness with no serious, consistent follow through in terms of general program or techniques. The same teacher who was so happy with his punishment techniques was ability-grouping the students in his class; he was, he said trying to "individualize instruction" (this supposedly being a factor of the ungraded structure). What he did not understand was that his halting attempts at "individualized instruction" (laudable as such) were almost totally undermined by an atmosphere in which most of the students were "studying" while two students were being sadistically punished at the same time in the same room. Again, while this classroom scene is somewhat of an extreme, it is but a part of the total picture. To have a class in which students must stand to speak (this appears common) are constantly condescended to, are often yelled at, and not infrequently hit is perhaps less brutal than running in place as described above, but in its way is just as damaging; even if the curriculum in its narrow sense of course outline was very good—which is not the case generally—this kind of atmosphere is simply not conducive to positive, maximum learning and growing.

Moreover, the basis for "individualized instruction" at Goodwill is limited. It is based on tests and on how good the student does in classwork. Little account is taken of the whole child, of why he may not do well. Little account is taken of the connection between dull material and techniques and poor student performance; indeed, there is very little recognition of this factor. The latter is particularly well illustrated by the case of the teacher who helped the boy write the letter.

A youth subjected to the type of living conditions (dormitory living) prevalent in these schools develops concepts unnatural to today's society, i.e., not being equal or of feeling inferior to many different kinds of people in many different groups. He learns that there is safety and security in remaining with his own kind, the Indian, and if he is subjected to mixing with others, it is best to do so with other Indians and to break other relationship and return to his own groups as soon as possible. Also during this time of mixing, he is taught that he, as an Indian, must make these relationships as smooth as possible even if this means subjecting himself to the will of others. He is to squelch his own feelings and ideas if they are in disagreement and not voice his objections until he returns to his own group where he might find an outlet for frustration through complaining and receiving sympathy. For example, a teacher expressed in a meeting of all the students at Goodwill Indian School that "they were Indian and would always be Indian, that they would be discriminated against, and that their behavior should be better than anyone else's in order not to reflect on the school or Indian people." Another staff member supported the teacher by giving a personal experience of what had happened to her. In another meeting youth were told by a staff member that "white people don't care anything about you." In effect he was saying Indians should stick together and take care of their own. These attitudes on the part of some staff members and the extension of these attitudes through their association with the youth tend to further isolate the youth from society and hinder the development of their ability to function in that society. Thus even though youth may become minimally involved by being a part of a mixed group, the attitude of being a true group member with the right to interact is not present i.e., they don't feel any group belongingness.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding schools, since they have major control over the youth who reside there for a period of nine to twelve months per year, in effect must assume the parental or familial role in relation to the youth. Staff members could be influential in the positive and enhancing development of the personality of the youth, the development of their basic orientation to authority, the development of their moral code, and in their learning to adapt to social institutions.

The boys' and girls' advisors at the schools are in the strongest position to influence the children's behavior and attitudes, both directly and indirectly: directly through their contact with them in their life outside the academic school (their dormitory life, their extracurricular activities, etc.), and indirectly through their influence over the instructional aides and night attendants. These latter two are responsible to the advisors and to a considerable extent get their cues from them. The boys' advisors seem to be much more directly involved with their charges at the schools than the girls' advisors, e.g. the boys' advisors become involved in activities (sports, Scouting, campouts, etc.) to a greater extent than the girls' advisors do. The advisors also set the dorm rules and in most cases administer punishment to the youth. The advisors are key persons in setting the various attitudes toward youth which are so prevalent among the staff members.

Since the boarding schools in many cases are one of the earliest institutions with which these youngsters come in contact, their experiences there can make a deep impression on how they view themselves and what course their lives will take. Many delinquents develop from a background of school failure and a history of trouble making in the school. It would be reasonable to assume that if a youth cannot find success in legitimate ways, he will probably seek success in ways which might be socially unacceptable, e.g. running away, sniffing, drinking, destroying property, etc. Since many instances of this kind of behavior are found at the schools, it further would be reasonable to assume that the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Area Offices, the school administrators, and the staff members themselves need to take a long hard look at their approaches to dealing with the youth and their attitudes toward those youth.

Another factor associated with the school pertains to the "myth" of services which are to be provided to youth who reside there. Boarding school enrollment has been described by a Bureau of Indian Affairs Social Worker as "a rush process since requests usually are made after 'the horse is out of the barn' and the social workers don't have time to get to know the individual child; then in boarding school, the child is one of the group and still is not known individually. Many examples of the Bureau's floundering efforts to help a child could be given. Almost all of the children enrolled show damage in some way. Their relationship with others is faulty, and their adjustment is one of not finding relationships with any depth. This is borne out in children who attend boarding school for their entire schooling and display no 'upset' or no 'upset behavior' until adolescence. Schools have experienced repeatedly the 'blow up' of the nice conforming student. Although we have known the child since grade one, we still are not prepared for his acting out hostility, sniffing, or running away. Others become dull and without goals. Naturally, many are successful and benefit from boarding school enrollment, but we still need improved methods to meet the individual needs of the children to develop into healthy personalities."

One Bureau of Indian Affairs Social Worker indicated that "many of the conditions affecting the youth could be improved with consistent help given to them, but this is not possible because of the vast numbers." The case load then of available social workers appears to be so great that they cannot provide the services which the youth need and, in fact, are entitled to. Their role has been relegated to an investigative one which is in part influenced by situations of crisis and does not center around the use of preventive techniques, techniques which do not appear to have been part of their training.

Health services which are supposed to be provided for the youth do not appear adequate. For example, one nurse is charged with the responsibility of Big Heart and Wahini Indian Schools, which are situated 45 miles apart and together have a total student body of approximately three hundred youths. At best during times when several youths might be ill, it is very difficult to provide them anything more than the minimal attention which they need. At Goodwill Indian School severely injured youth are transported 60 miles away to hospital facilities which are designated for their use when medical attention is available in the immediate area of the school. These examples serve to point out the lack of services available for the youth who must reside in the boarding schools.

SUMMARY—DESCRIPTION OF SCHOOLS

Each of the three schools appears to be situated in a very picturesque and scenic area. The school at Wahini in contrast to the other two schools seems to be lacking some athletic facilities; perhaps this is due to the fact that the school houses only girls and that this school is very close to the town of Wahini. The other two schools, Big Heart and Goodwill, seem to have ample athletic facilities and a great deal of space for the children to play in.

All the campuses appear to have adequate housing. Some of the buildings are newer than others but for the number of children on campus, there seems to be adequate housing and accommodations; but, as many of the people have indicated they could place many more children on their campuses if they only had additional room.

The two schools, Goodwill and Big Heart, are fairly well isolated from a community of any size. They are approximately fifteen miles from such a community. This distance from community life appears to restrict the interaction of Indian youth and personnel from the community life and activities of the general area. At Wahini and Big Heart, the youth go to public schools whereas at Goodwill, the students stay on campus and go to school. The former two schools provide, by their built-in structure, the opportunity for youth to interact with and mingle with other children. However, at Goodwill this does not occur.

In general, students enrolled at any of the schools meet certain criteria. One of these is a quarter degree of Indian blood and quoting from a Bureau of Indian Affairs report, "* * * the largest number of students are enrolled because of the parent's limitation, these include backward parents who isolate themselves from the community, unwed mothers who can't provide a stable living arrangement, drinking and delinquent adult behavior, parents unprepared for the responsibilities of rearing children. In other words, the home either does not provide enough stimulus to help the child fit into the community along side his peers or else it is so wrought with problems that it is handicapping him emotionally and intellectually." This seems to be a paradox because the management by personnel on the campuses does not appear to provide the children with the kind of stimuli that will enable the child to live in the community alongside his peers or remove or deal successfully with the kinds of problems that are handicapping him either emotionally or intellectually.

On a typical day, a child will rise at 6:00 A.M., get breakfast and be off to school; be in school all day until 3:30 P.M., then have a period of time before dinner whereby he can take care of projects, be free from recreation of some kind e.g. baseball, basketball, etc., just goofing around and then go for dinner. After dinner, between six and ten o'clock, he can study, or do things he would like to do most. Many of the activities available for youth are conducted in groups on a "one go, all go" basis. The groups usually are conducted and handled by adult staff. The youth usually go to and from activities with adults. This represents a regimented kind of life that limits opportunities for youth to function on their own and make decisions for themselves.

Adult personnel in the school usually view themselves as parent surrogates. However, this seems to be a very ambiguous role because many of the personnel find it difficult to articulate their role and their responsibilities. Most of the personnel have staggered work hours. A typical day would run from six to eight in the morning; then from half past three in the afternoon to half past nine in the evenings. This occurs so that the adult personnel can be with the youth a maximum number of hours during the day. The dormitory personnel are gone during the time the children are in class and come back on duty when the children return from school.

The personnel at the school are by and large mostly of Indian heritage with the median age approximately in the forties. Many of them have attended boarding schools themselves or have spent most of their working lives in the boarding schools. As a consequence, many of the ways by which they react to the children and many of the ways by which they react to themselves (their colleagues) reflect their earlier period of training; reflect it in such a way as to demonstrate that there really aren't very many ways by which they can deal with children or their colleagues. The number of alternatives open to them to work with others is remarkably low or small in number.

From these three schools were selected twenty youth who would represent them at the summer training session: Most of the youth, sixteen of them, were selected from Big Heart Indian School and four of them from Wahini Indian School; none were selected from Goodwill Indian School. These youth were selected by Bureau of Indian Affairs personnel and some of the criteria reflected a desire by Bureau personnel to have youth who would reflect a good image of the Bureau and would be able to profit from such an experience. As one of the personnel from the Bureau who was helping to select the youth put it, "We couldn't find enough (students) at such a late time, we had to scrape the bottom of the barrel to select some of them. They are not as ready for this as the others, but they are the only ones available." The irony of the whole selection process was that after working with these youth, the project staff felt that indeed they were all representative of the youth in the school which was the request made by project staff to the Bureau initially. Even if other criteria had been selected by Bureau personnel, they probably would have come up with similar youth—youth having the same background and sets of similar experiences. The major difference perhaps would have been that some of the other students, who could have been selected, may not have been viewed as antagonists of the school. The Indian youth, who were selected, were to form a cadre or core group which would return to the campus and relate their experiences and training to the other youth, who did not attend the summer session, and hopefully through interaction and development as leaders they could orient the other people at the school to the goals and objectives of the program and methods of implementation.

The Bureau personnel viewed many of these youth as being able to go back to the schools and setting a good example for the others in the sense that they wouldn't be indulging in some of the non-social activities they had previously engaged in. Some of the personnel, however, felt that the kind of training that some of these people were getting, particularly in the last two weeks of the summer session, was opening up a Pandora's box where all the ills and problems would explode in an uncontrollable way over the campuses.

Two standardized instruments were given to the personnel. Both of the instruments reflected on the part of some of the trainees pre-delinquent tendencies and a low self-concept.

In the three schools in which the Youth Development project functioned, several factors seemed to appear which related specifically to the social or general development of Indian youth. One of these is the inability of youth to cross imaginary lines on their own campuses. Boys and girls are separated and minimal interaction is permitted. Boys and girls do not have the usual healthy relationship of playing together, talking, walking together, or holding hands. These are natural kinds of relationships for young people.

In order to achieve many of the goals and objectives of the project in the schools, many questions and problems, which began to appear, had to be looked at. These problems and methods of dealing with them became factors of concern to the project staff. For example, how are we going to work with the administration, with the dormitory personnel, with the school personnel? How are we going to choose the core of youth leaders for an intensive kind of training? What kind of organizational structure can we risk getting youth involved in? How can involvement with all of these areas be achieved within the existing structures? Can leadership be developed whereby the various units on campus can become involved in the living conditions and the handling of all the kinds of problem which reflect daily living? For example, can the youth become involved in the business of whether girls and boys do or do not borrow clothes? Because, in a dormitory situation if you involve students, you can make some decisions around which people live. There are certain levels of responsibilities around how you keep your clothes and how you share them afterwards, how you take care of joint living areas or who handles the kinds of relationships that result.

These are essential kinds of limits and rules that come out of here by which people who live socially have to live together, and if these rules up to now have been laid down by only one group to the exclusion of all others, and they have for the most part, it appeared to the project staff that a part of its responsibility was to implement the goals and objectives of the program in this area by getting youth involved in how they live together in the context of their daily living experiences. This can be done by organizing through the dormitory where people, who live together, can make some decisions about it because here you have a community.

Until the time project staff went into the schools, all the rules and regulations were laid out by the school, by the adult personnel and the youth either abided by them or did not abide by them. What the project staff attempted to do was to demonstrate that the people who abide and live in that circle of living not only can become involved, but need to become involved. For instance, if someone wants to take a shower, he may have to consider some limitations around the use of water, soap, time element, his prior commitments to staff and peers. All of this is a practical detail of daily living. The problems that surround it are something that young people should be involved in solving. In relation to this, there are all sorts of problems that arise when young people don't keep the shower area or the dormitory area in general—looking like a place that people want to live in. This kind of responsibility does not have to be relegated solely to a staff member, but youth can become involved in this. There are other areas or factors within the schools that existed prior to the staff entering the schools and since then have been dealt with by staff. That is, the area of implementation of the quality of social life. For example, there were rules that were set up around dating, going off campus, when to leave, when to come back, and the conditions around it. These were laid out by staff. The rules were prescriptive. Now student involvement is taking place. They are discussing what it means to be off campus, what it means to be dating, what it means to set out conditions so that rules and regulations are binding on everyone. In this way, the project feels that young people will get a chance to look at what it means to assume responsibilities for making decisions, because here they tend to wrestle and struggle with the problems of enforcement and commitment.

There are other areas that created problems and factors with which we had to struggle. Some of them are social and intensely personal such as drinking alcohol, sniffing glue, and sniffing gasoline. All of these behaviors are prohibited in school. One of the major questions that arose while working with staff was "How do you involve young people in dealing with this kind of problem?" This, again, relates to the goals and objectives of the program. There is the question of how can people live with one another and this leads to discussions in the schools as to various reasons why people get drunk, or why people drink. Staff and students came up with ideas such as some people get drunk and stay away from school. Some people went out and drank and sneaked back and went to bed and didn't create any problems for anyone. One can say that if people didn't know anything about it, then in a certain sense, kids really didn't break any rule of the school because no one ever found out about it. But that's not really the important question, because in the quality of their life, drinking is a problem for them too. In some ways it was deep and intense and the whole question arises about drinking and its relationship to the kids and how they sense their living on the campus because in one way this relates to a sense of isolation in terms of feeling something exciting in your life. How do you get your kicks? How do you live? How do you get a sense of achievement of doing something?

In terms of a kid's education, there is another factor that impinges on their life—a character in the school which suggests that they are inherently passive. Many of the events that have occurred are just with the most minor introduction of the idea that the kids do have something to say. Even with relatively minor adult support, there are instances to show that they are not passive. Actually in terms of stimulating kids, they were not passive. For example in many of the meetings or events that took place in the school where things were introduced and the kids got involved, it became difficult for them. They were so unaware as to how to deal with these situations that they began to cry, that they didn't want to become part of it; they didn't want to deal with it any more. They wanted to move from the school. This is not passivity; this is reaction.

When adults talk to a child and the child doesn't want to respond, such as standing up in class and reading a book, this is not passivity. At least project staff does not interpret it as passivity. Instead of attributing this as a characteristic of the student, perhaps it would be much more useful and meaningful in terms of goals and objectives of the program, to perceive that the youth are really reacting to a repressive atmosphere and really don't move out when they feel they are going to get hurt. They don't move out and say what they feel because they are getting clobbered. These are the results of youths having the experience of getting their plans systematically knocked into pieces or being manipulated to fracture it. Once they see that they are not going to get hurt, that they are not going to get clobbered, then their contributions will be forthcoming. We need to nurture this ability to formulate plans whereby youth can make suggestions or holler out so that adults will listen to them and hear them and deal with them honestly instead of manipulating them in the way that they want things to turn out, because when this occurs, you will get rid of this passive thing which is just an attributive characteristic which comes out of the actions of adults usurping their position and lauding it over the kids. Passivity then is really a view of adults to behaviors of youth which are alien and sensitive to their needs. Passivity, in terms of the youth, is a coping behavior reflecting a rejection by them of existing conditions.

Again, in a similar way, another issue or another factor which comes up all the time is that of running away. Kids, for the most part, have not as yet been involved in examining the reasons for running away. They have found it extremely difficult to deal with this kind of behavior. They find it difficult in examining the things, in trying to come up and express why it is that they feel they have to do this. Sometimes some of the kids attempt to raise this, but adults have found it extremely difficult to respond. They just have no one to deal with this. The school at Big Heart, at least the faculty (the staff there) seems to be more ready, more capable of dealing with this kind of an issue. They are, at this point, beginning to listen to some of the statements by the kids. For example, one of the girls of the school said that she ran away because she was tired of being used by staff to handle other kids in another dorm who had cried and wanted to leave. This was raised with the staff—raised in the sense that the youth was reacting in a very uncomfortable way to being used to handle something about which she herself had a very intense feeling. Here's an example of the youth being brought together to deal with a kind of situation that is difficult and trying, not only to themselves, but to staff. Yet, they attempted to struggle with it. No resolution has come about and perhaps it won't come about within the next six months, but at least people are beginning to recognize some of these factors and are now making a thrust in this direction, i.e., they are attempting to deal with it. One of the things that came out in the discussion of attempting to deal with the facor of running away was that if there is something you don't like or some pressure that you are under, why don't you have a way of raising these things so that you're not unhappy and not uncomfortable, so that you don't have to get mad or angry. At the beginning, the kids responded that "We can't raise these things in a dormitory situation. There aren't any people there that we can work it out with."

Youth have always seemed to be concerned about the quality of their education at least in one way or another. They all have ideas. They all have interests and these can very unexpectedly come out with any kind of stimulation. In terms of the description of goals that we made earlier, this is directly related. If the people of the school can get young people involved in the things that they raise, they have other possibilities which will bring about the relationships that go on not only in classrooms but in the dormitory or anywhere on campus. Because once this is achieved, then the Bureau will actually be achieving some form of student self-determination as a basis for social participation and decision making in the school, on the total campus, in every aspect of their life. This dimension of living extends into the dormitory, into school, into everything. It is on this basis then that the students become involved in the participation and have some decision making. One of the problems that the project staff has been having is to struggle and meet conflict around this very fact. This project has attempted to develop a situation in schools where young people can use themselves in a very self-directed way.

The situation where eight or nine youth met with the staff and they were opposing what the youth were doing and manipulating them into retreating from each one of their positions is an excellent example of the kind of conflict that the project staff has been attempting to deal with. Such conflict has to be progressively resolved in order to free the youth in order that they can move in the direction of the project goals which are their own goals. If young people are able to get themselves organized, they are able to state what it is they want and they can attempt to implement. This appears to be precisely what everyone committed themselves to in terms of getting youth to move in self-direction and involvement. Here they went into a meeting and the adults took it over and dominated and rejected everything that they proposed. Everything the youth worked out, even their suggestions, were rejected. The adults even manipulated the kids to accept their "no" answers and then say it is okay for such compromises. This has tended to destroy everything that we're working for before it is even accomplished. The kids were dominated into saying what they really don't care about. When they walked out of their own meeting, after having organized and formulated that which they wanted, they exhibited a sense of confidence and self-respect of being able to develop what they wanted to achieve. Then when they walked out of the meeting with the adults, their confidence had been challenged and virtually destroyed. They were much less self-assured and had a sense of punishment that they had not been able to fight, basic feelings of being a coward. You could see that it was just draining their total sense of self. One of the questions that has to be asked is how many times can you expect kids to go through that process and what are adults really saying about getting a sense about the determination of one's own life existence and the quality of living in such an atmosphere. You can't stimulate people on one hand in the direction of self-determination based on their sense of words and their confidence which they have the right to do and, on the other hand whenever they are stimulated to do it, knock them down and do it consistently.

The youth have had to face this kind of experience with adults, then as they prepare to confront, they have had to walk away empty-handed and head down. One of the questions that must be raised, and it has been raised by project staff, is, "What is it that's really going to be permitted?" "What is it that you are ready to stimulate?" The project staff has found that most of the personnel at boarding school campuses indicate a willingness to let the kids behave in this kind of a way, that is, let them have some self-determination. Let them formulate ideas. Let them discuss. For some of them, it becomes a very, very difficult thing to let them try to do it. They seem to become very apprehensive, very threatened, in some cases totally incapable of letting kids do it. These kinds of experiences occur in many ways in the kids' lives. It's not just consultants who relate to this kind of atmosphere or sense of living, but the kids themselves are capable of relating this and do so. The real tragedy is that in many cases, the school staff don't even recognize it. In some cases, they just reject it, not necessarily in a hostile way, but just kind of blind dismissal-like saying that the kids really don't know what they're talking about. For example, in one instance one student tried to raise with a social worker an issue—an issue of punishment on the campus. The social worker, perhaps in her naive approach, formulated her question in such a way as to reflect the total dismissal, not necessarily a hostile one, but a dismissal of the child's abilities for she said, "I don't want to know why you left the campus. Maybe even you don't know." Maybe this is legitimate to feel that kids don't know all the things that go into their reactions. Some of them might be very deep-seated feelings—something that happened two years ago, or even two days ago, or even two minutes ago, but what she is really after is perhaps the legal thing. She wants to know immediately what happened and she doesn't want them to give her an inclination of why. Here is the tragedy. Some of the most important information that a social worker can acquire is the information of why it was the kids left or why it was that they felt that they had to leave. There may have been other factors that were impinging on them. One of the very debilitating factors involved is to dismiss the person's sense of self-awareness, to tell them right off that they don't know why they did anything. They may know very well why they did it. As a matter of fact, they indicate that they want to describe certain levels of reasons or seem at least to have a small knowledge of very legitimate reasons. In the case of their ability to describe those, the social worker dismissed the reasons. She dismissed them as a response coming from a very disturbed boy, who takes no responsibility for his action.

Actually what the boy described as going on relates exactly what some of the consultants related, viz. that there is a very specific and rather obvious atmosphere of repression. This action reflects the worker's inability to emphasize with the student and an ability to make a ready identification with the existing structure in school, which is a strong identification that inhibits even the kids when they raise what really happens to them. When a boy raised a problem of physical punishment, the social worker shut him off three times. Now here is a case of being the real hero. It becomes very clear that the social worker doesn't want to deal with such a difficult problem as physical punishment. Kids recognize this and respond to it. This in general reflects the kind of atmosphere in which a lot of this is taking place. In light of many of the factors that are prevalent on campus, it becomes very interesting to recognize and perceive that these kids are really perceiving things that trained observers see. They recognize things that are appalling. They recognize when adult behavior becomes sadistic. These are the kinds of things around which project staff has to function and struggle with; things which will enable them to get the staff and youth alike to operate around concepts of freedom—freedom of expression which will enable the campus to introduce certain democratic forms of participation so that what is involved can become socially binding on everyone. The kind of punishment that was described—well, it's really marvelous to know that in any one of these situations that people, no matter how much you beat them, verbally, physically, that they still have a little left under their sores and are willing to respond to some kind of stimulus which indicates that perhaps there is a different kind of life. It's a very deep-seated thing to want to live and live as other people live.

Another factor impinging on the experiences of the people on the campuses is the fact of isolation created as a result of two kinds of situations. One is the situation that brought the youth to the school, viz the social criteria used for enrollment and second is the situation of the school itself, viz. the physical situation, the distance from the main stream of society of the community. Since moving on the compus, the project found that this factor was an inhibiting one, inhibiting the implementation of the goals and objectives stated in our proposal. This then became one of the objectives of the project to break through this kind of isolation. Around this factor of isolation arose several problems. One of them was the feeling that some of the children had about the very restrictive way in which they were able to move off campus—the business of when they did get away from campus and the places they went. For example, at one of the schools, the kids were all picked up on the bus, driven into town and piled all back into the bus and moved back. In a technical sense, the youth do move off the campus physically, but in a very real sense, they're carrying the campus with them so that you're really not breaking out of a sense of isolation. In other ways, other students raise the question of having the right to move off campus. Many of them begin to struggle about this kind of a problem and you have youth beginning to struggle about raising an issue, raising problems. The project staff, working with the school staff and the kids, get hung up and sometimes even drowned in some of their discussions. Project staff has often times failed to implement some of their objectives in the sense of reducing isolation, because sometimes as a result of getting hung up and drowning in some of the discussions, nothing happens so that the kids can feel that a decision was arrived at in which they participated.

Another factor that impinges on the quality of living at the schools is the factor of manipulation. One of the examples was raised earlier in terms of the ability to create and involve stimulation in dealing with staff and the moving from one meeting to another as a way in which things get systematically demolished and manipulated by the staff.

Another factor impinging on the lives of the youth of the schools is humiliation. This factor of humiliation is interrelated into more than one role. One of the project roles, was to develop the self-image of the individual to include his heritage. That is, to give kids an interconnection between knowledge of their heritage, i.e. what they are and what they look like to other people, so they can have some concept of themselves. This is merely a component of self-determination. This concept of self-determination really encompasses two components. That is, a sense of identity of knowing who you are and being able to deal with that and then having a sense of direction so that when a question of prejudice is raised, you know how to handle it.

One of the incidents on campus at one of the schools dramatically points out this concept of humiliation and relationship to being an Indian. An incident occurred at one of the schools in which some youth came in drunk and one of the night attendants called him a "goddamned drunken Indian." The youth responded to this, responded in a way that they suggested it was really a proposal. That there is an employee here who would call a young person that, no matter what they are. What is the procedure? "A goddamned drunken Indian." Isn't he outraging the laws of the constitution? He's outraging the principles of the institution and he's outraging the principles of the procedures of the institution and he ought to be fired. The kids took the initiative and set up what ought to be. Adults found it very difficult to react to this; they didn't want to react to it. What the kids said ought to be became important in terms of project goals and the way in which something like this was handled. Here they had a proposal. The staff had listened to it, not that they had to agree with it, but it did need to be handled. The position of the school, the position of everyone in it needed to be laid on the table, needed to be explicated. That kind of approach of dealing with young people had to be rejected. This kind of material, this kind of behavior then became material for training. Certain kinds of behaviors on the part of adults need to be excluded from these institutions. When dealing with these kinds of problems on campus, the punitive role of adults needs to be excluded from the institutions. When dealing with these problems on campus, young people have to be placed in a position to learn. you just don't throw people out of jobs in that way. Even though behavior such as this is irritating and debilitating, there are other alternatives. In this way it becomes a learning thing, in which kids can become involved. Initially the major omission to the kind of training that the school staff were getting is that kids weren't involved because in this kind of training, you underline youth and adults as people alike. These kinds of problems are just as prevalent in our society as well as some of the difficulties incumbent upon individuals in getting them resolved.

One needs to develop the ability to get involved and say what they really feel and think without fear of getting clobbered. One might get clobbered in the principal's office or might get clobbered anywhere. Here, for the first time, the project staff has created some intervention. It wasn't intervention in the sense of what the goals and objectives of the project intended, but at least it was a response toward getting concerned about these goals and objectives. In the way it was handled, some people might say it was interferring instead of implementing goals, but at least at this point, it wasn't left to stand. There was an attempt to deal with it.

Project staff is now attempting to broaden this concept into a much larger, much more fruitful one.

CONCLUSIONS AND PROJECTION

At the outset it seems essential to point out that the relatively short period of time for which the project was funded and the complexity of the task of implementing this kind of a program have had a direct bearing on the results which have been attained or not attained.

The principal at Big Heart indicated in a report that one year was not long enough to implement this kind of program and that she felt that continued "outside" help was essential if the program were to succeed at the schools. She felt, as did project staff, that desired results could not be produced in one year or even three or four years. Attitudinal change does not occur in a relatively short span of time nor can any effective kind of change in behavior be developed in a short period of time. These things take even longer when preconceived notions impede their implementation.

To accomplish attitudinal change then, there is a need for outside professional persons to help bring about involvement and interaction between youths and adults whereby they can work together around goals, values, and problems in a cooperative kind of way, which can become a far more living kind of experience. As has been demonstrated in other projects of this nature, motivation can be created by professional persons, who also help to create an awareness of conditions as they exist, provide information and opportunities, and lend encouragement, support, and assistance in the implementation of such a program in the Bureau schools. In fact, it seems essential that some outside source be utilized in order to develop these concepts and implement them at the schools.

The functioning of the project staff was limited by their number and the amount of time they were able to spend in the schools. Any future program would necessarily need additional project staff in order to provide a continual contact with the schools and with the Bureau of Indian Affairs' Area Office. Bureau of Indian Affairs personnel from the area level can also be of help in implementing this kind of a program in the schools, provided they function as project staff and in the same kinds of ways, but not in the roles they normally assume with the Bureau, i.e., they must function with the group and not just with individuals in a tete-a-tete kind of way that does not really involve the people they are working with. Wearing two hats is a very difficult and time consuming way to function and not very efficient. If the Bureau personnel are to work in the way the project staff attempts to function, then they must expose themselves to the same kinds of things and commit themselves to functioning in the same kinds of ways. Any future program needs to have the continued involvement of Bureau of Indian Affairs personnel from the area office, and the campus schools as well, in order to create greater flexibility in the project and in the staff members themselves.

On-going or other new programs at the schools also played their part in determining what has been attained or not attained by the Youth Development Program. At Goodwill Indian School, for instance, Title I and Title III programs, which were initiated to fulfill various academic needs of the youth, apparently were developed without the involvement of the youth and, for the most part, the involvement of the school staff. These programs were handed to the campus personnel and the only involvement which took place was having youth take tests, play, and have teachers relate standardized test scores—no interstaff or staff-youth struggle arose, which seemed of great concern to staff. This is in sharp contrast to a similar kind of involvement in initiating a program, which demanded a giving of themselves in a daily struggle with other human beings in achieving social and academic goals, which requires mutual effort and a willingness by each person to accept the differences of the other. Project staff was never able to determine who helped to identify the needs of the youth at Goodwill or whether these needs were simply inferred. This is not to say that programs funded through Title I or Title III of the Education Act are not suitable; on the contrary, they are very important programs and very appropriate. But in terms of involving youth in the planning and helping to determine their own needs at the level that they are capable of is not the approach that is normally used to establish programs with these funds.

Project staff was able to meet with the superintendent, department heads, and the recreational director for the Title I program around the fact that the recreational program, as it was being implemented, was contradictory to the concepts of youth and staff involvement and suggested ways in which the goals and objectives to which they had committed themselves could be implemented through the recreational program. The Area Office seemed to be more concerned about implementing this program than the Youth Development Program, which was reflected in their involvement. This suggests that around these programs in which the Area Office has invested time, interest, and energy, it is much easier to raise alternative ways of functioning. It also suggests that project staff and school staff can work together around implementing the program and that project staff can assist in identifying how to use what they have. These things again point out the need for an outside source as well as the imperative need for the Area Office to become involved through action in a practical kind of way.

It would seem then that if the staff and youth have committed themselves to functioning in a particular kind of way, i.e., working together to plan or to resolve problems, to become involved together to help determine the quality of the everyday living experiences of the youth at the schools, etc., then this commitment must apply to every aspect of the school, even the academic area.

There has been some movement in the direction of developing an interdisciplinary approach to youth development whereby institutionalized Indian children can acquire the values and attitudes requisite to coping successfully with problems of social adjustment and can become self-directed individuals. This is visible more at Big Heart Indian School than at Goodwill and Wahini and can be seen in the behavior of the staff and youth in their relationships toward each other and the involvement of all departments in meeting together and working with the youth on problems of concern to them. At Big Heart, there has been some effort to develop the ability of staff and youth to utilize an interdisciplinary approach to the growth and development of the Indian children, although many problems are still prevalent and still influence the ability of both staff and youth to function. At Goodwill and Wahini, this kind of movement has not been seen to the same extent.

During the academic year, it became evident to project staff that several problems were prevalent, which affected the development of the attitudes of the youth, e.g., punishment. One of the most difficult jobs for project staff was to attempt to redirect the school staffs away from punishment. This is not to say there was to be no authority because authority always exists in any institutional setting. Young people can relate to adult authority and guidance but they have a balking point if the atmosphere is one of fear, of punishment, and repression.

It becomes very hard to motivate youth when they reside in a punitive atmosphere and just as difficult to deal with some of their reactions to it, e.g., frustration, humiliation, running away, sniffing, etc. Instances of physical punishment, which were related to project staff by the youth and by some staff, were at times of a sadistic nature, e.g., some youth related that one school staff member had hit them with his fist. Another instance witnessed by a project staff consultant was a punishment devised by a teacher in which two youth had to run in place in his classroom before the other students one hour for every hour they were out of his class. He felt this would deter others from running away. These people are not monsters, who do this all the time, and punishment is not aways this harsh, but it does have a debilitating effect upon the youth and if it is done even once, it becomes a part of the atmosphere of the school. Although instances of punishment are markedly different, nevertheless, punishment does occur, which suggests that when people get sufficiently threatened, the only way they know how to deal with asocial dysfunctional behavior is in terms of what staff personnel want, which can result in physically hitting the youth. Some reasons for this appear to be that they don't have any other avenues open to them or they don't know how else to do it. Background and locale seem to play a very marked role in their learning and dealing with asocial behavior.

In this kind of an atmosphere then, it becomes very difficult for youth to operate with the freedom of expression, which introduces certain democratic forms of participation, although the youth were still able to become involved to some extent, i.e., youth have begun to meet with staff—representing areas from which they come, and to which they assume some responsibility for relating what has occurred in their interaction with adults in meetings. This seems to reflect that underneath, people, no matter how much you cajole or intimidate them, still have a little left under the surface and and want a different kind of life. The youth still give responses in situations, in areas, you would think they couldn't respond in. It's a very deep-seated thing to want to live. If the goals and objectives of the Youth Development Program and the Bureau goals are going to be implemented on the campuses of the Bureau schools, then the punitive approach used by the school staff to deal with youth must be eliminated and new approaches must be developed through training—approaches, which will create an atmosphere in which people (youth and adults) can express themselves and relate their feelings and discuss mutual concerns on equal terms regardless of rank or hierarchy. This does not seem possible today.

There are some other things, which occur in the lives of the youth, which are traumatic events. Projects staff observed six and seven year old children being left at Goodwill by their parents. There appeared to be no organized procedure for assisting the very small youth—some were crying, some could not carry their luggage. Although the instructional aides were busy, they could not see to the needs of all the small children, etc. Perhaps with better orgaization something could be done to alleviate this situation; for example, older children, who are interested, could help create a warm and hospitable place for a youngster to come to. It doesn't seem reasonable that these six and seven year olds should come in and cry and cry. In many cases they were ignored, not in a premeditated sense, but nonetheless, the condition still exists and perhaps something can be done that is not being done now.

Many authors such as Maslow, Rogers, and Frohm have stressed that when personality goes beyond the earliest levels of integration, it tends to become more and more structured by cultural and social factors than by the basic biological ones. The constant structuring by cultural and social factors enables the individual to deal with reality in such a way as to make his adjustment more palatable to himself. The individual seeks a level at which he can function most easily. He does several things. First he attempts to remove major states of disharmony in his own self. Secondly, he attempts to deal satisfactorily with the people of his group. Thirdly, he attempts to inhibit behaviors, which are directed toward immediate satisfaction. When a child, for example, is unable to achieve in this way—that is, move in these directions as do his peers or as adults expect—conflict arises. This developmental process is life—life at a level where adjustment is a reflection of experiences. Life in this sense demands constant alertness and necessitates a constant struggle on the part of the individual toward conflict resolution. This then provides some of the conditions for developing changes within one's self. At this level of functioning, the individual becomes aware that he is being affected by different types of motivation. Individuals develop the ability to choose between attainment and satisfaction of reality relative to adjustment. Often the conflict is between what the individual wants and wishes and what the society in which he lives demands. As in the case of Goodwill and Big Heart Indian School, children, too, have learned to choose between attainment of satisfaction and adjustment to reality. When children run away, they are, in fact, attempting to attain satisfaction. They are attempting to deal with reality. They are attempting to adjust their own lives to the reality as they perceive it. The campus is the youths' society and this society has been making demands on these children for a long time—demands, which create innumerable conflicts for these children, conflicts, which extend over years in a child's life and their struggle with adults around these conflicts does not provide them with a means for coping with their problems and developing their abilities to function in society. These conflicts if not resolved tend to have a debilitating effect on his development and tend to thwart psychological development.

Psychological development can mean the expansion of feelings, understanding, and possibilities of choices and actions with agreeable or disagreeable and unforeseeable effects. The quality and extent of this development will depend on what the child can make of his inner experiences, his conceptual life, his interpersonal relations, his work, and his total behaviors. These are, in turn, largely determined by the stringent environment of the campus schools and the isolating-factors that are impinging upon one's daily life. Providing an atmosphere in which the youth can work through some of their problems and concerns by struggling with peers and adults around mutual concerns is one way to help them to develop socially as well as psychologically. The group meetings and student government organizations, which were established to help develop this atmosphere and involve students in helping to determine the quality of their everyday living experiences, were somewhat effective; however, if these vehicles are to be more meaningful then Bureau of Indian Affairs staff members will require more assistance and training in order to enable them to work with young people in such a way that they will minimize the number of barriers that are put down as to what is possible or not possible. They should involve youth and adults in decision-making processes in order to transform the quality of their total life experiences. The training, which the school staff receives, will help to create the setting or atmosphere, which will permit youth involvement. Unless the total staff and the Bureau personnel in general are committed to accepting differences in age, sex, prior experiences, etc. and permit this to enrich one's life rather than to castigate it; unless training both in concentrated periods and in subsequent on-going, in-service training relevant to the goals and objectives of the program; unless these things take place, then the self-direction to be implemented by youth and staff will be greatly inhibited because in the final analysis the staff has the right to smash attempts at training, e.g., self government.

Not all personnel are made out of the same mold; some are much more flexible than others and ready to adapt to change or at least try change. Although it may be painful, as was seen in many of the things they have been unable to do; staff personnel have, in general, begun to provide the basis for creating an atmosphere whereby change is possible. Some have been able to change and adapt, just as project staff, and they have gone through many of the same things that project staff has gone through and we have had to struggle together. Unfortunately however, not everyone has been able to do that. (Only two people in the area office have been capable of struggling toward keeping commitments in light of stated objectives.) It is these kind of people that the Bureau needs, people, who are willing to try, people who are willing to lay what they have on the line, and in spite of possible differences at other levels, see it through because they believe it is right and that the Indian people can have a richer and more rewarding life.

Perhaps one way of enabling the school staffs to function and adapt to change is to give them more control over their work environment. In the schools this means permitting employees to make decisions concerning goals, policies, and practices within their field of competence. At the same time, the contemplated structure must continue to recognize the vested interest of the community in the school system and provide for many points of view.

In order to improve the quality of the operation, one must do something differently from the way it has been done; and the easiest way to cause changes in behavior is to change the rules of the game, i.e., the organization and its legislation. But the charged behavior may only accommodate the same old attitude and rigidities to the new arrangements, e.g., attending seminars, annual workshops, special training sessions. So, apparently, changing behavior (meaning overt accommodative behavior) is not enough. The quality of process depends on the quality of behavior; its effective and attitudinal loading. One cannot legislate (pass rules on) purity of heart, integrity of intent, and steadfastness in the face of seductive possibilities; and changing the specificatons of time, communication channels and access, allocation of money, etc., does not necessarily cause a change in quality.

Isolation factors with which the project attempted to cope appear to be heavily affecting the lives of the youth. They have a sense of separation and isolation in the school, which they attend every day, and also from the personnel in the school. If youth are to be able to function when they leave these boarding schools, then they must not be forced to exist in isolating conditions and must have the opportunity to become involved in the community with other youth (Indian or non-Indian) and other adults. They need to develop a sense of their own identity and, therefore, learn to relate cultural differences, because understanding these differences of identity and understanding, how these relate to a major society, become of paramount importance in the development of one's sense of self. There are concomitant problems presented, as Indians represent a large but a minor culture in our country, and their struggle to achieve reflects the many unsolved problems of difference in our society. To have a sense of identity of who you are enables you to work in a different kind of way by extending interchange with the broader community.

Some authors such as Horney, Frohm, and Maslow, have related the concept of self realization to self actualization. This has been perceived as a fulfillment of one's potentialities. However, for our purposes, in the complexity of living, children and adults seldom succeed in using all or even a major portion of their innate abilities and capacities. Therefore, perhaps they never will achieve self realization. The important aspect of development is not in achievement, but in the process of striving toward that achievement. In the words of Karen Horney, "Whatever the conditions under which a child grows up, he will, if not mentally defective, learn to cope with others one way or another. He will probably acquire some skill, but there are also forces in him, which he cannot acquire or even develop by learning. He need not, and in fact cannot, teach an acorn to grow into an oak tree. When given a chance, an intrinsic potentiality will develop. Similarly, the human individual, given a chance, tends to develop his particular human potentialities. He will develop then the unique, alive forces of his real self. The clarity and depth of his own feelings, thoughts, wishes, interests, the ability to tap his own resources, the strength of his will power, the special capacities or gifts he may have, the faculty of expressing himself or of relating himself to others with his spontaneous feelings—all this will in time enable him to find his set of values, his aims in life. In short, he will grow substantially undiverted toward self realization."—Karen Horney, 1950.

This is also applicable to students—to students and adults alike in the Bureau schools. But in spite of the factors that are impinging on these people, the inbreeding, debilitating factors with which they live and with which they deal every day of their lives—in spite of all this, they still develop an intent to cope. They still strive toward self realization. They still attempt to deal in interpersonal relations and to make the most of what they have. In order to permit young people, young Indian people, to develop their capacities to develop their endowments, they need to be allowed to help in the development of the atmosphere and conditions, which will permit the kind of expression that results in self realization—self actualization.

One of the factors that is constantly operating in Bureau schools is the feeling by children of inferiority. This condition is a factor, which interferes with living at high levels of integration. That is, integration of experiences and of events in the child's everyday life. Indian children feel inferior because they are treated as inferior by adults, because they feel that they cannot face the difficulties of the world without adults. This comes from a long period of time in which adults find it difficult, in many ways, to permit children to try new experiences. They are often reluctant to permit children to probe, to examine, to question. Perhaps they do this because of apprehension or fear that a child's action is their sole responsibility; an interdisciplinary approach to problem solving would reject this notion as a basic premise. In our society today, one must learn to experience the feeling of helplessness and the feeling of defeat in order to be able to more fully understand what life is all about. To state it differently, this is to struggle around ideas about how to live and how to get more out of life. Not only are children helped consistently from not making mistakes, but even the staffs of various schools are helped from making mistakes by their supervisory personnel. For example, supervisory personnel have often said that they have taken people by the hand for many years to get them to function more meaningfully. Today, some of those individuals find it extremely difficult to function at the level at which they have been placed. They feel extreme discomfiture when requested to act in a way consonant with their position. This sense of helplessness, this sense of inferiority, is instilled and constantly reinforced in the subtle and direct actions taken by some Bureau personnel. The children also feel small, weak, and helpless, and unable to cope with the challenges of existing. However, in spite of this feeling, despite this sense of smallness, of inferiority, of helplessness, they tend to strike out and look for ways to overcoming this particular barrier. Perhaps we can say that this feeling of inferiority sometimes becomes a driving force, which propels the particular individuals in particular directions. They strike out and let the people know that this is who I am. I am me, and some of the examples may be the running off, the relating of campus events to community people in a partial or biased way, the sniffing, the vandalism that has taken place. When youth engage in this kind of behavior, the usual result is that they are classified as being "bad," and the tendency on the part of the school staff is to leave them out of certain activities, e.g., student government.

This project concerns itself with youth, who are described as "bad," as well as the "good kids." This is a program for all youth and the project does not advocate the rejection of any youth through punishment, through exclusion or anything else, but tries to work him in—not that he is to have any special privileges or favors and not that he is being identified as someone different because of that, but to try to identify within the group context how things can be done differently. This is rather different because you no longer exclude the youth but you are making a special effort to include him—not for his sole benfiit, but for the benefit of the whole campus and the group as well as the youth. Everybody has something to contribute. This is one basic difference between the function of therapy groups and what this project is trying to do.

There has been much writing and much literature suggesting that sterngth, psychological, physical, academic, does not come from weakness, or to put it another way; an Indian child is not likely to develop into a strong, self-possessed, self-directed human being if his total life experiences in childhood are primarily negative, primarily restricting, or stultifying. Many of the experiences, which these children are receiving at the school, appear to be in direct contradictions to the goals and objectives of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and also the Youth Development Program, i.e., the development of genuinely self-possessed, self-directed human beings. This kind of development doesn't happen by accident, it is purposive and directive. The development of Indian children necessitates the examination of adult and youth roles, because role is at least partially a determinant of behavior as is role expectation. Incongruity in role expectation develops as a result of two dissimilar groups (teachers and youth) visualizing their respective behaviors separately. Youth do not appear to know what their role in school is—they don't appear to know what school is all about. There seems to be no relationship between the academics that they are receiving and their own lives. Teachers seem to view Indian children as "tabula rasa," that is, blank slates on which they are to inscribe all the knowledge of the world in a very sterile and a very anemic kind of way—anemic in the sense that it ought not to be contaminated with their own living experiences. A project consultant, brought in by the Youth Development Program, has indicated that role is at least in part a determinant of the behavior of the youth and teachers at Goodwill, and he did not find much to demonstrate that their role was much of a determinant there. He felt that perhaps to a greater extent than we sometimes think, personality, that is psychological strength, can be independent of the pressures that one's role produces—that one does not have to be merely or even logically the product of his own role. One can and ought to be independent of this. He felt that to operate mainly in terms of one's own role is to abdicate personal control and responsibility and to make excuses for inaction or negative action by a person.

The form of education, which this project is concerned with, is not solely the acquisition of academic knowledge, which the youth seem to be receiving in adequate doses, but their total life experience, as being their total education. This involves their social development as well as their intellectual or academic development. The academic staff appears to be strong in their ability to understand and relate to youth the academics of their respective classes, but they appear to be extremely weak in their ability to develop psychological strengths.

This program is concerned with the kind of institutional change, which alters the qualitative aspect of one's life as it is reflected in his interchange with other people, and which involves everybody, not just the people at the schools. Change most often occurs because of actions at the top of the hierarchy; in this project the Bureau and the project advocate action at the other end of the hierarchy. The youth and the people working directly with them are at this end and it is here where interchange can take place with supervisory personnel. It is often quite easy to have suggestions percolate down rather than go up. Adults often forget that communication can go both ways (up and down). Instructional aides, dining room personnel, and teachers often get a sense of fear or reluctance to express themselves because they have been talked to, they have been told. They know which side their bread is buttered on, just like the kids do, and they are only going to talk and only going to relate to those people, that they know don't have any direct authority over them, unless someone is there to help them create the conditions whereby they feel free and comfortable in doing this—and that just hasn't taken place in all areas and levels at the schools. Project staff is beginning to see a little bit of that in these monthly evaluation meetings whereby the principal from Big Heart is able to say some of the things she feels, like, "I don't think that's right. I think it would be better to do it this way."

It seems that in order to deal conceptually with problems on the campuses, that the staff and youth must necessarily go through a period during which they are unable to go beyond the discussing or attempting stage to deal with a problem or issue. This refers to wanting to resolve a particular problem and deal with an issue of immediate concern in the "easiest, fastest" way. This approach does not concern itself with why some particular behavior took place or what implications it has for other areas. In order to deal effectively, working on specific problems as they occur is not really the answer. The youth and adults must reach a point in their development where they can work and think and talk at a level beyond that. For example, in discussing the problem of youth running away from the schools, the problem needs to be discussed not solely in terms of a youth running away on a particular occasion, but in terms of why do youth run away; what does it mean when youth run away; what implication does running away have for youth at the school, for the adults, for the school staff and many other areas?

Project staff has not been able to get people to discuss at the conceptual level. This is the kind of thing that needs to take place because when the staff and the youth begin to deal conceptually with problems, they can begin to develop their own abilities to think through, to discuss, and to communicate their ideas. After one year in the schools, Big Heart is perhaps reaching a point in their development where this kind of interchange can begin. At Goodwill, they still have a long way to go. Again, this aspect of communication and interchange at the schools will not come about overnight but is a developmental thing, which will require training and assistance over a long period of time.

The Bureau schools do have a big thing going for them, which could enhance communication, interchange, and development. That is, that the campuses of the Bureau schools themselves are closely knit, interwoven communities in every single discipline. They have contact with each other virtually 24 hours a day in a structured situation, like a family in other situations. But like any institution, people of responsibility must act when called upon. Although support from some administrative personnel is forthcoming, all too often some key administrative personnel in the schools find it extremely difficult to exercise their authority and lend the needed support consistent with their verbal commitment to implement Bureau and project goals and objectives.

This kind of setting, in which the schools have contact with the youth virtually 24 hours a day, provides an opportunity for a continuous training program to go on at the schools, a training program in which the objectives of the project become a living, real kind of practice, not the traditional, didactic kind of training, which was used during the first four weeks of the summer training. This traditional kind of training is inadequate for dealing with the kinds of problems that were being raised and does not promote the kinds of interaction among trainees, which are necessary for functioning in the group and resolving problems. This is not to say that didactic instruction is unnecessary; it does have its place, but training by just listening to a lecture and taking notes does not enable the person being trained to actually become involved in discussing the information, nor does it provide a means of follow-up to assist the individual to implement his training, nor does it require any commitment on the part of the individual to change or help in creating change.

The kind of training that is needed in the Bureau of Indian Affairs schools is one, which not only involves commitment, but a continuous kind of training, which involves application and a systematic follow-up that will enable the youth and adults to put into practice the goals and objectives of the program, i.e., make verbal commitments consistent with subsequent behavior.

Project staff discovered in the sixth week of the summer training program that heterogeneous grouping (groups containing staff from all disciplines and youth) did not promote the kinds of discussion and interchange, which were needed to resolve issues and problems; however, when the groups were divided according to job level, rather than groups containing all levels of responsibility, the discussions became more intense and this provided the impetus for them to relate later in the heterogeneous groups and for staff members representing one discipline to confront staff members representing another or for a youth to confront an adult with things that were of concern to them. This appears to be the first time that this has occurred and some of the trainees then began to understand what was meant by an interdisciplinary approach. This suggests certain things about the school's previous way of operating and perhaps is indicative of the struggle that is going to have to take place during the coming year. Many of the problems that did arise were mentioned, but personnel were not able to identify them all.

At the end of the summer training program, verbal support was given by the Bureau of Indian Affairs central office, the area office, and by some staff members from the schools, suggesting that they were ready to back up such a program in their schools. Although this kind of verbal support occurred and had some effect on members of the school staffs, it was not followed through in any meaningful way—the support seemed to be given from a distance like, "it's all right for the school staffs to work with the Youth Development Program." This verbal support, although it was given several times during the first year, was done in such a way as to give the school staffs the impression that they could choose to work or not work with the program as they saw fit. In order for this kind of program to function in the schools, it seems imperative that Bureau personnel in positions of responsibility take a positive stand by letting the schools know where the Bureau stand in terms of supporting the project, the role the Bureau had in its development, and play an active role in working with the schools in order to implement the program. This kind of involvement on the part of the Bureau can go a long way toward helping to alleviate some of the confusion about the program on the part of people at the schools by helping to get them all involved and committed to a course of action.

Some of the "hang-ups" encountered in implementing the program in the schools seem to have been relieved somewhat by the Washington trip, which involved all three schools, and the art program, which was implemented at Big Heart. These vehicles for implementation provided some immediate goals, which enabled youth and adults to work together toward a common goal and gave them an opportunity to put into practice much of the training to which they had been exposed. The project did not concern itself primarily with whether the youth learned to draw or that a trip to Washington, D. C. should be made just so the youth could see Washington; more important was the working toward the superordinate goals involved. These vehicles provided an opportunity for everybody to work together to get something done; it gave youth an opportunity to break out of their isolation by becoming involved in the community, with their tribal chiefs, and in money raising activities, which took them away from the schools and out into the community; certain educational goals were involved, i.e., writing letters to congressmen, bus companies, airlines, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, speaking to civic clubs and church groups, handling their own money, and establishing a bank account, etc.

Apparently, this was the first time that youth in the schools had ever become involved in activities of this kind and the first time school staff members had become involved with them in cooperatively working toward a common goal. This was not done without a great deal of struggle around differences of opinion and problems. These two vehicles, however, point out a need for other activities such as these to be carried on in the schools—activities, which will permit the youth to become involved in decision making and planning and to learn to function with other people both at the school and in the community in a more effective kind of way.

Struggling around the problems at the schools also had its effect on project staff. It has tended to sharpen our own focus on what we are doing and enabled us to deal with problems more meaningfully. This permits school personnel and youth to be able to function more effectively because we are able to provide the kinds of leadership for things they have been unable to do by themselves.

This suggests that there is an overall training model, which is available, which will probably be reflected in the next final report and that there are other areas, which need to be examined such as community involvement. The implementation of integrated life experiences would necessarily have to include opportunities for youth to become involved in the communities in which the schools are located. If this is to occur, then the school staffs are going to have to be more permissive in allowing students to go into the community, not only in groups to certain activities, but also as individuals for personal reasons, including pleasure. This seems to be a necessary element in preparing them to be able to function in society.

There are several aspects of individual youth involvement such as vocational and academic development and the question, "To what extent can parents become involved?" which needs to be considered in future programs. The project has not been able to touch on these areas, although these are perhaps just as important as those, which have been. As far as working with the community, the tribes, the area office, the Bureau of Indian Affairs central office, and even the schools themselves, this project has barely scratched the surface. The problem is so vast and if change is to be perpetuated in the Bureau schools, then the Bureau of Indian Affairs must take a more active role in helping the Indian people to help themselves change the quality of their own lives.

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CONSIDERATIONS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF MANPOWER PROGRAMS FOR INDIANS

(A paper delivered at the National Conference on Manpower Programs for Indians, held in Kansas City, Missouri, February 16, 1967 by William H. Kelly, Director, Bureau of Ethnic Research, Department of Anthropology, University of Arizona, Tucson)

It has been my experience in Arizona that if you want a job you can get special attention and special services from the Arizona State Employment Office by identifying yourself as an Indian. Whoever you talk to will bend over backwards and even break some rules to put you to work.

One of the men most highly respected by Indians in Arizona was James Roark. In all the years he served as head of th Arizona Employment Office, I never knew him to miss an opportunity to attend a meeting or a conference on Indian affairs. Indian leaders paid attention to what he had to say because he understood their special problems and because he was both realistic and sympathetic. Charles A. Boyle and his department heads have inherited and carried forward this tradition, and I do not doubt that this holds true in other states since it has obviously been the policy of the United States Employment Service to make an extra effort where Indians are concerned.

It is my assignment to speak of some social and cultural considerations in the development of manpower programs for Indians. I am taking the liberty, therefore, of addressing myself to some problems that lie behind the employment office contact experience with Indian workers.

First, I am going to suggest that the Bureau of Indian Affairs' use and interpretation of the word "unemployed", and their approach to the "unemployment problem" thus conceived, has obscured some fundamental problems of Indian adjustment.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs, for many years, has talked of the "unemployed" as being all those Indians under their jurisdiction who are not disabled, not in school or in an institution, or who do not work during most weeks and months of the year. Under this system of classification, perhaps half of the adult male Indian population can be classed as unemployed. And when a man is declared to be unemployed, the thing to do is to put him to work, and the way to put him to work is to develop irrigation systems and cattle ranges on the reservations, or to relocate him in some city where wage work is available or, most recently, to push programs of resources development and industrial development on and near Indian land. Such programs reach only the elite and the steady workers.

The whole business is heartwarming, thoroughly American, acceptable to Congress, but not much help to the Indians. This is because economic solutions have been applied to a problem which is basically social and psychological.

There are three broad classes of adult Indians: (1) The elite. The relatively small number who are well adjusted, educated, and fully employed. (2) The workers. Well over half the total male population 14 years of age and older. This group includes the full time workers, the part workers and, at any given time, the relatively few who are unemployed. (3) The idle. This group far outnumbers the unemployed and include, along with some of the "workers," the chronically underemployed.

Although the Indian situation represents special problems, the two main groups above, the "workers" and the "idle", are well recognized in the United States Census and Bureau of Labor Statistics reports. When the U.S.E.S. designates a person as being unemployed they mean by this that he is, as measured by objective criteria, looking for work and willing and able to work. The concept is thus a measure of the economy and not of the psychological or social condition of the Indian.

This is not the case with the Indian Service. It would appear that through a semantic device, by calling something "unemployment" when it is not unemployment, they have swept their real problems under the rug and out of sight. The Bureau of Indian Affairs devotes a significant share of its time, talents and money on programs designed to create work for Indians who are not in the labor force. I know of no single program designed specifically to deal with the enormously complex problems of the "idle" segment of the Indian population.

According to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, from 40 to 50 percent of American Indians are "unemployed". The following statement is from a speech delivered in Chicago in February, 1964 by the former Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Dr. Philleo Nash: "Let me tell you how poor Indians are: Unemployment on the reservations runs between 40 and 50 percent—seven or eight times the national average". In testimony before the Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare of the United States Senate in 1963, the Bureau of Indian Affairs filed the following statement: "Because it would be unrealistic to measure the need for employment on the reservations by the number of Indians actively seeking work without success, the Bureau has used another definition of unemployment. Our estimates of unemployment are based on labor force estimates that includes all Indians of working age who are neither unemployed because of physical or mental handicaps nor unavailable for employment because of enrollment in school, of family responsibilities, or of early retirement. The resulting survey, the first to be made simultaneously of all reservations, indicated a labor force of about 120,000, slightly more than half of whose members were employed. Half of the employment, in turn, was of temporary nature".

Not 50 percent, not 30 percent, not even ten percent of the Indians in the United States are unemployed. This does not mean that the Indians are not in trouble. They are in plenty of trouble, but the descriptive words are idleness and social maladjustment.

My statement needs support. In the 1960 U.S. Census, slightly more than nine percent of 163,337 Indian males in this country were designated as being unemployed.[1] In the same census slightly more than seven percent of the Papago and Pima Indian males of southern Arizona were defined as unemployed. In a 1964 study of Papago employment conducted by the Bureau of Ethnic Research of the University of Arizona, less than four percent of Papago males were found to be unemployed. The smaller percentage of unemployed found in our study results, I am sure, from the special care we took to determine whether or not a man was actually in or out of the labor force for a given period.

This is the magnitude—9, 7, and 4 percent—of an economic problem that can and should be met by economic measures.

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[1] U.S. Census of Population 1960, Non-White Population by Race, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1963.

The segment of the Indian population in social and psychological trouble is materially larger. In the same 1960 census report, 23 percent of all Indian males were tabulated as being outside the labor force and not in school or in an institution. These are the idle and the physically and mentally disabled. The 1964 Papago survey records 26 percent of adult males in this category of whom 14 percent were idle and 12 percent disabled or over age.[2] This is the highest percentage of idle men found in any ethnic group in this country.

There are two principal classes of Indian males who are listed as "idle" in any employment survey—one class diminishing and the other expanding. The diminishing group, mostly reservation residents, is made up of the less acculturated men who are attempting to live by Indian values in the face of rapid economic change. They are reasonably well adjusted, spend a great deal of time in social and ceremonial activities, and scrounge a living from their kinsmen and neighbors, and by engaging in occasional farm work, or running a few head of cattle.

The expanding group is made up of the men who are torn between Indian values and the Indian way of life and the demands of modern avenues for self-employment or wage work. They live on and off the reservations, seek work only sporadically, drink too much and at the wrong time, and come and go with little regard for their family and community responsibilities. The psychological nature of the situation in which these maladjusted men find themselves has been pointed out by Jack Waddell as follows:

". . . the most unstable and undependable . . . were those who could use English well, those who have had extended exposure to schools and vocational programs, and those who comprehended the meaning of certain Anglo values. These seem to be among those most prone to job-jumping and voluntary unemployment. Much of it can be attributed to age and an unreadiness to feel obliged to settle down, but much of the behavior can be explained in terms of dissonance or the inability to articulate the understanding they have of Anglo cultural values with a sufficient motivation to implement these values.[3]

I have said not one thing that is not known, explicitly or implicitly, to the field men of the United States Employment Service. To my knowledge they have taken these factors into account and have paid special attention to the task of moving their Indian clients into the labor force. Work with Indians obviously emphasizes unusual placement measures and, even more, the testing, counseling, vocational training, and job development aspects of the Employment Service operation.

But this is not enough, and there is little or nothing that I know about that the U.S.E.S. can do about it. The majority of American Indians, obviously, are reaching for their own version of American life and this very definitely does not include the repudiation of their Indian heritage and it does not include assimilation.

If we accept this fact, and the fact of maladjustment that seems to stem from a refusal to assimilate, the problem of the American Indian is placed in an entirely new perspective. The problem is biculturalism and neither the Indians nor Federal agencies, nor anyone else really, understand the first thing about this problem. To become bilingual is no great task. Neither is it difficult to be bicultural when the two cultures trace to a common source, such as the Judeo-Christian tradition. The difficult task is to live simultaneously with parts and pieces of two entirely different sets of cognitive orientations and values. For example: you learn in one culture that man and nature are one, and that man must learn to live with nature. In the next culture you learn that man and nature are worlds apart, and that man must dominate nature. In one culture you learn that the supernatural is both good and evil and that the supernatural gives and withdraws health, crops and fertility. In the next culture you learn that germs cause disease, hybrid corn seed determines the amount of a crop, and that a little pill controls fertility. I could go on without end. But it does not end for the Indian. The problem of reconciliation goes on every day and every hour, and even the most sophisticated Indian is forever battling for cognitive control and for a sense of unity in the universe, and especially in the universe of social relations, which you and I take for granted and to which we never give a thought.

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[2] Harland Padfield, Papago Employment Study, unpublished manuscript, Bureau of Ethnic Research, University of Arizona, Tucson.

[3] Jack Waddell, Adaptation of Papago Workers to Off-Reservation Occupations, Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Arizona, 1966.

The result is confusion, bewilderment, discouragement, and anger. The Indian, in fact, being unaware of the causes of his difficulty, escapes the pressure through idleness, erratic work habits, alcoholism and apathy.

When one culture in the bicultural mix is as dominant as the Anglo culture, a byproduct of the loss of cognitive control is a negative self image. Only within the last year or two has this problem been attacked in any organized fashion, and, I predict, the work will be a forerunner to studies and experiments aimed at methods for securing a normal bicultural adjustment.

The programs I refer to have been established by Robert Roessel in a new experimental school at Rough Rock on the Navajo Reservation and Father John F. Bryde in an equally new program at the Pine Ridge Mission School in the Sioux country of South Dakota.

At Rough Rock, the Bureau of Indian Affairs in association with the Office of Economic Opportunity, is permitting Dr. Roessel to create a revolutionary school and community development program. The philosophy of this school is that it is possible to teach Indians to live in dignity as Indians while participating in, and enjoying the benefits of, the American economic system. Indian leaders teach the history and folklore of Navajo life. Indian values and the Navajo language are taught side by side with the ABC's and the new math. Indian children are taught that the Indian way, however outmoded, is worthy in its own right and not the shabby product of ignorant primitives as most Americans view it. The school board is composed of five Navajo Indians who, having personal experience with biculturalism, may have the perspective that will help Dr. Roessel frame a curriculum that will not destroy the cognitive control these youngsters possessed when they entered the first grade.

Dr. Roessel and Father Bryde may or may not be on the right track from the point of view of psychological theory. At least they are trying to get at the root of the problem of Indian employment. The U.S.E.S. knowing the differences between Indians and non-Indians, because they work with both, could help clarify the Indian problem and perhaps lend its weight toward an all-out attack on Indian idleness which, I contend, is a normal response to the abnormal situation in which the Indians find themselves.

REPORT ON THE QUINAULT INDIAN CONSULTATION

(By Sol Goldstein, M.D. and Phillip R. Trautmann, M.D.[1])

I. INTRODUCTION: THE PRESENTING PROBLEMS; GOALS OF THE CONSULTATION

On June 14, 1967, Dr. Trautmann received a letter from Dr. L. de Montigny, a former classmate, now the Deputy Indian Health Area Director of the United States Public Health Service for the Portland Area, which encompasses Washington, Oregon and Idaho. Dr. de Montigny requested consultation from The Menninger Foundation concerning the problems of a small tribe of Indians living on the Quinault reservation in Washington. In this tribe there had occurred a large number of suicides among adolescents and young adults, a great deal of alcoholism in the same group, and an alarming number of automobile accidents. Above all, the adults of the community seemed strangely indifferent to these problems.

In response to this request, Dr. Trautmann proposed that he spend several months there studying the problem. This offer was declined on grounds that at that point haste was dictated by the acuteness of the problems, and on grounds that the Public Health Service wanted general advice on how to set up a study for a problem such as this, rather than a definitive study itself. Instead, therefore, consultation was requested on the basis of a week's visit during which meetings the Public Health Service wanted general advice on how to set up a study for a problem such as this, rather than a definitive study itself. Instead, therefore, consultation was requested on the basis of a week's visit during which meetings with Public Health Service personnel and people on the reservation, including members of the tribal council, would be arranged. This plan was agreed to: Dr. Karl Menninger was contacted, agreed to act as senior advisor, and Doctors Trautmann and Goldstein went to Public Health Service Headquarters in Portland, Oregon as co-consultants.

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[1] The authors spent several hours in consultation with the Senior Consultant, Dr. Karl Menninger, whose ideas have been used extensively throughout this report.

Once there, a frustrating problem arose to disappoint the consultants: we learned that the tribal council was cool toward any meeting with psychiatrists, that we would be able only to tour the reservation and talk with whomever would agree to be interviewed.

In Portland, the authors met with Dr. Stitt, the incoming Indian Health Area Director; Dr. L. de Montigny; Dr. Jardin, the Chief, Office of Program Services; and Mr. Warkentin, Chief, Office of Environmental Health. On the second day, we were accompanied to Seattle and Taholah by Mr. William Knestis, the Service Unit Director for the Western Washington Service Unit. Mr. Knestis introduced us to Dr. Lou Netzer, the U.S. Public Health Service physician who is fulfilling his military obligation through the Public Health Service as the medical doctor on the Quinault reservation. With the help of Dr. Netzer and Mr. Knestis, the authors met about a dozen people on the reservation and interviewed six of them.

All of the people with whom the authors spoke, both in the Public Health Service and on the Quinault Reservation, agreed that there is a problem on the Reservation of *suicide and self-destructive behavior among the adolescents and young adults*, alcoholism, and an alarming number of automobile accidents, drownings, and near-drownings. Most were alarmed by these problems and seemed desirous of doing something to alleviate them. There was a difference, however, in the ideas of the people interviewed about both the reasons and the solutions for the behavior.

Because of the above mentioned vicissitudes of the situation, our aim was considerably restricted. Respect for the complexities of the problems involved require that this report be largely descriptive; only the most general conclusions are warranted.

II. THE U.S. PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE: THEIR DESCRIPTION OF THE PROBLEMS, AND PRESENT EFFORTS TOWARD SOLUTIONS

Dr. Stitt told us how the Public Health Service has been instrumental in educating the Indian people in personal hygiene, in making Public Health facilities available to them, and in improving the sanitation of the reservation. He told us how the government originally dealt with the Indian people, treating them available to them, and in improving the sanitation of the reservation. He told as ignorant, hostile inferiors and forcing the children at gunpoint to attend school. Later the government adopted the position of a parent who sat in judgment of the Indian people, evaluating their requests and either denying them or supplying what was asked for. The Indian people were given what the government felt was good for them, but without educating and preparing the people to accept changes.

Both Dr. Stitt and Mr. Warkentin pointed out the strides which the Public Health Service has been making in dealing with the Indian people; this progress comes from treating them with patience and taking time to develop rapport. When changes are introduced, they are carefully explained as benefits and not simply forced upon the Indian by the "white man." Mr. Warkentin, Dr. de Montigny, Dr. Stitt, and Mr. Knestis feel that the main difficulty with the Quinault people in particular, as with Indian tribes in general, is that they have lost most of their Indian culture and with it their self-esteem. They feel that the Indian people should not only revive some of the activities of the old Indian culture but they should be encouraged to become knowledgeable about and proficient in some of the aspects of the "white man's culture." They believe that the Indian people would benefit from broadening their horizons.

Dr. Stitt mentioned that termination of the reservations, an idea recently instigated by Senator Watkins as a means of getting the federal government out of the "Indian Business," has caused much concern among the Quinaults; and although they are no longer threatened by such a policy they still remain suspicious that this may eventually occur.

Dr. de Montigny, himself an Indian, is an example of how both cultures can be combined very successfully. However, he doubts that this assimilation can be made by most Indian people. In Dr. de Montigny's opinion, one of the main problems with the Indian people is their being treated as an impersonal mass, whereas in reality each group of tribes lives on different reservations, has separate and distinct cultures, languages, and widely divergent physical facilities. But above all, he felt that their differing degrees of industrialization was an important factor. He noted that the reservations vary in size from eighteen to five hundred people, from a few to thousands of acres; in their specific health problems; in their natural surroundings; in their different cultural backgrounds.

He pointed out that in the past, things such as sewage disposal systems had been offered to tribes who could not readily accept them. As a result, some of these projects had been adopted by the government without taking into account that some of the tribes were not ready for such modern improvements nor willing to accept any help from the government.

Almost everyone we interviewed in the Public Health Service agreed with the writers that the Quinault people would profit most by being given certain basic materials, supplies, and funds with which to work, but that they should then be encouraged to put these to use on their own so that the Quinaults themselves could be responsible for their own projects. However, about this plan there was some dissension, for at least one of the senior members of the Public Health Service felt that "what the Indian people really want is to be given to, and taken care of."

Reliable statistical data regarding the suicide attempts in Taholah are hard to obtain, both because very few official records have been kept in the past and also the people involved in the suicide attempts and their families usually keep these attempts relatively secret. Stories of their occurrence usually come from various members of the community who talk to the Public Health officials, but it is difficult to distinguish between rumor and fact. Stories of groups of young people who dare each other to do away with themselves have come to Dr. Lou Netzer, who has passed these on to Dr. de Montigny and Mr. Knestis. Some of the young people have told Dr. Netzer that suicide is a general topic of discussion when the Indian youth are under the influence of alcohol. Stories have come to Dr. Netzer of a number of drownings and automobile accidents which, although recorded as accidental deaths, are felt by many members of the community to have been suicides.

At the present time, the Public Health officials are very concerned because no official statistics have been kept; however, they are making efforts to obtain and keep them in the future. The following statistics regarding accomplished suicides of young Indian people since 1958 have been compiled:

Year:	*Suicides*
1958	1
1959	1
1960	3
1961	0
1962	2
1963	2
1964	0
1965	1
1966	[1]
1967	[2]

[1] During this year there were seventeen known reported attempts to commit suicide.

[2] There has been a Public Health Service doctor on the reservation this entire year.

The suicides actually carried out have been mostly among boys, ranging in age from fifteen to twenty-five. The typical method of committing suicide has been a self-inflicted wound with a high-powered rifle.

In addition to compiling statistical data, efforts have been made to supply further services to the Quinaults. Among these has been the appointment of a U.S. Public Health Service physician, Dr. Lou Netzer, who was assigned to the Quinault village of Taholah on July 1, 1966. Dr. Netzer has made himself easily and readily available to the people on the reservation, especially to the youth of the community. Since his arrival there have been no suicides. Nevertheless, there were several suicide attempts early in Dr. Netzer's stay in the community. Dr. Netzer has attained a special relationship with the people of the community; he functions there not only as a physician, but also as a social group worker, a moving force in the community, and quite often as an adviser and counselor to the youth of Taholah.

The Public Health Service has obtained on a consultative basis the services of Dr. E. J. Mansell Pattison, the Coordinator of Social and Community Psychiatry at the University of Washington. He visited the reservation at Taholah once when he met with a few of the official tribal leaders. He told these tribal leaders that he felt that individuals should pay for any psychiatric help which they receive, no matter how small the sum may be. This stipulation infuriated the Tribal Council members who have not been overly receptive to psychiatrists from the beginning. (This anger toward psychiatrists seemed to extend also to our visit, as the members of the Tribal Council did not see fit to meet with us when we were in Taholah.) When the authors visited with Dr. Pattison, he told them of his plans to return to the reservation on a more frequent basis. Dr. Pattison agreed with the authors and with Mr. Knestis that his present plans really do not provide for sufficiently frequent visits and he is therefore seeking further funds in order to obtain more time for his team to consult with the people on the reservation.

The National Institute of Mental Health has indicated interest in beginning a pilot project in mental health on the Quinault reservation, its findings to be applied to others of the eighteen Washington coastal reservations. The efficacy of this plan is being questioned by Dr. de Montigny who feels doubtful about making a study of one tribe and using the findings in helping another; for, as he pointed out to us, not only is each tribe different, but even each reservation because of the greatly differing degrees of industrialization. In addition, the tribal leaders are concerned for they do not want the tribes to be "studied as an interesting enigma and a subject for publications." What they want is a contribution to the mental health of the tribal members. This desire has been stated explicitly to Dr. de Montigny.

Dr. Netzer strongly felt that some interesting activities should be available to the young people of the community. In addition to other diversions such as bingo, chess playing tournaments, reading sessions and discussions with the youths, he also arranged for a course in laboratory technology which he taught to several of the young adult women of the community. These young women all found this course very interesting, attended regularly, and were very much stimulated by what they learned. Unfortunately, however, this experience has led to further frustration: they were unable to put their skills to use because only one laboratory technician is needed on the reservation.

III. THE QUINAULT INDIANS AND THEIR RESERVATION: SOME BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The Quinault reservation is a "county-sized" area on the western Washington seacoast, a restricted part of the area originally occupied by the Quinault River. The people live in one of two villages: Queets, on the northern side of the Queets river, has a population of about two hundred; Taholah, lying on the south bank of the Quinault River, at its mouth, is populated by five hundred people. The climate in the area is moderate the year around, but cool and rainy. Natural resources are abundant: great forests of gigantic cedar and fir, large herds of elk, a large run of sockeye salmon and steelhead in the Quinault and Queets Rivers, and clams and crabs in the tidal waters of the ocean, which forms the western bounds of the reservation. Surrounding both villages is spectacular natural scenic beauty: densely forested mountains, which contain the source of their lakes and streams, can be seen to the east, and at the western outskirts of the villages is the beach, looking out on the lovely panorama of the Pacific Ocean.

Originally, the Quinaults earned their living from fishing and hunting sea and land animals. They lived in bark "long houses." They made baskets and other articles from local resources including long, graceful canoes of single cedar logs. Their pride lay in the fact that they were superior hunters and fishermen, and craftsmen of canoes. They were a peaceful people who, with all of the other tribes in the area, were under the domination of the Makahs, a powerful tribe which occupied the extreme northwest tip of the peninsula. The Quinaults were forced to take a Makah guide along on any offshore hunting or fishing expedition, and to involve the Makahs in any major Quinault tribal movement.

With the coming of the Europeans, the Quinaults developed a lucrative trade with the Spanish, the French, and the English. Then came the subjugation by the Americans, restriction to the reservation, and the dependent position in which the tribes were placed in their relationship to the federal government. Early in their relationship with the federal government, they actively resisted the efforts of its agency, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, to Americanize them by forcing them to go to government run schools, the mission churches, but over a long period of time this resistance changed to a more passive manner of dealing with the government; gradually the Indian people, while giving up more and more of their own culture, still did not really accept the positive aspects of the other culture. Over the years, the Quinaults have become demoralized; they are sad, and seem alienated from both cultures. Out of necessity, they have adopted English as their language and have not maintained their own. Few of even the last generation and none of the youths remember their original language. While the youths of the tribe have become increasingly self-destructive, the adults seem to have surrendered to a helpless attitude toward them and their problems.

IV. INTERVIEWS WITH PEOPLE ON THE QUINAULT RESERVATION

With the help of Dr. Netzer and Mr. Knestis, the authors met about a dozen people on the reservation and interviewed six of them, including a Mr. McCrory, a community-minded man in his early forties who functions as the Volunteer Fire Chief of the reservation; Mr. and Mrs. Queet and several of their younger children, a family which is having considerable difficulty because of the parents' alcoholism, as well as drinking and some self-destructive behavior on the part of the older children; Duffer, a nineteen-year-old Quinault boy who Dr. Netzer feels is more aware of his difficulties and better able to verbalize his struggles than any of the other Quinault boys; and Benny Charley, the town's self-appointed "mayor," a man who, once active in the community, has been less so lately because of his increased drinking.

Although Dr. Netzer had informed the authors earlier that Mr. McCrory is believed by many in the community to be "out of phase" with what is going on, this man seemed to us to be the only one of those interviewed who showed some optimism and hope, who talked about constructive planning, and seemed willing to give of himself to help his people.

Mr. McCrory observed that nobody really seemed to be interested in the Quinaults. They are given things without being clearly told that they, as recipients, are responsible for the use and upkeep of the facilities. He suggested that, in order to alleviate the heavy drinking among the youth, they should be provided alternative recreation activities. Recreation could be fostered, for example, by building for the youth a multi-purpose facility where they could spend their time. It could include facilities for ping-pong, billards, bowling; a place to sit around and drink soft drinks in lieu of alcohol; and above all an organization to hold dances and bingo games and to raise the money needed for the upkeep of the building. Mr. McCrory suggested further that the youths should be involved first in planning and building the structure, later in helping run it. Some of the older boys, he felt, could be involved in working with him in the Fire Department, in doing safety checks on cars, and in meeting other safety needs of the community. In this way, they could be made more safety-conscious. He seemed to be quite frustrated by the government; he considered its policy really quite fickle—that they give money and materials without adequate planning and without involving the people to whom the grants are made, and often have to renege because of high level fiscal policy changes. Mr. McCrory expressed his anger with his own people because of their complacency, their reluctance to become involved in community projects, and their preoccupation with themselves and their own petty rivalries rather than with community problems.

A family at the other end of the spectrum from Mr. McCrory was the Queet family. Here the parents have been heavy drinkers for several years, although Mrs. Queet recently decided to abstain totally from alcohol. Their adolescent daughter had once attempted to commit suicide by slashing her wrists. The older sons fight each other and occasionally attack their father. The Queet home was unpainted, the lawn uncut, the yard littered with old toys and spare auto parts. Inside the home, we noticed through the open doors of the bedrooms that the rooms were untidy and, although the furniture was relatively new and of rather good quality, it was very dirty. The floor was unswept. There were several rather shabbily-dressed youngsters running through the house, yelling for candy, and getting it immediately upon request. Mrs. Queet did not answer any of our questions, saying she was not feeling well, her ears were "blocked" and that she "could not hear" us. Mr. Queet answered our questions only in monosyllables, offering no comments of his own and completely denying either any drinking on his part or the problem of excessive alcoholic consumption by his people; finally he went so far as to claim that there really are no problems in the community. "Even should there be a problem," he asserted, "nothing much could be done about it." The only spark of life which he showed throughout the entire interview was his smile when we told him that we were leaving.

Then we talked with Mr. Benney Charley, the town's self-appointed "mayor." This man had encountered considerable difficulty with arthritis, becoming increasingly immobilized, and had recently returned to his old habit of drinking heavily. He seemed primarily concerned with his arthritis and how it limited his ability to enjoy life. He felt that the main youth problem in the community was not in the youth themselves, but rather with their complacent parents and inadequate police in the area. He felt that the parents did not wield enough authority with their children; further, even the Quinault police seldom arrested the boys when they were intoxicated. He anticipates that there will be more trouble rather than less now that the policing of the Quinault reservation is being taken over by the State Police. He recalled that when the State Police were in charge of policing the reservation in previous years they seldom actually policed it and the Quinaults had a great deal of difficulty with drinking and suicide—things were even more chaotic then.

Mr. Charley also talked about the disorganization and mutual distrust in the community. He cited, as an example, the tribal salmon business, known as the Quinault Enterprises. This business had been organized to obtain a better price for the salmon than the fishermen had been receiving by selling directly to off-reservation wholesalers. But because of clan dissension and the interference of some of the older people, the business has been going downhill. There has not been adequate leadership. In addition, the Chairman of the Tribal Council, a Mr. Jackson, has many white friends off the reservation, among them the very buyers who are so eager for a return to the old individual purchase system. He therefore does not support the cooperative salmon business. Mr. Charley recognized many problems in the community, and had some ideas about what he would like to see done, but claimed that there was really no hope of success.

Our attempts to talk with other leading members in the community were unfruitful. Mr. Jackson, who had earlier expressed his concern about our visit, met us with only an indifferent handshake and then returned to working on a canoe which was being repaired in the yard of one of his neighbors. The school officials were too busy to meet with us.

Among the adolescents, however, there was some curiosity about us. When Dr. Netzer approached them asking if any would talk to us, several refused; one offered to talk to us while guiding us through the reservation in our car for a fee; but only Duffer, the nineteen-year-old Quinault boy described earlier, readily agreed to speak with us. Duffer too has had considerable difficulty with excessive alcohol consumption, unemployment, and at least one serious automobile accident. Duffer came obviously determined to speak with the authors, quietly wincing at painful subjects (such as his own struggle regarding whether to go off the reservation to college) and denying some other things (e.g., the obvious relation between drinking, auto accidents, and suicide), yet attempting to answer all inquiries, however unpleasant.

Duffer told us that his parents live off the reservation and are considered "white Indians." They do not drink to excess or carouse, and are fairly successful in the community where they reside; still, they are looked down upon by the white people because they are Indians who have left the reservation.

In his youth, Duffer did quite well at school and thus was ostracized by friends. Rather than be a "white Indian," he began to do less well at school; further, he even attempted to fail so that he would be kept back with his friends. Nevertheless, he glowed with pride while telling us he did not fail and had completed high school with fairly good grades.

Later, in an effort to separate himself from his parents he returned to the reservation, when he now shifts his residence between the home of a cousin and Dr. Netzer's house. He returns home on weekends, taking his dirty clothes to his mother to wash. Occasionally, he works on the reservation by helping people with their fishing; in this way he obtains money which he uses to buy beer.

Duffer is now struggling with the problem of whether to continue his schooling as his parent have encouraged. Doing so, he would again risk becoming "un-Indian" in the eyes of his friends. His Bureau of Indian Affairs counsellors have discouraged his college plans, saying that college is difficult for Indians, and it is lonely. A trade school, they advised, would be easier for him and less frightening, too, with old friends for classmates. When he persisted in applying to the B.I.A. for college funds, he was requested to outline the courses he would pursue throughout the four college years. Interpreting this as a request for an irrevocable commitment, he withdrew his plans and decided to think it over.

Duffer told us that he drinks regularly, consuming as much as forty pints of beer in one evening. When we questioned this amount he told us matter of factly that he goes to the men's room often enough and that he has learned to hold his beer. He talked of going on "benders" which have lasted as long as fifteen days. In addition, he has "totaled" his car. (This means that he has wrecked it so completely that it was reduced to scrap metal.) Duffer blames the excessive drinking in the community on the parents who do not look after their children properly. His parents kept him from drinking and raised him properly. Now, however, he drinks in order to get away from his parents and to prove to himself and to them that he is independent of them. All of his friends drink together: this is "the thing to do," a way of belonging to the group. On the occasions when he "passed out," his friends played tricks on him by painting his lips with lipstick, putting a bandana on his head, etc. He subsequently has reduced his drinking and now drinks only to "get tight."

Duffer mentioned that he knows some Quinault boys who may commit suicide in the future. He has already stopped several fellows from running into the river after they had become drunk and despondent. He feels that "when people drink something happens to them, and this is the time when they get ready to do something to themselves." This is something they are struggling with all of the time and talking about much of the time. He feels there just isn't much choice between doing other things and drinking. When asked whether he would stop drinking if he attended college or trade school, Duffer told us that he did not feel that he was ready to stop drinking. Although he would drink less because he would have other things to do, he is certain that in his spare time he would join some of the other Indian boys at school in drinking.

V. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A. *More research*

An intensive psychological-sociological study of the Quinaults should be undertaken along the lines of Erikson's studies (as described in *Childhood and Society*[9]). Tangible resources for such a study are available: it could be done by The Menninger Foundation; it could be done by the N.I.M.H.; it could be done by Dr. Pattison's University of Washington group. A team like Dr. Pattison's consisting of sociologists, psychiatrists and anthropologists could—should—be made available on a weekly basis rather than on the present monthly basis. The study could be part of an over-all program of simultaneous consultation where the team could act as consultants to the Tribal Council, to the teachers in the community, and to the Public Health Service in Portland. Such a team could find out what the Quinaults are willing and able to do and how and when they could contribute to the change. This project could quite possibly obtain the support of the National Institutes of Mental Health. The team would have to be involved closely with the Public Health Service to insure good communication and cooperation between this team and various members of the Public Health Service who are involved in working with the Quinaults.

B. *Leads for research*

1. Study of the relationship of the schools to the community. What is the basis for the traditional suspicion the people have toward the schools? What barriers are there for teaching to include Indian values? What are the attitudes of the teachers toward the tribe? Are educated Indians interested in teaching on the reservation?

2. Research into the Quinault Enterprises. Where could the Quinaults get advice in business methods? Could they get advice from a national Cooperative? The Quinaults have made an heroic attempt with the Quinault Enterprises to salvage some community spirit and to unite the Quinault tribe. This has been failing because of internecine bickering and the lack of organization. Could not a professional business consultant who has been trained in cooperative work be obtained in order to train some of the Quinaults in how to run such a business? Such a person could also evaluate the people working with him and help select his own successor from among the Quinaults who work with him.

3. What ceremonies, dances, rituals, religion, arts, skills, social events, etc., formerly or perhaps still are revered, admired or practiced? Who keeps these things alive? How do the Quinaults marry? How can we and they use this information in returning to the Quinaults a sense of pride?

4. What about the people who work with the Indians? Traditionally, we study the "problem" population in depth without also studying in depth those persons dealing with the "problem" people. What knowledge do these workers have of American Indian history? In what way do they view the American Indian? What motivates them to work with the Quinaults? What kind of personality seeks such employment? How do these employees view themselves? How do these people influence the Quinaults? How do they influence the Quinault youth? Are they in conflict with the parents of the youth? Do they set up struggles between the youth and their parents? Are they generally constructive or destructive influences on the community? Do they encourage or discourage personal growth?

C. Tribal government

There exists a great need for regaining the structure of the Quinault way of life to deal with the general fear, hopelessness and disorganization. One would think that here the Tribal Council could be of great value, but first the position of the council has to be recognized. Working relationships between the members of the council themselves, and between the members and the other Quinaults must be established. Through this could be obtained the interest and cooperation of capable people who would work toward the betterment of their community, toward a mutual trust between members of the community, toward a common interest and common goals. The council may even wish to appoint or elect such people to a seat on the council. Should the council so desire, they could obtain advisors from amongst the Public Health Service and/or the above-mentioned research-consultation team.

D. VISTA

The Volunteers in Service to America could be particularly helpful as consultants to the Quinault people. These volunteers have already proven themselves to be very helpful to the people of the Muckleshoot Indian community at Auburn, Washington, where they have helped to locate the resources available in the community and encouraged the Muckelshoots to make use of them. These volunteers make themselves available to a community by living with the members of that community, becoming closely acquainted with the community's needs from all angles—not only physical, but social, cultural, individual. Their suggestions are therefore most likely to be acceptabe and useful. Here we are recommending the VISTA volunteers not simply because they have helped the Muckelshoot Indians, but because they have become experienced in dealing with various underprivileged American people, and operate in a way which we feel would be desirable for the Quinaults.

E. Continued and Augmented Help from the Public Health Service on the Reservation.

The Public Health Service has already taken a great step forward. A successor for Dr. Netzer should be named and, if possible, this successor should come before Dr. Netzer leaves, and be introduced to the Quinaults by Dr. Netzer himself.

Dr. Netzer had generated a great deal of enthusiasm in his laboratory training program only to find that there were not enough positions open for the graduates. This can only lead to frustration and to a feeling that even if one learns something, he cannot put it to use on the reservation. Programs of education and training should be planned for and outlined with a long-range view in mind as to how they could be put to use on the reservation by the people who graduate from such programs.

The Public Health Service could involve itself more by (1) meeting regularly with an elected Tribal Council and discussing with this council in depth any requests which they make so that each project is thoroughly thought out and planned; and (2) by presenting a plan of its own of how it will attempt to work with the Quinaults and how long the program will take. Attempts should be made to stabilize key officers so that they are not transferred out of the area while the project is going on.

A summary view of our single week's visit makes the expected clear: the problem of teen-age suicides and mental health generally on the Quinault reservation (and undoubtedly on any) is complex and of long development. It may ultimately be seen as a special case of that particularly painful-bind situation, the identity crisis.[1] ("What shall I do—leave, become educated to other ways and renounce the values of my heritage—or remain and keep to the traditional ways at the cost of isolation from others?")

The above recommendations are beginning steps. They should serve to help organize a people who are at present not functioning as a unified tribe. These suggestions also should serve helping agencies to focus on the questions pertinent to more efficient ways of helping the Quinaults. Of course, even when the problems of the moment are solved, new ones will arise, but with internal unity and good communication, solutions will be much more visible.

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[1] Erik H. Erikson: *Identity, Youth and Crisis*, W. W. Norton, 1968.

OBSERVATIONS ON SUICIDAL BEHAVIOR AMONG THE SHOSHONE-BANNOCK INDIANS [1]

(By Larry H. Dizmang, M.D., Center for Studies of Suicide Prevention, National Institute of Mental Health)

Suicide is a symptom, not a disease. It is the final resultant act of a number of forces, both intra- and extra-psychic, which converge on the individual and bring him to interrupt his own life. In every case suicide is always the result of a defective or temporarily malfunctioning ego. Although the social-external forces impinging on a given individual may well be the overt precipitating factors in his suicide it is an intra-psychic developmental failure or regression, as a reaction to the stress, that allows the individual to kill himself. It is the breakdown or absence of psychic defense mechanisms under the pressure of general or sometimes specific kinds of stress that fail to protect the individual from his own inner violence.

In examining the problem of suicide from the standpoint of special populations in which the suicide rate is greater than the surrounding groups the essential questions are: "What are the cultural patterns that facilitate the development of ego mechanisms that are not adequate to protect a given individual from his own impulses?" and conversely "What are the cultural patterns which create or allow excessive stress to develop on certain individuals?" It is in the study of cultures which show extreme or unusual patterns of self-destructive behavior that we have the opportunity to begin to look for answers to those questions.

The present discussion is an attempt to explore briefly the nature of a group of individuals who committed suicide and to see how their self-inflicted deaths relate to the context of their special cultural problems. The data covers a seven-year period for a small Indian community of 2600 residents in Fort Hall, Idaho. During this period from January, 1960 to 1967 there were a total of fifteen unequivocal suicidal deaths. This is a rate of 98 per hundred thousand which is roughly ten times the national average. The age range was from 15 to 55, with only two of those 15 deaths over the age of 35. This is in sharp contrast to the general population in which the suicide rate increases with age among males (of these 15 suicides only 2 were females). Even more striking is the fact that 7 of the 15 individuals were age 20 or less at the time of their suicide.

No attempt will be made to draw statistical conclusions from the following data which was collected since in many instances it was not possible to confirm the accuracy of the information. However, when one compares the suicide group with an age-comparable group of high school graduates from the same population there seem to be several observations that stand out sharply enough to be worth noting.

The suicide group had over five times as many arrests as did the group of high school graduates and over half of the arrests in the suicide group were for alcohol intoxication. The other apparently significant observation is drawn from a comparison of the suicide and high school graduate groups with respect to the number of family deaths experienced in each group. In the high school graduate group there is a range of zero to 3 deaths per individual in what was considered to be the immediate family or significant others, with an average of one death per individual. In the suicide group there was a range of 1 to 8 deaths with an average of 3 deaths of significant others experienced by each individual before the suicide occurred.

It is also striking that when one compares the suicide group to an age-matched group of individuals with 20 or more arrests for alcohol intoxication there seems to be a similar family death experience. This observation is in agreement with studies which show that in the general population 25% of all suicidal deaths occur in alcoholics. It has been demonstrated that a high percentage of these alcoholics who do suicide have experienced a significant loss within six weeks prior to the suicide. The data collected for the Fort Hall group seems clearly to associate excessive alcohol consumption, significant loss and suicide.

In reviewing the case histories of some of the suicides one gets a dramatic picture of the often life-long turmoil and anguish the individual had experienced before his suicide. While reading some of the case histories one is struck with the question of how the individual lasted as long as he did in the face of repeated failures and often repeated tragedy. The following are some brief excerpts from official documents that cite a few examples of the kinds of lives these individuals lived.

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[1] Presented at the First Annual National Conference on Suicidology in Chicago, Illinois, March 20, 1968.

John was the second oldest of six children. His parents were divorced when he was eleven years old. Both parents had severe, chronic problems with excessive alcohol intake. The parents often fought in public and abandoned the children frequently while drinking in town. On at least one occasion it was known that the children subsisted two or three days in succession from food scavanged from garbage cans. When John was 13 the court placed him and his brothers and sisters with the paternal grandparents. When he was 15 he and his younger brother were sent to boarding school some distance from the reservation, but shortly after this they were returned to the custody of the father. The records indicate that the father was still frequently drunk, never worked and was in and out of jail for disorderly conduct. The father apparently showed little interest in the children and one by one they were shuttled back and forth between father and the natural mother. By this time the mother had been married and divorced a second time and was married to her third husband. She was drinking heavily while John and his two younger sisters were constantly in trouble with the law. Several months prior to his suicide his mother divorced her third husband, his grandmother died and on the day of John's death his sister wrecked his new car. John was overheard to say to a friend just prior to his suicide "What's the use?" At age 20 John killed himself by hanging. Six months later the sister who had wrecked John's car the day of his suicide killed herself by hanging while a prisoner in jail.

In the second example there is much less information available but the tragic life circumstances are apparent. Jim's father was 58 and his mother 61 when he was born. The records indicate that from a very early age he received little care from anyone. It appears that there was never a single specific home provided for him and apparently he was shifted among a number of caretakers. One record reads (his life) ". . . was one of deprivation of parental love and care, deprivation of home, adequate food, and no place to go. He must have experienced extreme loneliness." Jim's arrest record was extensive but was almost exclusively for alcohol intoxication and disorderly conduct. He was married and divorced and there is no information about this relationship. He had a younger sister who had apparently led a very hectic life. Jim's sister died three months before his suicide—he hung himself while being held in jail.

The last example involves three brothers whose parents were separated when the boys were very young. The boys were turned over to a paternal grandmother and at an early age all three boys became involved with the law. They were first sent to a boarding school in Oregon and later to a boarding school in Oklahoma, but none of them finished high school. A note in the welfare records indicates that they did not receive any communication from relatives at home while they were away at boarding school. Throughout their growing-up years they apparently received little care or guidance. There is a record of their having had early experience with liquor and glue-sniffing and one of the brothers was on probation at a young age for theft. The Welfare records also note that the home they tried to share with the paternal grandmother was considered overcrowded and the economic situation of the family was meager. Throughout the records there is repeated indication that ". . . no one assumed the role of a dependable parent who offered guidance or discipline" to the boys. One brother shot himself at the age of 21, the youngest brother hung himself at age 20 and the oldest brother made a serious suicide attempt while being held in jail on a murder charge. The youngest brother left the following note: "One life and one life lone the life so mix-up. A born guy with no future in life, but shall have everlasting life in a new land beyond. I will not die as a coward to face life, but to live in the land of my forefathers. To die as a man, to show no pity."

These brief excerpts from several case histories speak for themselves. The individuals clearly experienced family and an implied community instability from an early age. In almost every case examined there was evidence of an internal disruption in the individual manifested by early difficulties in school, problems with the law, or one form or another of drug abuse. The individuals in this study who committed suicide seemed to have consistently experienced early and prolonged social and emotional deprivation. In almost every case it was clear that the parents themselves were struggling with immense problems within themsleves, often manifested by severe intermittent or chronic alcohol intoxication. When the social or welfare agencies made attempts to intervene, the situation was frequently handled by sending the child away to a boarding school or other rehabilitation program. In spite of the fact that this sometimes removed the child from a difficult if not oppressive situation, it simultaneously led to further separation and alienation from his community and the few friends who might have offered him a certain amount of peer stability. It is not possible to treat a living organism with as much developmental abuse as we see in these cases without that organism experiencing either a severe incapacity or early death. In all 15 cases both of these occurred.

The case histories offer convincing evidence of an extreme family instability in the group of individuals who committed suicide. In reviewng some of the available data on an age-matched group of high school graduates the high degree of family disruption was not evident. This is far from conclusive, but it is convincing enough to deserve much more detailed studies. On the basis of the case histories presented it is clear that these individuals did not have sufficient opportunity to fulfill the psychological developmental tasks of childhood within a family unit, and that society—Indian or non-Indian—did not provide a satisfactory alternate means by which adequate development could proceed.

In an attempt to understand further the cultural matrix in which these families reside and in which family breakdown has occurred, it is necessary to examine briefly the history of the Fort Hall population and the changes which have taken place over the last hundred years or so. As has been pointed out elsewhere by myself and others, the American Indian experienced an abrupt change in his way of life as the white man invaded his lands and conquered him. The forced containment upon reservations led these people through a generally destructive chain reaction of alterations in their long evolved patterns of behavior. In the time scale of cultural evolution the containment was abrupt, intrusive and severely damaging to an otherwise healthy social group.

The present Fort Hall population was originally an artificial grouping of individuals brought to the reservation from many directions at four or five different times. These groups had really belonged to many separate bands which had been spread over a wide area. These bands were not enemies but at the same time they did not encroach upon each other. Generally these old kinship ties still hold various small groups of people together on the reservation and keep them somewhat separate from the other groups. Even today, because of this original placing together of a number of groups, there is no agreement in the tribe as to who ought to be on the tribal roll. In a few instances permanent settlement upon the reservation followed band and kindship patterns and where this happened the people may be relatively comfortable with each other. In many other instances, however, the Indians were settled by the Government without regard for their feelings or ties with other bands. Unrelated families were often given land side-by-side.

It would take us too far afield to outline all the cultural patterns and problems that presently exist so I shall summarize some of the major points. 1) The present community was originally made up of a number of unrelated bands who were forced by the government to settle on the Fort Hall reservation. Band and kinship ties still play a major role in maintaining a certain kind of fragmentation within the community. 2) The innate human resistance against relinquishing old patterns and customs and adapting rapidly to a relatively new pattern of existence led to further individual and social conflict and disruption. 3) A state of relative disorganization prevented the Indians from satisfactorily developing the means to be self-sufficient and thus a long vicious cycle of dependency upon the government came into being. This dependency further undermined the self-esteem of the groups and a self-defeating kind of pattern developed. 4) Once the pattern of dependency was well established the Government began to make attempts to rehabilitate these people with inconsistent and often abrupt changes in the attitudes and policies related to the reservation. This further increased the distrust toward and alienation from the Government and white man generally.

With the pattern of forced confinement and cultural deterioration that took place the dynamics of the current situation become more understandable. The Fort Hall people never did have a sense of stability or group cohesiveness because it was not part of their tradition to function in large stable communities. As a result, the general unrelatedness of the various groups which now constitute the Fort Hall population does not foster the development of a "community spirit."

Losing one's land and home in battle is always a strong blow to pride and self-esteem; then to be forced by the conqueror to take up new and dystonic patterns of living further reduces one's self-worth. The Fort Hall population was unable to develop any binding sense of community and self-esteen and within this context, family stability and cohesiveness began a slow process of deterioration.

A beaten, depressed, dejected father who has to depend upon welfare to support his family—who can no longer hunt and fish his well-known territory and who quickly discovers that alcohol will temporarily dissolve his depression soon ceases to be a useful model after whom his son can develop healthy patterns. Depression and low self-esteem breed more of the same, and when the social-environmental patterns do not allow sufficient alternatives the pattern becomes chronic and self-perpetuating.

A further self-defeating pattern developed at the interface of the Indian-White contact. This can be summarized briefly by the fact that language, space-time concepts and general philosophical attitudes towards life were so idiosyncratic between the two groups that mutual distrust and alienation increased the already large barrier to communication. So great has the general dislike for the white man become that within the rudimentary framework of cultural values, "to become like a white man" will raise more group disapproval than almost any other behavior. This, of course, is a strong force in suppressing any Indian from pursuing his potential, for he will have to be strong enough to withstand peer rejection for "going white." Thus, strong negative forces have been built into the culture which retard or prevent all but the very strongest from developing ego syntonic patterns which allow success.

Discussion

Prior to the invasion of white men, the Shoshone-Bannock had culturally evolved into a relatively unstructured series of small bands with strong kinship ties. Within these groups a homeostatic balance had developed and new individuals growing up in this milieu had the opportunity to experience stability, consistency, and a sense of small-group cohesiveness. These qualities seem to be fundamental for the natural unfolding of a relatively stable, adaptive and integrative psychological apparatus in the human organism. The essential functions that develop under these circumstances are basic trust, self-esteem, and the ability to moderate effectively between internal needs and external reality.

Even from the sketchy material presented there seems little question that the foundation for the normal completion of psychological developmental tasks was either grossly defective or absent in the individuals who suicided. The family base was either severely disrupted or absent and the cultural backup for the establishment and maintenance of cohesive families had also degenerated.

The pattern of the highest suicide rate occurring among the adolescents, and then decreasing as a function of increasing age is directly opposite the pattern for the non-Indian population of the United States. The explanation of this phenomenon may lie in the understanding of how the developmental tasks of adolescence fail in helping the individual to achieve adult autonomy. If the internal drive toward independence is severely frustrated by low self-esteem, ego-inadequacy and cultural problems, the degree of alienation will rapidly increase.

It is the reality of few culturally-acceptable opportunities, the internal drive toward independence, the inadequate base of self-esteem, and faulty ego synthetic functions that quickly finds the Indian adolescent in a holpeless, helpless position. There are very few alternatives for dealing with such a state since this position for any human being produces a feeling of intense anguish. Drugs that alter the state of consciousness, chronic depression and suicide are the three major routes for the temporary or permanent relief of such a state. If the Indian youth can survive the test of an unusually severe adolescent crisis it is unlikely that during the rest of his life he will ever have to face such severe stress. The degree of individual alienation has probably reached its height by the time the Indian has reached adolescence, due to the developmental frustration he has experienced. It is the dynamic interaction of self-esteem, ego functioning and cultural alternatives that determines the degree of alienation for a given individual. This developmental frustration does not occur to nearly the same degree in the white population. Instead, alienation becomes more a function of increasing age.

The long-range primary social-political solutions to the problems that now exist on this and on other Indian reservations are complex and far beyond the scope of this paper. It does seem likely, however, that secondary measures of intervention are possible. In retrospect, most of the individuals who committed suicide could be spotted as individuals in trouble very early. In most cases there was evidence of school and family problems at an early age. The pattern of family difficulties, subsequent problems in school, eventual transfer to a boarding school, a developing pattern of drug abuse, including glue-sniffing and alcohol, and finally increasing difficulty with the law seemed to define an extremely high-risk population in which suicide and alcoholism occur frequently.

In a constructive attempt at secondary intervention it will be imperative that a closely-coordinated effort of school, social, and law enforcement agencies be made in order to locate the individuals and families in trouble at the earliest possible point. Once these families and/or individuals in trouble are located it would take the full cooperation of tribal, Public Health and Bureau of Indian Affairs representatives to see that a thorough psycho-social evaluation of the disturbed individuals be made. This evaluation could probably best be carried out by a mental health team that had a great deal of flexibility and mobility built into it to allow aggressive follow-up on referrals and individuals in treatment.

Because of special cultural problems and inherent distrust of white people it would be important to have indigenous workers recruited and trained as consultants and liaison, and in some cases as the primary individual intervening in a given situation. In any case the indigenous worker would be an integral part of the mental health team. Classic mental health services including child guidance type clinics would be least effective not only in treatment but also in the utilization of manpower. The goal of mental health intervention should not be to integrate or acculturate the individual but to help him find a meaningful place within his own environment where he will have a chance to gain self-esteem and independence, and be an effective participant in his peer and extended community.

When it comes to dealing with adolescents in trouble, particularly in trouble with the law, it is imperative that these individuals be treated as if they were "crying for help" and asking for structure rather than being treated as criminals. The intoxicated belligerent adolescent is a medical problem and should be confined to a medically-oriented holding facility rather than jail. Once the acute episode has subsided social-psychological evaluation and aggressive follow-up by the mental health team is essential. In many cases when a home or other stable environment is not readily available to the youth, a half-way house or a similar type of residential treatment facility located on or near the reservation would be one of the few realistic constructive alternatives. Sending the youth away from the reservation for rehabilitation, treating him as a criminal, or even allowing him to continue his same patterns of behavior will only increase his alienation and perpetuate his self-destructive patterns.

There is no simple solution to these problems. It does seem possible to identify a high risk group in which a large percentage of the suicides and other self-destructive behaviors, including alcoholism, will occur. These individuals usually show grossly deviant school or social behavior from an early age. Their family life experiences often show patterns of instability, significant object loss, parental alcoholism and depression. These early life experiences severely handicap or arrest the normal psychological developmental processes in the child; if these developmental failures are severe enough the individual is likely to experience an extreme sense of alienation and depression by the time he reaches adolescence.

Intervention will require the close cooperation of the community and social agencies working with an effectively functioning mental health team, in order to break up the vicious cycle leading to the final feeling of "what's the use."

The author wishes to express thanks for assistance from Delana Singer and Claudia Matthews in the data collecting and editing of this paper.

Interview With Lenada Means, Blackfoot, Idaho, by William Anderson, Indian Education Subcommittee Staff Member (December 12, 1968)

(Lm: Lenada Means; BA: Bill Anderson)

As a student I went to Fort Hall schools, and I would like to say something about Indian education.

BA. Would you give your name.

LM. Yes, Lenada Means. I am from this reservation, Route 3, Blackfoot, Idaho. At the present, I am attending school at the University of California and residing at Albany, which is outside of Berkeley. I found that in my attempt to try to get a scholarship from the Bureau of Indian Affairs that it seems like I have just been put off . . . Not only myself, but other students as well. We can't get any type of help because of lack of funds, or they always put something on to it. I have had a lot of difficulties. After talking to them for quite a while, I did get some help.

I know that this is one of the biggest things as far as education is concerned, and that is the fact that they don't want us to go into higher education. They seem to push vocational training at all the Indian kids, and I guess this comes from boarding schools. By sending them to boarding schools, they proceed to acculturate the Indians, or the Indian children, and try to make duplicate copies of, you know, make us like white children. From there they send us to relocation in the cities, and then push us into vocational training. Its not like they're trying to get us to be able to take over our own affairs by putting us into higher education. It seems that they want to perpetuate their own jobs and the Bureau of Indian Affairs itself, by not helping us, or not letting us go into higher education. I know a lot of Indian kids who really don't have the alternative or don't even know that they could go into school. They don't necessarily have to have the academic background, because in certain states there's a percentage that can go into the universities without full qualifications. I was one of those students. I got in on 4% in the state of California. At this time, I've been working with the University in trying to recruit more Indian students to go into school. There's the fee about resident's tuition, and in a leading university, the expenses are really high, and I feel that the Indian students should have a chance to go to leading universities and be offered help. At least its BIA policy that they help the Indians with their education, and not only that, I imagine its somewhere in the treaties, too. They seem to be very reluctant in helping us, and are instead discouraging us.

B.A. How did you finally wind up at the University of California?

L.M. Well, I was sent out on relocation in 1965 through the Bureau of Indian Affairs and dropped.

B.A. Dropped where?

L.M. In the city. Its like they transfer you from one pocket of poverty to another—from the reservation to the urban ghetto . . . in order to get us away from our reservations, because its the only land that we're supposedly controlling, even though its held in trust by the government. It seems that they're trying to get us away from our land so that they could have better access to our property. They've somewhat succeeded in that through the Bureau of Indian Affairs and through the Tribal Council, by using the council as puppets, and by making fools of them and then using them against the people and causing factionalism and things that we just discussed a few minutes ago.

By getting us away to the city . . . I think their policy is to speed assimilation no matter what. By getting us in the city, they hope that we'll melt into the melting pot and cause all types of trouble with relocation, and vocational training, and employment. There's really a lot of problems that have developed because of this, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs, again, is reluctant to do anything about it. From this point, I guess I was dropped and I had to try to do something for myself.

B.A. How did you survive?

L.M. Well, this goes into my personal history a little bit, but it was bare existence . . .

B.A. Describe it, and don't hold back. Its very useful for the Subcommittee to know this—we need personal testimony.

L.M. Well, let me see. After I was dropped by the Bureau of Indian Affairs . . .

B.A. How were you notified of being dropped?

L.M. I wasn't. I just went back to see if they could help me find another job. They said, "Sorry, your files have already been sent to the reservation and we can't help you." I said, "Well, I've been sent out on relocation, and I haven't even been here six months."

B.A. Did you ask to go back with your files? [Laughter.]

L.M. No, I didn't. What happened was, I got a job on my own, as a matter of fact, because I got tired of sitting in the office. I went down to the employment office and got my own job. They took the credit of finding the job for me. I was working and I went up to see a friend out of town and got side-tracked, so I didn't make it back. At this point, I guess work notified the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the BIA said, since she left, we'll just drop her from our files and we'll send her files back to the reservation. That next week, when I . . .

B.A. No one tried to come around and see why you had dropped . . .?

L.M. No.

B.A. They just pro forma sent the file back?

L.M. Yes, that was without my knowledge or anything.

B.A. Without your knowledge or even informing you?

L.M. No, I didn't know anything about it. While I was there, I was more or less walking the streets hungry and crying around trying to find out what to do with myself. I didn't have the right clothes or anything to wear, and when I did go to the employment office, they didn't think I was dressed right, even though I was interested in working. So, I went back to the BIA, I was living in Oakland then, and asked them if they could help me find a job. They said, no, we can't help you at this point, because we can't have anything else to do with you, you're not relocated through our program anymore.

BA. They had no responsibility for you?

LM. No, none whatsoever. So, I went through all kinds of things at that point. I started going to the Indian places, the Indian center, and the bars surrounding the Indian center. I more or less got lost in drinking and I got pregnant, and I had my children and I was in that psychiatric ward. And just all kinds of good things happened to me at that point. I knew I was going to commit suicide myself, but after I had my children, I wanted to try to think of them. They were the only reason why I kept on. At that point, I tried to contact welfare to see if they could help me, and because I wanted to go on to school. They thought I was out of my mind for ever suggesting going back to school at that point.

BA. Had you completed high school?

LM. No, during the 9th grade I went to Indian schools at South Dakota, Oklahoma, Nevada, Idaho, and I was expelled from every Indian school I ever went to. So, I only came out with a 9th grade education after everything was added up. While I was in South Dakota in a private Indian school for girls run by the Episcopal Church, then I felt that . . .

BA. Which school was that?

LM. St. Mary's, Springfield, South Dakota. I found out that the headmaster and headmistress were just confiscating funds. I received a grant through the church, from the State of Idaho for $250. My tuition was $150, so they just pocketed the other $100. I didn't receive it at all. So when I brought this to the point of the headmaster, he started calling me dumb, and saying that I was bad, and wrote letters back home and to my minister, saying how rude and everything I was . . .

BA. The Fort Hall mission?

LM. Yes, the Fort Hall mission. From that point, I just continued in school. I came out one of the ten top students in the school, and I made it through that school year.

BA. How did you do that, I mean, what drove, what motivated you to come out on top?

LM. It was so easy, because they looked down at you. They said, now all you little Indian children, do that. They look on you as children, that you don't have minds, and with that type of attitude, you know, well, I caught on to that. I knew all I had to do was just fake it. Grades were very easy, because I really wasn't actually producing. As a matter of fact, I was writing home and telling my parents I was doing terrible. I was more surprised than anyone that I was one of the ten top students. That's because they think you're so stupid that anything you do must really be good or exceptional. I was sent on the summer home program in the summertime from the school.

At the end of school I had a nervous breakdown, and I stayed at the school, and from there I was sent to Minneapolis, Minnesota on a summer home program. They send you out as indentured servants to work in white homes, and in this way, they can try to make you into being white, or not Indian.

BA. You went to a private home?

LM. Yes. I didn't earn any money. I worked real hard. I never worked so hard in my life, but I only earned five dollars a week and that was sent back to the school, and I wasn't accepted back to school after that. So they got away with the five dollars a week I earned from working out there in the summertime. I never did see it, plus I left my winter clothes there, my coats and boots, the most expensive things, the wool things, and they sold them at their rummage sale. I always wondered where they always got their clothes to sell. They got them from the girls. They just take their things and sell them. So, I was expelled, or not accepted back, and I came back to Blackfoot to the public school.

BA. What grade was that?

LM. I finished my 9th grade, so the 10th grade is where I went to the public school here in Blackfoot.

BA. That's a high school?

LM. Yes, for some unknown reason all of a sudden, I had this reputation for running around with bad kids, not that my work was bad or anything, because while I was there I did very good work. I mean, I could always do it.

I talked to the counselors and things like that and they thought I was getting a bit too sassy with them. So they expelled me! I'd have to call the minister, and the minister would come over and pick up my father, and they'd go through . . . (no one could pick me up at school) that happened several times . . . For some reason I never even know about. I mean, I never knew why I got kicked out. I still don't know why I got kicked out of Blackfoot. Anyway, from there I went to Chilocco in Oklahoma, another boarding school. And . . .

BA. By the way, on the Blackfoot High School, did you treat the teachers as any other student treats teachers? You didn't cower? You didn't give up or resign, or anything like that? You were still motivated, driving ahead, pushing ahead to get an education, or did you just fake it there, too?

LM. No, I was trying.

BA. When you talked to the principal . . . when he expelled you, did you resist? Did you say, what are you doing this for?

LM. Certainly I did.

BA. Was it the normal thing not to? Just turn around and leave?

LM. Well, usually. I mean I've been expelled from Blackfoot High about three times. I kind of got mixed up in between, because it was a number of years, and I know there was one time it got to the point where I said, oh, well, what's the use . . . They don't try to listen to you, they are not understanding. You know that most of them are really prejudiced anyway. In classes they act as such by having things in history books that say the only good Indian is a dead Indian. When you're the only Indian sitting in there, how do you feel? So, that was more or less what happened. When I'd bring things out like this, they didn't like it, and would call the principal, who proceeded to call me down. Then I'd get sent to the counselors and from there they'd go on to expell me.

BA. Are the counselors used more for Indian problems than for anything else?

LM. No, I don't think so.

BA. Are they used for disciplinary purposes?

LM. Yes . . .

BA. Did you just go in and talk with the counselor about the way you look at things?

LM. No, they'd send you there. If they felt you should see him, then they would send you there.

BA. These are the same people who are still in charge?

LM. Yes, the same people. The don't care . . . They don't care about you or anything about you. They just want to get rid of you so they don't have to deal with the problem, because it upsets them. Especially if you're Indian, because we're the so-called minority group there and they just don't want to deal with it, don't want to be bothered, or hassled with it. That's more or less what its all about.

BA. Well, how did you get to Chilocco? Who sent you there? Did you ask to go?

LM. I knew that I was expelled from Blackfoot, and that was the only bus route I had to get into any public school. So what could I do at this point? I was too young to quit school. I was under 16, and I'd be sent to a reform school if I didn't get back to school. So, at this point, I was somewhat pressured into asking to go away to school, through the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

BA. Did you get a choice of boarding schools?

LM. No, I didn't get a choice at all.

BA. Did they give you a chance to go down to Chilocco to look it over before you arrived there?

LM. No, not in the least. Are you kidding?

BA. Did they ship you down one-way?

LM. Just a one way ticket. And when I got there, I wasn't received very graciously, either.

BA. Lets talk about that, how were you received?

LM. Well, when I got there, then I saw some of the boys from home, and I asked them if they would carry my luggage for me over to where I was supposed to be staying. At the time I guess they were trying to keep the Indian girls wearing very long skirts, and, well, when I came I wasn't dressed the same way as the rest of the girls.

BA. You had a mini on?

LM. No [laughter] I mean it wasn't mini then, but I guess it wasn't . . .

BA. It wasn't a maxi?

LM. . . . how they wanted it. So right there they said . . .

BA. They tagged you.

LM. Right. Oh, I wore make-up then, too, and they didn't like that. I think I had a tint on my hair, too, and they didn't like that. The first day the matron came up to me and told me that I couldn't go anywhere until I hung down my skirts. I told her, well, okay, if that's what the scene is then, but I don't have any hem. The matron didn't like the way I dressed, so I told her that she was welcome to buy me a new wardrobe if she wanted because that's all I had to wear. She couldn't say anything more to me, but then she just kept on [illegible] me because she knew that I wasn't going to go along with what she wanted me to do. All the time during school the teachers kept treating up like children, and . . .

BA. Did you have to move out in line and all that?

LM. Oh, yes, in line. If you didn't do this right you'd get hours. I had so many hours piled up I couldn't go anywhere, I couldn't attend a show, a dance. I couldn't go anywhere because I had so many hours. So I just got to the point where I said, what's the use. I was chosen as one of the candidates for football queen, but the guidance, the so-called guidance, wouldn't pass me because they thought that I wasn't good enough. While I was there I was on the honor roll. I was there for six weeks and I made the honor roll. I never ran away from school. I had nothing on me like that.

BA. Why were you getting bad points, or hours?

LM. Well, I guess it comes from inside school, the way the teachers teach their classes. Like in English, they say, all right you little Indian children, read a book, and you can report on it. So the day I was to report on my book, I'd go down to the library and ask the librarian, what's a good book to read, and he'd tell me, this is a good book. I'd ask, what's it about, and he'd tell me what it was about. I would go upstairs to class, volunteer to give my book report first, get up and tell him what the librarian told me and tell him who the author was, and so forth and et cetera. The teacher would say, oh, an "A" Lenada, that's really good, and you get an A for the day, and I'd say, oh my goodness, I'm in a preparatory college class and you know, they treat us like babies.

BA. How long ago was that? What year?

LM. That was about '63. Just little things. I was president of the Spanish Club and I held Spanish parties.

BA. Was that against the rules?

LM. No, it wasn't against the rules, but I just got on people's nerves, I guess, by trying to get things going. Especially with the Indian students, because at that point, style got to be very popular, and there were either girls tinting their hair, and wearing different types of dress. It was ruining their little Indian children, because they were becoming different or something . . .

BA. Didn't you tell them you were just assimilating? [Laughter.]

LM. That's what they wanted me to do, right, they tried to give us the type of propogranda that we would have to be. This is like a military school, GI school, and they treat us as such, and when you don't go along with the way they want to treat you, you're pointed out as being a bad person, so . . .

BA. You're out of line.

LM. Right. So at that time, I had a little trouble with the girls. It was a northwest thing against Oklahoma. Because I was in the State of Oklahoma, and the northwestern girls were seeming to be a little more aggressive. The Oklahoma people didn't like it, and they were spreading bad rumors. The matrons and everyone went right along with it, and were helping the other girls. They put me in a dormitory saying I was one of the bad girls. There were about eight of us in the so-called bad girls section, and the others looked at us, and said, hey, they really are bad, because all the time they were brainwashing them into thinking that way.

At the time I was expelled, they had a meeting in the girl's dormitory and there was the superintendent, Wall, I think is his name, the principal, the dean of women, and the matrons. They called down certain girls to talk to them, and I was one of the girls they called down. They said I was going to be expelled and that they didn't have a jail available at that time. I would have to stay there, and they would send me out the next morning. I told them, I don't know what's happening here, because I don't feel like I know what you're charging me with. I said, if you really do want to help something, you're causing a lot of disturbances within the girl's dormitory by them thinking that I really must be bad, and . . .

BA. Were there any specific charges?

LM. No. I told them there's going to be a big riot here tonight if you don't get this straightened out now by trying to talk to some of them instead of blaming me. The superintendent told me he'd just as well be standing on his head than to believe me. So I said, okay, and I walked out. About that time the bell rang for everyone to go to bed. As they left the building, the girls heard the word I was being expelled, and when lights out came . . .

BA. It hit the fan.

LM. Right. I went up to my room, and I was called down to the lobby. I went to the lobby, and the matrons, instead of trying to enforce order, didn't because they hated me anyway. There were about twelve of us girls—my roommates, myself and a few other sympathetic girls from the northwest coast. There were about twelve of us, and there were about 150 other girls. We had a riot, and I was beaten up.

BA. By whom?

LM. Well see, what they do in the school—they have pets. The matrons have certain girls that they cater to.

BA. Trustees?

LM. Umhum, like that, and they'd come to the room and start bossing the other girls around. I didn't think that was fair, and I told her I would take it from the matron because I had to, but I didn't feel that I had to take it from another student. These were the girls who were very angry with me, and they started rumors and things of that nature. So when it came down to the fight, then, I was pushed on to them, and I guess this girl slit her wrist or something, and she went around and said I did it. I mean, I found this out after I left the school. I didn't know anything about it. So we were beaten up. Finally the men's department broke into the building, because it was barricaded, and they took all of us girls and put us in the office, instead of hearing our story or anything. Then they more or less jailed us and had guards on us all night. And then the next morning, I was sent to the superintendent's office and sent home with just my ticket. I didn't have anything to eat. They gave me a sack lunch. We ate it up on the way to the bus depot, because we hadn't anything to eat that day, didn't go to lunch or anything. All we had was a small lunch, and we ate it up. We just had to starve through Oklahoma to Idaho and I and another girl were the only ones expelled.

BA. Did you starve, though?

LM. No, we found ways (laughter). We cried in the street, telling stories that we needed money to make a long distance phone call. We were lost and things like that in the cities. We got enough to eat, and we made it home with some money. When we got to Idaho, then I went to Nevada, and by that time, my reputation was so bad that they expelled me within half a day.

BA. Within half a day at Nevada?

LM. Yes [laughter].

BA. Was it a processing in and out? How did it happen?

LM. Well, I'm still trying to figure it out. I never could figure out why I was always . . .

BA. Did you get in the building?

LM. Yes, I went to morning classes and registered. Then in the afternoon I wasn't feeling well from my bus trip. I was a little shaken because I get car sick. In the afternoon I tried to go back home, but Stewart is located several miles from Carson City and I just had to wait 'til it was time to go. I waited for the bus, and then I went on home. The next morning when I went to classes they called me into the office, and I didn't get through finishing registering for the second half of the day. I registered for the first half already, and I got called in the office and they told me I'd have to see the Chief of Police and the judge. I went down there and the judge, or the Chief of Police, started telling me that I was bad, that I had a bad record, that no one could control me, that I was just bad . . .

BA. No charges?

LM. No. No charges. I was fifteen then. I started as a junior. They said they'd have to send me to reform school in Nevada, and I said, what did I do? I just got here, and I came here to go to school. I felt so bad, I mean, I was too emotionally shaken at that time. I felt so bad, and thinking they were going to send me to reform school, I told them, well, I still have parents, I'm going to go back to Idaho. So they told my guardian to just make arrangements for me to go back to Idaho. He knows the story. They said, okay, and they sent me back to Idaho. From there, where did I go?

BA. You had a guardian?

LM. Yes, well, see my folks couldn't afford to send me to school, I had an experience away from school. I had an experience here at the public school. I never did quit school, but I was always expelled from school. I didn't know where else to go. I didn't know what else to do. I just had a bad experience out of state trying to go to school. So, I think . . .

BA. Who was the guardian?

LM. My guardian was my father's daughter. I mean my sister in Nevada. My folks couldn't afford to send me to school. No school wanted me. I guess I just left. I couldn't work. I couldn't get a job around here. I tried to get a job, but nobody wanted me because I didn't have enough education, plus they were so racist, really racist about it. They don't want Indian business. If I worked in the cafe, I would attract Indian customers, and they wouldn't want THAT, because it would ruin the class of the cafe or store or whatever else. I couldn't get a job, and my other alternative was to work for the Bureau, which I would NEVER, NEVER, NEVER do in a million years. At this point I was forced to leave. I and my girlfriend started to take off, and we went to California, and got stranded, didn't have the clothes or anything to get a nice job. Nor the education . . .

BA. How did you survive?

LM. Oh, if you call it survival . . . Well, its really hard. What I did was I went to the places where I'd be most accepted, which were the worst places in the so-called ghetto. I was accepted there. The Mexican people took me in, and I worked as a bar maid. I was underage and everything. I think I was about seventeen, and I worked as a bar maid.

BA. Did you have to hustle there?

LM. No.

BA. It was not that type of place?

LM. It was a different kind of a scene, because I was drunk most of the time. That was about it. I was just drunk most of the time.

BA. Did you get a salary or did you just get it in drinks?

LM. No, I got a dollar an hour. This way it wouldn't have to be reported to income tax and I could work any time I wanted, whenever I was sober. I finally decided that I really had to go back to school because I wasn't getting anywhere. Things were just too tough. It was too late. I was already pregnant, I had my child in San Francisco, and . . . .

BA. When you were pregnant, what kind of medical treatment were you able to get?

LM. I got on welfare, state welfare. They asked me so many questions, I just wanted to forget it, but I knew I had to. So I got on welfare. Then I worked part-time in a boarding home for Indian girls. After I had the baby I tried to go back to school.

BA. Did you keep your child with you?

LM. I kept him with me for the first three months, and then he came back to the reservation with mother. Mother brought him back so I could go ahead and work because I was having a hard time at that time.

BA. The child is still one of your children? I mean, you still have him with you?

LM. Yes, I went to school part time and tried to hold down a job. I couldn't do it. I was too messed up in a way. At that point, I started getting interested in working with Indians in the Bay Area, and I started joining various organizations that they had. I got somewhat involved because I could see the problem. I could really feel it and understand it because I had been through a lot of it myself. I was seeing what was happening there when the Indian kids were sent out on relocation. What was happening to them, I knew had happend to me, and I didn't want to see it, or let them get their lives all messed up the way I felt I had messed up mine. I tried to get into school, again on a full-time basis, and I was turned down. I went to the University of California and applied, because they had this program up there called the educational opportunity program. I applied there in 1966, but they turned me down. I just went back to work and had another child, and what did I do then? (voice in background—that's when you went into the psychiatric ward). Oh, I went back to the city, and I was having a lot of problems within the Indian community that I was working with. Not only that, but some in-laws were giving me really bad trouble.

BA. What were these groups?

LM. Oh, organizations? Well, there was the Economic Opportunity Council. That was a big phony set-up.

BA. The OEO group?

LM. Yes, because they corrupted so many people, it was out of this world. I found that out. There was the American Indian Historical Society, and I found out that was a phony.

BA. What's that group?

LM. The American Indian Historical Society is a group of so-called California Indians, and Mr. Costa was a really great person. He could do a lot for his people, but he's dominated by his wife, who claims to be Cherokee, but she's Jewish from New York City. She dominates him and the whole show, so nothing really ever happens. He really does have good intentions, but nothing ever really goes of it. When I got into the University, she was one of the main ones calling up giving me a bad recommendation, saying if they let me in that I would make a bad mark for the Indians. They had no Indians at the University, and I had so many bad recommendations, that the University figured that I must be alright. I don't know how they came to that conclusion, but I got in. The Historical Society was eventually bought off by the BIA, by way of scholarships for Indian students. In this way they could have their little thing where they could control and say who can go to school and who cannot go to school because they would have their funds. They dole it out the same way the BIA does, in small payments, and you have to go down to the very last penny where every single cent went. They're doing the same thing. They're just another BIA agency now. I was somewhat surprised in a way to find out they did get bought off, but that's what happened.

BA. What other groups?

LM. The American Indian Center in San Francisco where I was working. We caused so much trouble there . . . I mean, to us it wasn't trouble. We were just trying to start some action going, but it started hitting people in the wrong way.

BA. Red Power, sort of?

LM. Well, not really, just wanting to be treated equal, and getting our share of what we have. Like if you have a poverty program, then I think Johnson made the statement that it would be for the American Indians number one because they were at the very bottom of the poverty heap, even worse off than the Negro. Well, the Indians weren't getting their share. The Negroes were dominating the show, the Mexicans were treated on the same basis as the Indians were, but they were just a little bit better than we were. It led into competition within the different groups. We just wanted to make sure that if they were going to have something like this then we did need the funding. We needed that type of help. But we were being discriminated against, and there were a lot of problems with the OEO, and stuff like that, like 90% went to the black, and 10% went to the Indians and Mexicans, and 2% to the Indians, which divided into San Francisco and Oakland. So they had two programs funded by OEO, or EOC, two programs. Well, anyway, they're just a take-off from the BIA anyway, because when the BIA drops them, that's where the Indians go. They had problems there again so it's just all up in the air right now, and there's a lot of feuding and fighting over the funds because it's corrupted so many people. About the same thing that would be happening here, I mean, I can see something on a similar basis because when people haven't anything, and they get something to hang on to, then they start looking after their own interest, because that's their only source of livelihood. At that point, I started at the University. I've been successful there. I made my 4.0 last quarter. I've been going there since January of 1968, and I'm continuing there. I'm recruiting Indian students to go there.

BA. Prior to entry in January, 1968, you were in a psychiatric unit?

LM. Well, I was in for observation for a week on the psychiatric ward in San Francisco General, and my baby was there in the hospital, too. So we both were in the hospital at the same time.

BA. Just for a week, though?

LM. He was in for two weeks.

BA. How did you arrive there?

LM. Well, at that time, Mayor Alioto was campaigning, and I guess he promised certain political positions to some of the Mexicans and then to the Indians. They were out campaigning and working for him. I was at one of his offices that day, and my son was in the hospital. I didn't have anywhere to live, and he was going to be released. I didn't have anywhere to take him. I didn't have any money. I didn't have anyone to call on. I couldn't call my folks because I knew they couldn't help me. If they knew about my circumstances, it would make them feel even worse, I had a lot of . . . I was really under a lot of pressures, too. I just knew that that was going to be it, but just the thought of thinking that my son was going to be released and no one would be there to get him and nobody there to even claim him just made me feel for him, and that was the main reason I went there . . . to Impact. I just called suicide prevention. I just wanted to talk. So she called a cab, and had me sent to Impact, to San Francisco General. I talked to a psychiatrist, and he admitted me because I didn't have anywhere to go.

BA. Was he a decent guy?

LM. Well, the one I talked to on entry, but after I was in there then they were all messed up from that point on. They couldn't relate to human beings if they tried. They just tried to drug me up, pills, depressant pills. For the first three or four days I guess I went along with it, and finally I knew that I had to just forget and snap out of it because they were trying to send my son to some children's home and I didn't want them to take him away from me. So I just really had to try to snap out of it. I got a hold of this woman from Health Care and Studies Foundation, who helped me find a place to stay and helped me get on welfare because I had a lot of trouble getting on. From there I just waited until the quarter started and I moved to Berkeley and started school and have stayed there ever since.

BA. How did you get into Berkeley? Did you just walk into the door and sign up? Did you have anybody help?

LM. I had to have help within the community, because you can't just, I mean, I didn't even know what to do since I had been turned down there. Before I was somewhat reluctant in going back. I had to have some pull from the community, which were at the time, some of the most corrupt groups. From there they referred me to the university, and I met a professor there in criminology, who sent me to this office. I talked to them there, and they had me submit my application and went over my records because they already had them from the past. Then I wrote my bibliography, and then from that point they accepted me. I was the first Indian student at that time to be admitted. I think that it was more or less helping their program because they had supposedly an equal type program without any Indians. They were really hurting, and I came at that time with all of my bad recommendations and bad record and . . .

BA. With push from the corrupt groups?

LM. Right, they just kind of needed me, so I more or less helped their group out by getting into their program and into the University. I think there's only been a couple of other Indian kids admitted since then, but nobody knows about it. Nobody would even think of going there because they're so far unrelated to it because of the troubles that they're having.

BA. Are you taking a full load?

LM. Yes.

BA. What are you taking?

LM. Well, at this point, I'm busy satisfying university requirements, but I do allow myself a few fun courses. I take courses such as sociology and anthropology. They have a course on Indians, American Indians, in anthropology that I was all upset about. I took my finals. I don't know what I'll get on it this time, because I said a lot of things. I don't know how its going to . . .

BA. What things? What were you upset about?

LM. Well, its like because we're Indians, we believe in real magic things. We worship the air. I was reading about our group here—the Basin Plateau Indians. We're so closely related to animals that in the wintertime we just dig a hole and crawl into it. We kind of hibernate, then we come out in the spring, and start eating insects and eating anything we can find.

BA. This is in the textbook that you're using?

LM. Oh, yeah.

BA. Did you call this to the attention of . . .

LM. Well, naturally, I was so upset, I was so upset, I just felt like crying because it hit me so personal. They had a T.A., a teaching assistant, who must of gotten all her literature from the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and I was all upset about that. However, I missed the lecture on that day, so I didn't get to make any comment on it. I left a note for the instructor and said that if anyone else got up and started spitting out BIA garbage, I'd personally shut them up. I mean, I'm far from a lady anyway (laughter) as far as they see me. I mean, it just hit me. I just couldn't let something like that pass me up. All of a sudden we're so called pan-Indians, or this pan-Indianism that's starting up because they think we're militant and copying the blacks. Hell, we've been fighting for long before the blacks even started thinking about it, I'm sure. Well, even back here on the reservation the people are so unsympathetic around here, we can't get any type of media. The newspapers won't listen to us, or take down a true story from our point of view. Its got to be all from their point of view, and down on the Indians. We've been fighting. Like as long as I can remember, I've been working with my dad and talking with him and studying with him. Everything that may dad's taught me is just coming out now in the University. Everything that he's taught me they're saying now. At one time I was put down so bad about it, it caused me so many . . . I mean, it hit me psychologically, I mean I nearly lost my mind because of the way people said my thinking was off.

BA. Why didn't you give up? A lot of others, have they given up, or am I wrong? Did some of your colleagues, or friends give up?

LM. Well, I would have given up, but, and I did give up. I nearly died a lot of times. I don't know why I'm living now, or even going to school. I'm still wondering what kept driving me in a way is really just out of love, love for life, and the love of my people, and the love of my children and family. I really couldn't say at this point. When the claims came up, we studied in anthropology that the Shoshone held the largest land tracts, more than any other linguistic group or stock in the U.S. Yet we're the poorest Indians. We have to fight to even get commodities. If we don't get commodities, we have to share it. Everything is so discouraging. You don't have any way to see any possible future at all. You can't get on welfare because you have land, even though its held in trust by the government. Its like it was a plot a long time ago to do this to us. Its no longer fashionable to go on killing Indians, so their new weapon is assimilation, assimilate them as fast as possible and get control of the land. Cut off their fishing and hunting rights. They've already cut off our fishing right. Make them in such a poverty state of condition that they can't do anything. They'll either kill themselves or go through. They'll either make it or break it. That's about how it is as far as I see it.

BA. When you were in school here, were kids attempting suicide? Indian children? As much as they are now?

LM. Certainly they were, but in different ways, like drinking. That's a form of suicide. Or just doing anything, because they don't care, can't care, because there's nothing to care for. I mean, like even driving a car, you just drive it and wreck. You don't care whether you get killed or not, because you can't foresee anything in the future at all, nothing at all. Especially because of the way we're dictated to. Like we're held under a big dictatorship, which is the BIA. They control the tribal council, who are their puppets, they pull the strings and pacify these puppets with salaries and do things to cause jealousies between the tribe and the other people. It's not so much it's the Indian people who are to blame as far as not going along with their constitution and bylaws. But it's made possible for them to do this anyway just by some of the things that are going on here, so evident here. It's evident on every reservation. There are a lot of Indian people who know what's happening, but it's hard to find anyone to listen to us. Living around this area where everyone is so prejudiced and discriminatory anyway, no one's going to be sympathetic for us or for our causes. It's only like when we go out to the cities that someone will say, hey, well listen here, they're sounding like the black militants, are you trying to follow after them? Are you copying them? Are you getting your guidance from them? I say, no, we've been doing that all the time. It's just that nobody has ever listened to us. No one has ever tried to deal with us in a human way or tried to treat as as equal. Just because there's a civil rights law doesn't mean that all of a sudden everybody's going to start loving each other, treating each other equal. They can take down the signs—no Indians or dogs allowed, but the feeling is still there, that's the way it is in this town and all around here. The Bureau employees are even worse.

BA. How about San Francisco? Let's say you're not in the ghetto, but in other parts of San Francisco. How are you received?

LM. Do you mean into the fashionable section of town? Oh, they look at you, and they treat you rude, and I think they're just as prejudiced except that some of them are really . . . The more educated ones are really guilt-ridden. They know what they've done to the Indians. When they find out you're an Indian, then they'll treat you a little better, and say, well, I've got some old clothes, would you like to have them? There's this lady now who wants to send me $15 a month rather then send it to care for the children somewhere, help the needy children, you know, small little tokens to try to cover up for their own feelings, like you know, they're so guilt-ridden.

BA. Well, do people know you're Indian in San Francisco? If you're in . . .

LM. No, they don't even know we're there, it just depends on what section of the city you're in. I can go to Chinatown and pass off as a Chinese, I can go to the Mexican or Chicano ghetto, and they think I'm one of them. It doesn't matter where I am, they think I'm one. Except for the white community, and I definitely am not white, so they're definitely not going to treat me as such.

BA. How about on the campus? Are you treated as equal there?

LM. Well, that's what I like about the campus, its so inspiring because of what I mentioned before. The things that my father has always taught me. When I talk to other students they say, well, certainly, that's right, when I hold it in comparison to the way that I've usually been treated, and they've been telling me, oh you're bad, that's wrong. And all of a sudden on campus, you know, they say, wow, that's great. Its really inspiring, and I can really feel like I'm human again. The students there are really great. There's a lot of so-called phony liberalism, and even phony radicals and the hippies, they all try to copy the Indians, trying to relate to them in some way.

BA. Did you ever look at the "New York Times" ads?

LM. No.

BA. Indians are really in fashion.

LM. Oh, yes, I've seen something like that, but they sure can try to copy our style of dress, and take our beads, but what have they ever done for us? What has anybody really done? What has the government ever done, or the Bureau? Just take a look at our educational level. 5th grade. I mean, in a hundred years, they've raised our educational level to the 5th grade. I think they're just trying to perpetuate their own existence, so that they can keep on controlling the money and the land we've never, ever been able to receive. They're trying to starve us out, and by taking control of our leaders.

BA. Do you have any leaders?

LM. Certainly! We have a lot of leaders.

BA. Where are they?

LM. Where are they?! They're under the thumb like this, and I will tell you how they are under the thumb. Its just an example, my father, what happened to him. When he bucked the Bureau so much and tried to do so much for his people, they said, Okay, you can do what you want to do, so long as it doesn't go against what we want you to do. So, when dad started bucking the Bureau, then they started in on him, by pressuring him and getting him out of office, because too many of the things he's said were true. At this point, he can't have any more power, so they try to knock you down economically, push you to the very bottom, where you're crying, begging for commodities, where you're trying to get welfare, which is really a blow to the Indian's ego.

BA. Anybody's ego.

LM. Anybody's ego, sure, but by doing things like this, just keeping them under the thumb constantly. Like when I was in San Francisco, I didn't get a scholarship for one quarter, because I was raising a little bit. I guess I was talking too much to too many people. I can't help it. This is what I feel is true, and know is true. When my brother was released from prison, he was sent out through the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Okay, they had their thumb over him right there. They couldn't do anything to me, because I was blasting them every time I had a chance. The only thing they could do to me is cut off my subsistence. Well, fine, I don't care, because I can get subsistence from the University. I can get a scholarship. They cut me off there, and they didn't know what else to do with me at that point. They knew my brother was living with me. They reported him to his parole officer for parole violation, trying to get him sent back to prison.

BA. Why was he violating his parole . . . ?

LM. Because he was living with me and I was a hippie and an agitator. Because I got to Berkeley, and because of some of the things I've said about them. It's like this. They're always trying to keep you under their thumb, so I had a word with his parole officers, so that . . .

BA. Did they lay off?

LM. Yes, he told the BIA to lay off, but it's things like that. They just set up so many phony programs, like everybody is making money except the Indians. Like all these private industries on the reservations. This is OUR reservation. Yet they've got private industries like Simplot coming in, letting foremen be white men, putting the Indians down to the janitor jobs, sweeping the floor Those white people have no right to hold these jobs, because these are the only jobs we have here on the reservation. The employment here is what, 80% unemployment? There's so much unemployment that these jobs shouldn't go to white people. This is our reservation. Let us do with it . . . let it be more meaningful as far as our lives are concerned. Let us use our own resources and our own minerals Let us have our own industry without white people coming in and telling us what to do, who we can hire, unionizing it. This is our industry, yet Indian boys don't have preference to jobs. All the foremen and the big boys are all white. They're not Indian, and then they keep on at the Indians who are working there, discouraging them by saying, look at you Indians, you can go hunt and fish. They're so jealous, and misconceptions about getting money from the government, that they hit on the Indians so bad, that they feel like, gee, I guess we don't belong here. Indians are really sensitive. They more or less force them out of their positions there. I mean, after you've worked there two years, and you haven't earned any seniority it's quite evident to you what's going on. You're fired or you quit, just because, what's the use, you can't make it. They're no jobs. Unemployment is up 80%. You can't fight the bureaucracy, because you don't have the money. They control the money. They control everything. All Indian money comes out in the form of a government check, whether you're working for the tribe or what, comes in the form of a government check. You cash it in the stores uptown. White people cash it, and they say, hum, another government check for the Indian. Then they start looking at you Indians and looking down on you and calling you down, dirty things, stinking Indians. I mean, they really put you down. After a while it gets to you. You start thinking like it happened to me, I guess that's right, you know, I guess all these people are right, not everyone (voice, she tried to get a job and dyed her hair blonde). Yes, I went to ask for a job in a store, and I had jet black hair, and they wouldn't give me a job. They said they had no jobs available. So my girlfriend was a beautician and she bleached my hair blonde. I went back the very next day, and they didn't know who I was. I asked for a job, and they gave it to me. They thought I was white. After they found out I was Indian, they fired me, because I was drawing too many Indian customers.

BA. What do you want to do after college?

LM. Well, let's put it this way. While I'm in college, I want to learn as much as I can about the white man, so I can go back and know how to fight him back here on the reservation. Not only this reservation, but other reservations as well because Indians need legal advice. We're under so many laws and everything that we don't know what's going on. You have to be more than a lawyer to understand all of our laws. We all have different constitutions and bylaws. We're all under federal law, and when in town, under city law, under state law. I mean, my goodness, where are we? I mean, in this way they're sending all of our boys to prison. They're dying in prison. They've never had any fair or legal, just trial. In a way, it's all part of that big plot, just to get rid of the Indians, decimation.

BA. You say legal aid. Are you thinking about this?

LM. Oh, yes.

BA. Law school, or what?

LM. Definitely, law school. It has to be.

BA. When can you go to law school, after three years, or can they push you ahead in two years?

LM. Well, there's this law school in New Mexico in Albuquerque that is starting a program for Indian lawyers only. They'll take you after three years. However, I'm a bit skeptical, because its receiving finances from the Bureau. I think in this way, they're making their own crop of Indian lawyers, not for the benefit of the Indians, but for the Bureau. Get them brainwashed in that way. So I'm thinking of going to probably Bolt law school, or Harvard—I want the very best. I'm tired of taking second rate, I'm tired of being treated like a second rate person. At the same time, I don't want to lose my identity with the people, and I don't want to get to the point where I can no longer relate to them, which is the reason why I keep so close with them . . .

BA. Do you think you can go and talk to the education department here and have them put together a scholarship package for you?

LM. No, absolutely not That'll never happen, because whatever money I'll get, I'll have to beg and cry for.

BA. You will have to milk the system yourself, like you always have, you will have to go in and no one's going to come to you?

LM. Yes.

BA. Has anybody come to you and tried to promote your education?

LM. Nobody has ever tried to promote my education. It's just the fact that I've been kicked out of every school I ever wanted that kind of made it a challenge. You tell an Indian he can't do something, and that's the first thing he's going to try to do. I've never been encouraged by anyone. As a matter of fact, I've been discouraged because of my situation, because of my children.

The Etiology of Suicide at Fort Hall

(By Jane Watson, Department of Anthropology, Idaho State University, Pocatello, Idaho)

"Good-by now,
Since theres no place on this earth for me may be i'll find some place else to go
Since you said i am know (no) human i didn't deserve to be here with you folks.
Love ex son
Darrell
Guess i wont see my little Boy or girl after all well so long

(Note left by a 17-year-old boy who hung himself in jail.)

"I am going with Darwin; he wants me to come."

(Paraphrase of statement made by a 16-year-old boy just before he drank a can of spray paint. He had been the only close friend of Darwin, a 17-year-old who had hung himself in jail several days before.)

"About myself, about me. So Judge Me as myself. Also thank Dad for inheriting his blood line . . .
So Just hurry and put me to rest. I've been through enough
No big dinners and all.
I'm not much of a man to take my own life but things got to be so . . .
Like I said Sharon (his wife) didnt have anything to do with this This is inherited from Our Blood line and my time is due in about 40 min's."

(From a note left by a 28-year-old whose father, but not mother, is a full blood Sho-Ban.)

"I will not die as a coward to face Life But to live in the land of my forefathers. To die as a man, to show no pity."

(From a note left by a 20-year-old boy who hanged himself in jail.)

Ft. Hall has a completed suicide rate that is ten times the national average. Contrary to the national pattern, the great majority of suicides occur in the 18–25 year age bracket.[1] In the past two months there have been two completed suicides, five recorded attempts (three by hangings in jail) and at least two unrecorded attempts. The above quotes in some way reflect the problems that account for these oppressive statistics.

The etiology of suicide at Ft. Hall involves cultural factors as well as psychologically-explained patterns of inadequate psychic defense mechanism development. These cultural factors sometimes create the stress situations which overwhelm the ego strengths of the potential suicide victim. They may also play a causative role in the inadequacy of ego development. This paper will attempt to analyze some of these cultural factors in their relation to suicide. The basis for analysis is one-and-a-half months of field work made possible by a research grant provided by Idaho State University and by a study being supervised by the National Institute of Mental Health, Center for Studies of Suicide Prevention.

In attempting to analyze the pertinent cultural factors, it is perhaps best first to consider the more tangible ones. This would include the economic conditions. According to a 1958 estimate, the average annual income per enrolled tribal member was $231.[2] Whether or not this figure is still exactly accurate, it does represent the pattern of low income that characterizes the economic situation of most tribal members.[3] Income is often not steady, resting upon seasonal labor opportunities. The instability of the economic situation appears at times to produce an almost passive acceptance of inadequate financial circumstances; and at the same time, it creates a sense of insecurity.

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[1] Larry H. Dizmang. "Observations on Suicidal Behavior Among the Shoshone-Bannock Indians", p. 2.

[2] Norman Nybroten, *Economy and Conditions of the Fort Hall Indian Reservation*, p. 150. Nybroten quotes *The Ft. Hall Story*, p. 2.

[3] There are of course exceptions, including those members who hold steady jobs and, most notably, a few whose income from ownership of land now being mined for phosphate sometimes exceeds $20,000 a year.

I once had a conversation with three teenage girls, all of whom are working on the summer Neighborhood Youth Corps program, about a personal situation which reflected this ambivalence. They have rented a small house on the Ft. Hall townsite for the summer. Two of them at that time had no money; one had about $40. None knew for sure how long their jobs would last. They were trying to decide whether to spend the money on fixing up the house and having a party or saving it for next month's rent ($35). None of the girls wanted to move home with her family. They finally spent most of the money on things for the house and a couple of cases of beer, deciding that maybe they would have another $35 "from somewhere" by rent-day. They joked about having no money and about how maybe the $35 would "just turn up." Each of them was concerned about being broke, but each time one of them would verbalize the concern, another would say something like "Oh well, maybe it will just turn up. One finally said, "Oh, Indians aren't supposed to worry about next month!" They all laughed and joked about being "big Indians." They seemed to be trying to deal with the insecurity of being broke by overtly assuming what they felt was an "Indian" value, that is, not worrying about their future financial situation.

It will be important to see just how pervasive this ambivalent feeling is, especially among young people. Is it considered "un-Indian" to worry too much or out loud about where the next paycheck is going to come from and, concurrently, does one try to abate the fear by telling oneself it is "Indian" to plan for tomorrow tomorrow, not today? Do young people think this is the way their parents function; do they think it is what they should be doing? How much conflict is there for them between feeling both passively acceptive of any given situation and at the same time worried or concerned about it; and most importantly how do they act on these feelings?

Another cultural distinction that has relevant implications for how the teenagers deal with conflicts is the child rearing practices. Traditionally the grandparent had a primary role in disciplining the children, which was often effected by ridicule rather than physical punishment. The importance of the relationship is reflected in the reciprocal address form for grandparents and grandchildren.[4] Today, while the parents play a more direct role in bringing up the children, the grandparents still are often very involved. The involvement is not due solely to the traditional responsibility placed upon them. It involves many other factors; sometimes the parents are inadequate in their roles, even in terms of supplying adequate sustenance. Sometimes this seems to be due to the inability to have their own needs met. A pattern involving drinking and child neglect may develop. Sometimes one or both of the parents are absent, having died or "taken off." The consequence is often placement of the children with the grandparents. In tracing the family situations of the suicides and attempts, it is evident that many have been raised, at least in part, by grandparents. In quite a few of the cases, one or both parents are still around, but have often left the children with the grandparents for long periods of time.

The implications of these child rearing patterns are multiple. The grandparents are usually more traditional in terms of dress, beliefs and practices than the parents. Their value patterns affect the children, just as do those of, say, the school system. It is probably very significant just how the values of both are incorporated; in case of conflict is one rejected, are they kept in separate context, do they mesh to form a hybrid value, are they indiscriminately utilized, or does one become subordinate to the other in a predictable type of situation?

I am reminded of an interview between the psychiatrist contracted by the Public Health Service and a twenty-year-old girl whose husband had recently suicided and whose grandmother (who had raised her for part of her childhood) had died three days before. She was quite articulate and was not hostile during the interview. She related two dreams, both of which she had had several times. The first she had been having for a year; it involved her one and a half-year-old daughter being snatched from her by an unknown person (the father of the child had come around the house drunk and beligerent several times since the divorce). The second, which she had had only since the death of her second husband, was an image of him lying in a coffin and several women and herself crying. She also had been having thoughts about jumping out of a car into the path of another vehicle or driving over a cliff. In listening to her, it was difficult to understand how she felt about these dreams and thoughts.

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[4] I have asked several teenagers who speak or at least understand Shoshoni whether they use these terms. Some said they knew the terms, but none use them although the grandparents occasionally do. One 16-year-old boy said it was too "old" to use them. He just says "Grandma."

Did she see them as a natural phenomena resulting from extremely stressful situations, or did she somehow see them as portentous? She agreed with the doctor's suggestion that it is a common occurrence to have dreams and thoughts such as these after traumatic experiences. Yet could she also possibly be influenced by traditional beliefs that dreams are prophetic?

A sixteen-year-old girl, whose mother is dead and who has been raised by grandparents told me she had a dream after a drinking party. She would not tell me what it was about and she would not tell her friends that she had had it. It seemed to concern her very much, but she felt it was somehow more dangerous if she verbalized it. From other comments she made, the impression I had was that she felt the dream might be ominous. (She asked me to work the Ouija Board with her to see if the dream would come true. We did, but she said later that we couldn't trust it because it was playing tricks on us that day.) I think she spoke to me about it because she wanted to hear me say that dreams are not ominous; she wanted what it in this case was the less threatening of her beliefs to be strengthened.

I think that this problem, that is how and when "Indian" and "white" values and beliefs create conflict, might be of significance in terms of how an individual is able to cope with stressful situations. It is certainly manifested quite blatantly in two of the suicide notes quoted at the beginning of this paper: (#3) The "white" belief that suicide is wrong—"I'm not much of a man to take my own life . . ." and, in juxtaposition, what he apparently sees as an "Indian" belief, that is the acting out of a prescribed ending, an ending which he inherited from his father's "blood line." Another (#4): "I will not die as a coward to face Life. But to live in the land of my forefathers." What was cowardly death to this boy? What made suicide seem so courageous? Certainly from a traditional viewpoint suicide per se was not condoned.[5] But then, it is not the strictly accurate traditional beliefs and values which compose what young people term as "Indian" today; they are, rather, modifications of traditions, influenced by an incalculable number of gross and minute social, economic, psychological, religious, and physical changes effected since contact time.

It is difficult to understand how and when the conflict between "white" and "Indian" values and beliefs develops, because the "Indian" has been distorted in a seemingly indefinable way, a way that probably has as many variables as there are teenagers on the reservation. I think it will be essential in my field work to continue to try to pick up (eventually by direct questioning) just what some of the young people who have attempted or threatened think about "Indian" and "white" beliefs, how they interpret them, how they are affected by them, under what sorts of circumstances they conflict for them.

One of the most important concepts that is certainly affected by both "white" and "Indian" is that of death. Just how does the sixteen-year-old boy (#2) feel when he says that Darwin wants him to join him? What does "living in the land of my forefathers" mean for the boy who hung himself (#4)? In tracing some of the family situations of the attempters and completed suicides, it is quite apparent that many have relatively recent violent deaths, whether by suiicde, homocide, or accident. As more genealogies are worked out for the involved families, I think this will possibly prove to be a significant factor in suicide patterns.[6]

The conception of family is another cultural factor which has significance. Family was, and often still is, a much broader group than the nuclear family.[7] Yet, it is not clear to me just how the family, even in its broader sense, functions to serve the needs of its members. From talking to numerous people, both Indian and white, at Ft. Hall, I have descriptions of most of the families of the attempters and suicides. The great majority are from homes that are described in some way as inadequate; the most predominant pattern is of an overbearing, sometimes cold and yet in some ways overprotective mother. The father often has a rather ineffectual male role, perhaps drinking heavily. There is often no close sibling relationship. Grandparents, often left with the task, are not able to discipline the children effectively. Yet often attachments to home are strong.[8]

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[5] Sven Liljeblad, "Some Observations on the Fort Hall Indian Reservation," p. 66.

[6] One of the Social Workers at Ft. Hall feels that death, by any means, intensifies the closeness of the relationship for the living members of the family; they feel closer to the deceased member *after* his death.

[7] Sven Liljeblad, "Some Observations on the Ft. Hall Indian Reservation", p. 35.

The functions of the peer groups are also not clear to me yet. They are obviously meeting some needs in terms of companionship and security. Some of the suicides have been described as "loners."[9] Conversely, it appears that most of the attempters, who do not succeed, have some peer group affiliation. Yet the peer group is certainly not meeting all of the needs that are left unfulfilled by the family. The most striking reason is the lack of trust the members feel. Innumerable times I have heard teenagers and people who work with them (social workers, teachers, VISTAs) say that they cannot trust one another; if you expose your problems to even one friend, the whole reservation will know about it. In addition there is a feeling, perhaps not as pervasive, that the way to deal with a person you dislike (perhaps who threatens you in some way) is to "fight him." One of the most poignant verifications of these two feelings that I have heard was on a tape made at a group session of teenagers who are, in various ways, in trouble with the law and therefore attend weekly meetings held by two of the Ft. Hall social workers. This particular tape was made the night after one of the Indian Upward Bound students had tried to suicide after a summer of threats and taunts by a group of Indian students, "the Hell's Injuns," who were also on the program. One of the Hell's Injuns (who had actually pulled a knife on the young attempter the previous night) was at the meeting. When the group started to talk about the boy who had attempted, about his own personal problems and his comparatively good adjustment to Upward Bound, the Hell's Injun boy suddenly jumped up and ran out of the room. He sat outside in a car and honked the horn. When they changed the subject he went back in. The group discussion then came around to the subject of trust. The subject seemed to be threatening to them at first, but after joking around about it, several stated that they could not talk about their problems simply because the information would be all over the reservation by the next day. Several others said that this was true and that you don't solve your problems by talking about them with your friends. "With whom do you talk about them?" the social worker asked. Nobody. Either you work them out yourself or you live with them. Yet, though they cannot be trusted, friends are extremely important when there is not much stability or success in the other aspects of one's life, e.g., family and school.

Most Indian youngsters do not do well in school and consequently do not find much reward in it. Although there seems to be a basic belief, at least a verbalized one, that education is good, there is not much practical evidence to support this belief. This is not surprising in view of the education level of the reservation; the median education grade level is as follows:[10]

Years old:	*Grade level*
30	9.13
40	9.1
50	7.33
60	7.13

Children who go on to high school do not receive much specific help at home. The diminishing of class size from grammar school to junior and senior high school can be partially understood in this light. It will be interesting to find out more about the real attitude toward education. Like so many values and goals on the reservation, it might possibly be a highly ambivalent one; education is good because it can get you a good job; but with a better education, one gets above the rest of the group and becomes vulnerable to criticism for doing so.

Another factor contributing to the high suicide rate is the use of intoxicants, gas, glue, paint, and recently, marijuana. Almost every attempt and completed suicide occurred while the person was high, when his self restraints were lowered. The combination of this and a stressful, frustrating situation (in three of the five attempt cases this summer this has included incarceration) seems to be the immediate precipitating factor in an attempt.

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[8] This becomes apparent when young men and women leave the reservation on relocation jobs, from which the return rate is very high. This is not true, however, for students going away to boarding school; some have even said they dread coming home in the summers. It appears then that part of the attachment to home involves inadequate preparation for meeting unfamiliar situations.

[9] It has been hypothesized that some of the suicides were leaders of groups that had suicide pacts. I have been able to substantiate a suicide pact in one group only, and then by the comments made to a social worker by a peripheral member. He spoke of it as more of a daring of one another than as a pact. None of the group of five has suicided, although three have attempted, all by hanging and choking while in jail. Also the brother of two of the boys has suicided. He apparently was not in the group.

[10] Norman Nybroten, *Economy and Conditions of the Fort Hall Indian Reservation*, p 75.

The prevalence of suicide attempts does not go unknown on the reservation. Until recently the local papers would headline stories about them. The topic is of great concern to the Tribal Council. As with most other things of interest, facts and rumors of suicide are circulated among the teenagers and older people. Even the younger ones seem to be aware and interested. One of the VISTAs told me about a group of young teenage boys who took turns hanging each other by the collar on a nail at her house one day "just to see how it feels and how long you can last." (It was in part, as many of the more serious attempts might be, a manipulative device for attention.)

Another time I was sitting by a narrow irrigation ditch on the Ft. Hall townsite with a group of five children, the oldest of whom is about eight. One of them suggested that they hang a rope on a tree and swing into the water. Another said no, that they might get hung on it.

The whole group (excluding none but the three-year-old, who listened attentively) then discussed how it would feel to have a rope on your neck and not to be able to breath. This reservation-wide concern with suicide probably influences the number of attempts that do occur.[11]

Further exploration into the various manifestations and prevalency of these cultural factors and their relation to specific suicide, attempt, and threat cases will involve a closer study of the following:

1. The family—including economic situation, who the parents and/or guardians are, problems of drinking or use of gas, glue, paint etc., previous violent deaths in the family.
2. School situation—including what schools have been attended, grades, attendance and attitudes (I am not sure yet whether there is any correlation between boarding school attendance, which in itself sometimes reflects problems not only in school but in the home situation, and suicide.)
3. Peer groups—including what groups have had attempts, threats or suicide completions in them, what functions the groups serve, their activities, whether they are composed of adolescents who are related or not, what influence they have on other groups and "loners".

To this end, I will make continued use of police BIA, PHS and school files and personnel who have knowledge of the cases. I hope also to be able to work out detailed genealogies of the involved families, which I think will prove invaluable in determining group patterns, as well as the importance of violent deaths within the family. The use of ascending genealogies might show a correlation between family origin and suicides.

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Senator MONDALE. The committee wishes to thank all who gave of their time and effort to make the plight of Indian education known. Our mission to elevate the status of our American Indians has been made easier by the cooperation of so many of our citizens who gave unselfishly of themselves.

Again, thank you very much.

(Whereupon, the subcommittee was recessed subject to the call of the Chair.)

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[11] Sven Liljeblad, "Some Observations on the Fort Hall Indian Reservation", pp. 66–67. "Nor can it be said that these suicides are 'never caused by imitation'. In fact they are to a very high degree.